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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 772 | 11 January 2002

IMF Pulls the Plug

Mass Protests Shake Argentina

Break with Peronism— For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Karmina Burana/Indymedia

Mass protest in Buenos Aires, December 20. Millions of protesters have taken to the streets against rising unemployment and starvation wrought by IMF, bringing down successive governments.

JANUARY 7—The collapse of the government of Radical Party president Fernando de la Rúa amid massive street protests on December 19-20 has ushered in a major social crisis in Argentina. As angry demonstrators in Buenos Aires fought off police assaults in the Plaza de Mayo below, de la Rúa staged a panicky escape by helicopter from the roof of his besieged presidential palace. In his wake, three more presidents came and went in less than two weeks, while the popular unrest continued.

Now Eduardo Duhalde of the Peronist party has been appointed to head a self-described "government of national salvation." The new regime aims to pacify the masses through rhetorical sops and by easing a small portion of the harsh austerity measures mandated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The attacks dictated by the imperialists, centrally the U.S., and implemented by the Argentine bourgeoisie have provoked deep anger throughout the population. The Duhalde government has now temporarily stopped payment on Argentina's $155 billion debt to the international bankers—the largest such default in history. The government also announced a devaluation of the peso as well as measures supposedly aimed at allaying the plight of the poor. But no one pretends that this will put an end to the turmoil. Days before he took office, Duhalde himself warned that the country could spiral into civil war.

Argentina is at an impasse: the people will no longer accept being governed as before, while the rulers can no longer govern as before. Close to half the population ekes out an existence below the poverty line, official unemployment is nearly 20 percent, much of the working class is in desperate straits and the living standards of the petty-bourgeois middle class, once the most prosperous in Latin America, are plummeting. Both major bourgeois parties—the Radicals and the Justicialista Peronists, who themselves served as hardline enforcers for the IMF under the regime of Carlos Menem in the 1990s—are widely reviled among the toiling masses. And lurking in the shadows is the army, whose brutal dictatorship from 1976 to 1983 saw over 30,000 leftists and labor militants assassinated or "disappeared."

The wave of struggles that brought down the de la Rúa regime began in the provinces with road blockades by unemployed and semi-employed *piqueteros* (picketers). It then spread to the cities, where hungry masses looted grocery stores and striking workers stoned government offices, leading de la Rúa to proclaim a state of siege. It culminated with the eighth general strike in two years, quickly followed by mass protests of hundreds of thousands, from young workers, students and the unemployed to retired civil servants and housewives banging empty pots. While street bonfires burned throughout Buenos Aires and in other cities, demonstrators chanting "All of them out!" faced down riot police firing tear gas and live ammunition outside the presidential palace and the Peronist-controlled Houses of Congress. At least 30 protesters were killed, many hundreds wounded and thousands imprisoned before the hated president finally fled. Free all the arrested protesters!

The current situation in Argentina has many components of a prerevolutionary crisis. The bourgeoisie is at an impasse, there is sharp dissatisfaction among the petty bourgeoisie and the working class has demonstrated great combativity. Crucially missing, however, is a proletarian revolutionary leadership which can give voice to the aspirations of all the oppressed in a struggle to shatter the rule of the venal Argentine bourgeoisie and the domination of its imperialist masters. *The fight for a proletarian vanguard party is therefore the central question facing Argentina today.* Critical to this perspective is the struggle for the complete and absolute independence of the working class from all the parties and agencies of bourgeois rule.

The majority of Argentina's potentially powerful trade unions are directly linked to the bourgeois-nationalist Peronist party. Today, the nationalist trade-union bureaucrats are again working to channel popular discontent into the arms of the Peronists, whose occasional "anti-imperialist" rhetoric serves only to mask their fealty to capitalist imperialism. Living in deathly fear of the accumulated tinder at the base of society, the labor bureaucrats have found it necessary to call repeated general strikes over the past two years. At the same time, they have worked hand in hand with the Argentine rulers to contain discontent.

Only a few months ago, both wings of the Peronist CGT (General Confederation of Labor) signed a pact to control social unrest "in the interests of the country." Amid the mass protests and street battles of December 19-20, leaders of the mainstream CGT called for "guaranteeing the resolution of this most grave political crisis within the framework of the Constitution" (*La Nación*, 21 December 2001), while the dissident CGT-rebelde called on the regime to "adopt political solutions to control the social eruptions" (*La Nación*, 20 December 2001). When de la Rúa fell, they joined with the "independent" bureaucrats of the CTA (Argentine Labor Central) government workers and teachers union federation in calling off a threatened general strike against the state of siege and rushed to a private tête-à-tête with the new (and short-lived) Peronist president, Rodriguez Saá.

For their part, Argentina's various pseudo-Marxist organizations —including relatively sizable fake-Trotskyist groups, some with parliamentary deputies—have long been little more than left satellites of Peronism. Today, while raising various criticisms of Duhalde and his labor auxiliaries, these groups push deadly illusions that workers and the oppressed can eliminate their immiseration within the framework of bourgeois rule, seeking merely to give it more "democratic" trappings. There is a burning need to forge a genuine Trotskyist nucleus in Argentina that fights to link the present struggles to a program of socialist revolution as the only solution to the country's crisis. In the present conditions, even a relatively small revolutionary organization could grow explosively and sink roots among the proletariat, thereby opening the road to working-class power.

Such a party can only be forged on the basis of a program of proletarian revolutionary internationalism which seeks to extend the struggles of the Argentine proletariat throughout Latin American and into the imperialist heartlands of the United States and West Europe. In Europe, where many workers are facing mass layoffs and factory closures, there is an identification with, and apprehension over, the plight of the largely European-derived Argentine masses. European newspapers and TVs are filled with images of people in what was once the wealthiest country in Latin America storming the banks, battling the police and looting stores for the basic necessities of daily survival. There is genuine fear that if hunger riots could erupt in Argentina, then a dramatic plunge in living standards could be the future for European workers too. Although the particular mechanisms of class collaboration are different (social-democratic labor reformism in Europe, bourgeois nationalism in Latin America), the fundamental question is the same: unshackling a powerful proletariat from a pro-capitalist leadership.

For their part, the U.S. imperialists have long seen Latin America as their own private preserve for exploitation. The wall-to-wall military dictatorships that dominated South America in the 1960s and '70s were the product of the "Alliance for Progress" instituted by Democratic Party president and liberal darling John F. Kennedy as part of the "war on Communism." Today, reflecting

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Defend Cuba Against U.S. Imperialism!

Free the Miami Five!

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Free the Five Committee

Fidel Castro standing before portraits of Miami Five at Havana rally demanding their freedom.

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In a statement issued shortly after their conviction last June, the Cuban government affirmed that the Miami Five were part of an operation to "discover and

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Trade Unions in Dependent Capitalist Countries

Argentina's economic and social crisis, engineered by the IMF, starkly illuminates the necessity for proletarian revolution to overthrow the bourgeoisie and liberate the country from imperialist bondage. But as Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky pointed out, a key obstacle to independent proletarian struggle in economically backward countries is the co-optation of the trade unions by the nationalist bourgeois rulers, who are beholden to the imperialist powers. The fight for the complete independence of the unions from the bourgeois state is thus integral to any proletarian revolutionary perspective.

Colonial and semicolonial countries are under the sway, not of native capitalism but of foreign imperialism. However, this does not weaken but, on the contrary, strengthens the need of direct, daily, practical ties between the magnates of capitalism and the governments which are in essence subject to them—the governments of colonial or semicolonial countries. Inasmuch as imperialist capitalism creates both in colonies and semicolonies a stratum of labor aristocracy and bureaucracy, the latter requires the support of colonial and semicolonial governments as protectors, patrons, and sometimes as arbitrators. This constitutes the most important social basis for the Bonapartist and semi-Bonapartist character of governments in the colonies and in backward countries generally. This likewise constitutes the basis for the dependence of reformist unions upon the state....

Inasmuch as the chief role in backward countries is not played by national but by foreign capitalism, the national bourgeoisie occupies, in the sense of its social position, a much more minor position than corresponds with the development of industry. Inasmuch as foreign capital does not import workers but proletarianizes the native population, the national proletariat soon begins playing the most important role in the life of the country. In these conditions the national government, to the extent that it tries to show resistance to foreign capital, is compelled to a greater or lesser degree to lean on the proletariat. On the other hand, the governments of those backward countries which consider it inescapable or more profitable for themselves to march shoulder to shoulder with foreign capital, destroy the labor organizations and institute a more or less totalitarian regime. Thus, the feebleness of the national bourgeoisie, the absence of traditions of municipal self-government, the pressure of foreign capitalism, and the relatively rapid growth of the proletariat, cut the ground from under any kind of stable democratic regime. The governments of backward, i.e., colonial and semicolonial, countries by and large assume a Bonapartist or semi-Bonapartist character; they differ from one another in that some try to orient in a democratic direction, seeking support among workers and peasants, while others install a form close to military-police dictatorship. This likewise determines the fate of the trade unions. They either stand under the special patronage of the state or they are subjected to cruel persecution. Patronage on the part of the state is dictated by two tasks that confront it: first, to draw the working class closer, thus gaining a support for resistance against excessive pretensions on the part of imperialism; and, at the same time, to discipline the workers themselves by placing them under the control of a bureaucracy.

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Kal Burnham

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From his experience, Moultrie drew the conclusion that there could be no lasting gains for any section of the working class short of a working-class revolution, requiring an international revolutionary party to lead it. To this end, Bill became a communist and joined the Spartacist League, moving to the San Francisco Bay Area where he was a member of the SL local committee for many years.

We extend our heartfelt condolences to his comrade and steadfast companion of over three decades, Kat Burnham, who saw Bill through his long battle with illness; his brother Bob and sister Virginia; and his four children, Ray, Pam, Mike and Joe. A more complete account of his life and political contributions to our party will appear in a coming issue of *Workers Vanguard*.

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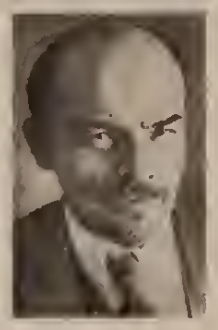

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Whatever Happened to "Stalin as Commander in Chief"?

IG Disappears Red Army Fight Against Islamic Reaction in Afghanistan

The founding leaders of the Internationalist Group (IG) have, since defecting from our organization some years back, long and loudly proclaimed that they uniquely carry forward the revolutionary program of Spartacism. The manifest fraud of this posture is easily demonstrated by a mere glance at the objects of the IG's political affections since its inception. These have ranged from trade-union opportunists in Brazil who turned to the bourgeois courts to preserve their positions in the leadership of a municipal workers union that includes cops; to an assortment of petty-bourgeois nationalist forces in the colonial and semi-colonial countries; to a wing of the Stalinist bureaucracies in China and Cuba which the IG invests with revolutionary capacities.

Some years ago the IG's central leader, Jan Norden, conjured up the notion that the geriatric remnants of the former Stalinist bureaucracy of the East German DDR deformed workers state—who had sold out the DDR to imperialism—were going to lead a "fightback" against the ravages of capitalist counterrevolution! As an appeal to the sensibilities of such types, Norden insisted on heralding Stalin himself as "commander in chief" of the Red Army forces that defeated Hitler's Third Reich. (More accurately, the Red Army prevailed *despite* Stalin, who beheaded the Soviet general staff on the eve of World War II and whose constant attempts to appease the imperialists undermined the defense of the Soviet Union.) But now the IG is working a different side of the street. Seeking to ingratiate itself with the various reformists and renegades who have headed up the "peace" coalitions in response to U.S. imperialism's terror bombing of Afghanistan, the IG has deep-sixed one of the few truly *progressive* acts of the Soviet Stalinists—the 1979-89 Red Army intervention in Afghanistan against CIA-backed Islamic reaction.

In our article "The Internationalist Group: Centrist Pathology" (*WV* No. 767, 26 October 2001), we noted that while the IG might make passing reference in writing to professed agreement with our call to "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" the story was rather different on the ground. At teach-ins and other coalition meetings, the IG ever so-politely refrained from pointing out that outfits like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), as well as virtually every other self-professed "socialist" organization on the face of the planet, had stood on the side of imperialism and its *mujahedin* cutthroats against the Soviet Union. Then, at a November 28 Hunter College rally initiated by the IG to protest plans by the CUNY administration to drive out "illegal" immigrant students through extortionate fee hikes—part of the anti-immigrant witchhunt that has accompanied the U.S. bombing of Afghanistan—the IG completely disappeared any and all mention of the Red Army in Afghanistan.

Those Who Can't Defend Past Gains Will Never Fight for New Ones

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club endorsed the November 28 protest, which was called around the slogans "Down With CUNY's Anti-Immigrant 'War Purge'! Stop Racist Tuition Hike and 'Student Data Collection System'!" As we stressed in the placards carried by our contingent, in speeches by SL and SYC members and in a leaflet distributed to the protest (see "Defend Immigrant Rights—For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers!", *WV* No. 771, 28 December 2001), the defense of these students and of immigrant rights is critical to combatting the "national unity" chauvinism wielded by the American imperialist rulers to further their rapacious military adventures abroad and their class war against the working class and oppressed at home.

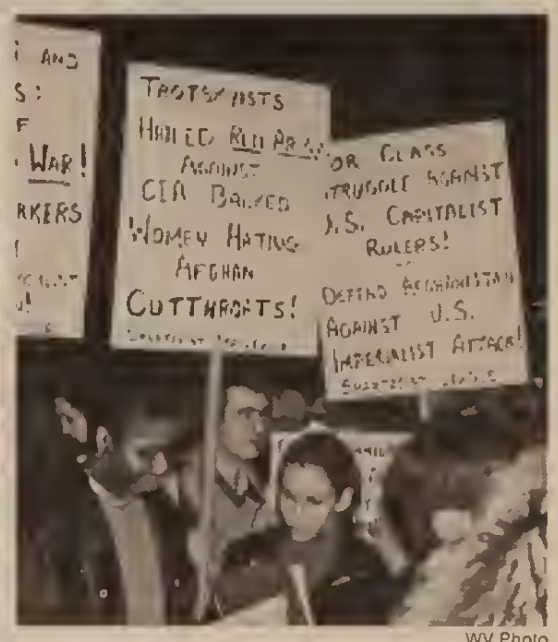
United-front actions are also vital to providing a platform for the contention of different political programs and strategies, the kind of sharp political debate that is necessary to raising the political consciousness of the working class, youth and others who are looking for the way to successfully combat the brutal depredations of capitalist imperialism. In her speech to the protest, SYCer Anna Woodman stressed:

> "Opposition to imperialism means defending those gains that workers have already made. That means unconditional military defense of China, and it meant defense of the Soviet Union and the other deformed workers states. All of the left groups now talk about how the U.S. armed and funded the *mujahedin* against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in the '80s. But what they don't say is that they all capitulated to the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive, with, for example, the ISO hailing the *mujahedin* as 'freedom fighters.' Only we Trotskyists said: 'Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!'"

This is hardly an academic question or one irrelevant to the defense of the working class and the rights of all the oppressed today.

Paris Match

UPI



WV Photo

Soviet military presence in Afghanistan opened road to social progress for Afghan women. As our sign at Hunter College protest proclaims, Trotskyists said: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

From the time of the 1917 October Revolution, the first and only successful workers revolution in history, the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and the forces of counterrevolution was the touchstone of the class struggle internationally. As James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, put it in 1939:

> "The Russian question has been and remains the question of the revolution. The Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, once and for all, took the question of the workers' revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood reality."

Despite the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union—the product of relentless imperialist pounding militarily and economically, the isolation of the Soviet Union and the defeat of revolutions elsewhere, particularly Germany—it remained a workers state based on the planned economy and collectivized property established by the 1917 Russian Revolution, which brought enormous gains to workers, peasants, women and national minorities. In the late 1970s and 1980s, Afghanistan became the front line of the imperialists' relentless ambition to destroy the Soviet workers state.

The "Russian Question" Pointblank

The *mujahedin* insurgency in Afghanistan in the late 1970s was directly triggered by the modest measures taken by the Soviet-backed PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) regime to free women from feudal tyranny, illiteracy and the stifling head-to-toe veil (*burqa*) that symbolizes their degraded status and enforced isolation from all social life. At the request of the PDPA government, the Soviet Union sent troops into Afghanistan in December 1979 to combat the Islamic reactionaries and to secure the USSR's crucial southern flank. Under Democratic president Carter, Washington seized on the Red Army intervention to launch a renewed Cold War offensive, bankrolling and arming the woman-hating Islamic fundamentalists in the largest CIA covert operation in history.

The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan offered the prospect of extending the gains of the October Revolution to the hideously oppressed peoples of that country. Although certainly not the intent of the Kremlin Stalinists, the intervention in Afghanistan cut against their nationalist, anti-Marxist dogma of "building socialism in one country," inspiring many in the Soviet population with a sense of internationalism. This was crucial to our perspective of fighting for workers political revolution in the Soviet Union to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and return to the proletarian internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

On their side, the imperialists aimed not only to kill as many Red Army soldiers as possible but to wield Islamic fundamentalism within the historically Muslim regions of the USSR as a spearhead for counterrevolution. And indeed, when

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Will the IG's Real Line Please Stand Up?

> own [illegible] as it bombs semi-colonial [illegible]
>
> Genuine communists defend semi-colonial countries against imperialist attack as we fight for socialist revolution against their bourgeois and, in the case of Afghanistan, feudalistic leaders. During the 1930s, Leon Trotsky and his supporters in the Fourth Internationalist movement defended Ethio-

—*Internationalist*, Fall 2001

> Because of its extreme economic backwardness, the social forces within Afghanistan are too weak for a workers revolution to be carried out from within. That is a key reason why Soviet intervention to stave off the victory of Islamic reaction was necessary in the 1980s and why Trotskyists strongly sup[illegible] it. But Afghanist[illegible] isolation fo[illegible]

Two-line struggle in IG? Same issue of *Internationalist* calls for "socialist revolution" in Afghanistan—which lacks even a proletariat—then thinks better of it.

SYC Class Series

LOS ANGELES

Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.

January 19:
Stalinist Degeneration and the Counterrevolution in the Soviet Union

3806 Beverly Blvd., Suite 215
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

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Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

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Columbia University
(116th and Broadway)
Hamilton Hall, Room 302
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

Alternate Wednesdays, 5:30 p.m.

January 16:
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York University Student Ctr., Rm. 313
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

The West and Islamic Fundamentalism

Salman Rushdie's Verses for Imperialism

As part of a propaganda campaign to justify the U.S. war against Afghanistan, over the past few months the *New York Times* has opened its op-ed page to liberal opponents of Islamic fundamentalism in the Near East and South Asia. Among them is writer Salman Rushdie, the foremost "heretic" in the Islamic world, who contributed a piece titled "Yes, This Is About Islam" (2 November).

Born into a Muslim family in India, Rushdie has for many years lived and worked in England. His satirical 1989 novel, *The Satanic Verses*, involving the figure of Mohammed, provoked a murderous reaction from the self-proclaimed guardians of the Islamic faith. Ayatollah Khomeini, then the supreme leader of Iran, issued an edict that "all

J.C. Schisler

those involved in its publication and were aware of its contents, are sentenced to death." Prominent religious leaders in the West, such as New York's Cardinal O'Connor, also denounced *The Satanic Verses*.

Bush's "war on terror" has provided a broad and sympathetic American audience for Rushdie to express his deeply felt hostility—indeed, visceral hatred—for Islamic traditionalism. He argues:

> "For a vast number of 'believing' Muslim men, 'Islam' stands, in a jumbled, half-examined way, not only for the fear of God—the fear more than the love, one suspects—but also for a cluster of customs, opinions and prejudices that include their dietary practices; the sequestration or near-sequestration of 'their' women; the sermons delivered by their mullahs of choice; a loathing of modern society in general, riddled as it is with music, godlessness and sex; and a more particularized loathing (and fear) of the prospect that their own immediate surroundings could be taken over—'Westoxicated'—by the liberal Western-style of life."

As a liberal idealist, Rushdie sees Islamic fundamentalism only as irrational hatred for personal freedom and secular-humanist values, which he identifies with the advanced capitalist countries of North America and West Europe.

In reality, Western, centrally American, imperialism is largely responsible for the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in recent decades, not least in funding the *mujahedin* to fight the Soviet Army in Afghanistan in the 1980s. Even the conservative London *Economist* (15 September) pointed out: "America may be tempted to overlook one uncomfortable fact. Its own policies in Afghanistan a decade and more ago helped to create both Osama bin Laden and the fundamentalist Taliban regime that shelters him."

Haydar Haydar's Arabic novel is powerful testament to failure of Arab nationalism and rise of Islamic fundamentalism. To order review in *WV* No. 770 (7 December 2001), send $.50 to Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

And then there's Washington's support and massive military aid to Zionist Israel, whose leaders now threaten a massacre of Palestinian Arabs. But Rushdie does not so much as mention this in his article! U.S. support to Israel's colonial-style occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is a major factor underlying the growth of fundamentalist groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad among the oppressed Palestinian people. Does anyone think that Palestinian youth are joining Hamas today simply out of loathing for Western music and sexual mores?!

At the same time, the main fundamentalist political-military organizations in the Near East—Al Qaeda, the Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, etc.—are fueled, so to speak, by oil money from the Saudi Arabian or Iranian governments and ruling elites, which are economically dependent on the Anglo-American oil cartel and the banks of Wall Street, the City of London, Frankfurt and Tokyo. It is the "godless materialism" of the West that provides the money for the clerics who denounce the "godless materialism" of the West as a threat to the "purity" of Islam.

At the most fundamental level, the evolution and structure of world capitalism has *arrested the development* of North Africa, the Near East and South Asia, thereby perpetuating the backward social and economic conditions that sustain Islamic traditionalism and have now given rise to militant fundamentalism. A 10 percent fall in the world market price of oil causes millions of people in Iran, Iraq, Yemen and elsewhere in the Near East to lose their livelihood, driving their families to the brink of starvation and causing their children to die of disease for lack of medical treatment.

For such people, religion—especially the belief in an afterlife—is a needed solace for the seemingly unchangeable miseries and horrors of their earthly life. As Karl Marx wrote in a famous passage:

> "*Religious* distress is at the same time the *expression* of real distress and also the *protest* against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people.
>
> "To abolish religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people is to demand their *real* happiness. The demand to give up illusions about the existing state of affairs is the *demand to give up a state of affairs which needs illusions*."
>
> —"Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" (1843)

And to eliminate that state of affairs requires a *socialist revolution* against capitalist imperialism.

Rushdie writes of the Islamic East as if a world capitalist economy doesn't exist. For decades, Saudi Arabia, with its huge oil reserves, has been, from an economic standpoint, America's most important client state in the Near East. The Arab engineers who oversee the Persian Gulf oil fields are trained at ExxonMobil, Chevron et al. The enormous wealth of the Saudi royal family (with its 700 princes) is managed by Western-educated financial technocrats whose careers include stints with J.P. Morgan, the Deutsche Bank or the IMF.

Osama bin Laden is not some Bedouin whose youth was spent tending camels in the Arabian desert. He is just as much a privileged product of modern globalized capitalism as George W. Bush. Both are scions of wealthy families in major oil-producing regions of the world, Saudi Arabia and Texas respectively. The men who handle the money for Al Qaeda or the Lebanese Hezbollah are more than competent to teach corporate finance at the Harvard Business School or London School of Economics.

The "Islamic revolution" in Iran that toppled the Shah in 1979 did *not* significantly change the *economic relationship* between that country and Western capitalism. The Iranian economy under Khomeini, despite his ranting against America as the "Great Satan," remained dependent on the export of oil purchased and distributed worldwide by Exxon, British Petroleum et al. The Shi'ite theocracy in Teheran along with the Wahabbi theocracy in Riyadh continued to attempt (though without much success) to manipulate the world market price of oil through OPEC. Iran today accounts for roughly 10 percent of world oil exports, about the same as it did under the pro-American regime of Shah Pahlevi.

For Rushdie, the cultural attitudes and values inculcated by Islam are the root of all evil in that part of the world where it is the prevalent religion:

> "Suppose we say that the ills of our societies are not primarily America's fault, that we are to blame for our own failings? How would we understand them then? Might we not, by accepting our own responsibility for our problems, begin to learn to solve them for ourselves?...
>
> "An Iraqi writer quotes an earlier Iraqi satirist: 'The disease that is in us, is from us.' A British Muslim writes, 'Islam has become its own enemy'."

Rushdie writes as if the countries of the Islamic East are the only impoverished and culturally backward parts of the world. Hardly. Is predominantly Hindu India, Rushdie's original homeland, more economically developed and culturally enlightened than Egypt or Iran? As Rushdie knows perfectly well, the British ruled India from the mid-18th to the mid-20th century. It was precisely during these two centuries that Britain was transformed (in part by plundering India) into an advanced industrial economy and a parliamentary democracy. India, however, remained benighted by the Hindu caste system, with such barbaric practices as *suttee* (the ritual burning alive of widows), and riven by murderous enmity—deliberately manipulated and aggravated by the British colonial rulers—between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. There is a deep causal connection between British colonialism and the present social, economic and cultural backwardness of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

And what of sub-Saharan Africa, the poorest and most economically backward region of the world? Does the basic cause of the untold human misery in Congo or Uganda lie in the traditional tribal cultures and animistic religions of the black African peoples? Such a view of black Africa was propagated for decades by the former white-supremacist regime in South Africa.

And how does one explain the vast socioeconomic gulf between the United States and Canada on the one side and the countries of Latin America on the other? Is the poverty and economic backwardness of the Dominican Republic or Peru rooted in the doctrines and cultural attitudes of Catholicism?

Der Spiegel

Bitter fruit of British colonialism: 1947 partition creating Hindu-dominated India and Islamic Pakistan triggered one of history's bloodiest communalist slaughters.

Wherein then lies the basic difference between the First World and the Third World? During the 19th century, industrial capitalism was pioneered and developed in West Europe and North America. The only non-European country which transformed itself from a feudal to an industrial capitalist economy was Japan in the latter part of the 19th century. By the beginning of the 20th century, the countries of North America, West Europe and Japan had amassed sufficient economic and military power to *subjugate and exploit* the rest of the world. Insofar as industrial development takes place in Third World countries, it does so under the domination of American, European or Japanese capital. Thus the current recession in the U.S.

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might be commuted, Cannon warned of the rulers' duplicity:

> "The rumor is being cautiously spread that the governor of Massachusetts, in whose hands the final decision on Sacco and Vanzetti is placed, may commute the sentence of death to one of life imprisonment. It is being spread so that the enemies of Sacco and Vanzetti may feel out the reaction to this prospect among the defenders of the two Italian rebels. They want to know if this splendid movement of solidarity, which has time and again struck heavy blows at the Massachusetts reaction, will allow itself to be dissolved with the bait of a commutation....
>
> "The workers who have thus far, by their power and solidarity, prevented the execution of the two rebels must continue their great fight with more consciousness and determination. The workers who have snatched Sacco and Vanzetti from the chair of death must snatch them from the cell of death by slow torture. No unfounded joy must dull the sharp edge of the movement. It must continue to fight forward with its million-armed power until this great issue is settled with a great victory.
>
> "The hearts of the Massachusetts executioners have not softened with kindness, and their desire to murder our comrades has not changed. On the contrary, they seek for new methods of torment. The working class must reply:
>
> "Not the chair of death, but life for Sacco and Vanzetti!
>
> "Not imprisonment of death, but freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti!"
>
> —"Death, Commutation or Freedom," *Labor Defender* (July 1927)

Don't let them bury Mumia alive! Workers, minorities and all opponents of racist capitalist repression must now redouble their efforts to mobilize mass protests centered on the social power of the labor movement to demand Jamal's immediate freedom.

* * *

We are here as part of the fight to free a courageous fighter for the oppressed—Mumia Abu-Jamal. From the time he was 14 years old, protesting a presidential campaign rally for Alabama's segregationist governor George Wallace, Mumia has fought relentlessly for the poor, oppressed and disenfranchised. After more than a decade of surveillance and harassment, Jamal was sentenced to death in 1982 on manufactured charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer.

At trial he faced the notorious judge Albert Sabo, known as the "king of death row" and a "prosecutor in black robes." It was recently revealed that Sabo promised to help "fry" Mumia, using the "N" word to describe his anticipated victim. Jamal faced a D.A.'s office which trained its attorneys to kick black people off juries; he faced a prosecuting attorney experienced in the art of frame-up who cited Mumia's background as a Black Panther as grounds for a death sentence. Denied the right to represent himself, Jamal went up against the state with a lawyer he didn't want—and who wanted him even less.

WV Photo

Worthington/Toronto Sun

Victims of state frame-up machine: Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) spent 27 years in prison. American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier still imprisoned after 25 years.

From Mexico City to Johannesburg, workers who daily experience grinding exploitation and brutality have taken to the streets in Mumia's defense to demand the freedom of a man whose struggle mirrors their own. But a host of Jamal's professed "socialist" defenders in this country have demobilized and demoralized Jamal's supporters by promoting illusions in the capitalist courts and tethering Jamal's struggle to Democratic Party politicians—what they call "the mainstream." These capitalist politicians have no interest in seeing Jamal walk out of prison a free man but only in preserving the integrity of their justice system.

We take to heart lessons passed down by our forebears, such as James P. Cannon, founder of the early Communist Party's International Labor Defense, which organized massive protests for Sacco and Vanzetti. As the American bourgeoisie was putting the finishing touches on its plans to execute these courageous anarchist workers, Cannon warned: "Put no faith in capitalist justice! Organize the protest movement on a wider scale and with a more determined spirit! Demonstrate and Strike for Sacco and Vanzetti!" This is no less urgent now in the fight for Mumia's freedom.

Capitalism Is a System of Brutal Repression

On August 17, Jamal's new attorneys—Marlene Kamish, Eliot Grossman and British barrister Nicholas Brown—appeared before Pennsylvania state judge Pamela Dembe in an effort to present dramatic new evidence of Jamal's innocence, centered on the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981. One month earlier, William Yohn, the U.S. district court judge deciding Mumia's *habeas corpus* appeal, ruled in effect that a court of law is no place for evidence of Jamal's innocence! Yohn went a step further, gratuitously advising his Pennsylvania court colleague Dembe to do the same.

Beverly's confession stated: "I was hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner. I had heard that Faulkner was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area..., I shot Faulkner in the face at close range. Jamal was shot shortly after that by a uniformed police officer who arrived on the scene."

Mumia's innocence has been evident from the outset. We have repeatedly exposed the D.A.'s case, which rested on three legs: eyewitness accounts that were secured through police manipulation, coercion and outright terror; a purported "confession" by Jamal while he was lying near death in the hospital, which didn't surface until two months after the killing; ballistics "evidence" concocted by the police that the bullets that killed Faulkner were fired from Jamal's gun. The Post-Conviction Relief appeal filed by Jamal's attorneys in Pennsylvania state court on July 3 demolished every last vestige of the discredited "three legs."

Jamal's new legal team was assembled after he fired his lead counsel Leonard Weinglass and assistant counsel Daniel Williams when he learned of the lying contents of a so-called "inside account" Williams was preparing to publish, aptly titled *Executing Justice*. In a chapter of his book, "Fighting Ideology," Williams denigrates the Beverly confession as "bona fide lunacy," "patently outrageous" and "absurd." Pages of this section have been quoted by the prosecutors as their central argument for barring Beverly's confession and other new evidence from being heard in court. Williams and Weinglass had been aware of Beverly's confession since 1999. Outrageously, they fought to bury it and the volumes of corroborating evidence.

Williams' central premise is that the cops never could, never would, knowingly frame up an innocent man. But as any inner-city resident—actually, as any reader of daily newspapers—can tell you, cop corruption, murder and frame-up is a fact of life. In Philadelphia hundreds of convictions based on concocted evidence, coerced confessions, police torture and manipulation of witnesses have been thrown out in the last several years. Most notorious was the case of a 53-year-old black grandmother, Betty Patterson, who the cops set up on charges of drug dealing in order to manufacture evidence against her sons in a murder investigation.

The history of American bourgeois justice *is* a history of the frame-ups, imprisonment and execution of labor militants, black activists and partisans of the oppressed. That's a fact!

- ***The Haymarket Martyrs***: Anarchists and labor organizers of the protests for an eight-hour workday in 1886—executed in Chicago. *Innocent!*
- ***Jae Hill***: IWW organizer legally murdered by a Utah firing squad in 1915. *Innocent!*
- ***Sacco and Vanzetti***: Anarchist workers framed for a murder during a bank robbery and executed in 1927—rounded up as part of the anti-red anti-immigrant hysteria that followed the Bolshevik-led Russian workers revolution of October 1917. They were nowhere near the crime scene. *Innocent!*

Do you think it's "ancient history"?

- ***Black Panther leader Geranimo ji Jaga (Pratt)***: Before his release in 1995, 27 years in prison for a killing the government knew all along he didn't commit—they had wiretap logs showing he was 400 miles away. *Innocent!*
- ***Leonard Peltier***: This American Indian Movement leader has spent 25 years in federal prison on charges of killing two FBI agents during the government's brutal siege of the Pine Ridge reservation in 1975. Even the government attorneys conceded during one of Peltier's appeal hearings that they had no idea who shot the agents—but Peltier continues to rot in a prison hell which has stolen most of his eyesight and destroyed his health. *Innocent!*
- ***Black Panther, MOVE supparter and award-winning jaurnalist Mumia Abu-Jamal: Innocent!***

But what does the innocence of this man who has dedicated his life to the cause of black freedom mean to a ruling class whose hands are stained with the blood of over a million Iraqis killed by U.S. bombs and a starvation blockade, of thousands of Serbs and countless others—in U.S. cities and across the globe. The prosecutors and the capitalist rulers they represent want to inject Mumia with the same lethal dose which snuffed out the life of Shaka Sankofa (Gary Graham), also an innocent black man, at the height of George W. Bush's presidential campaign. They want to execute Jamal because they see in this black journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman a symbol of defiant opposition to their system of racial oppression. They want Mumia dead in

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Ligato/Philadelphia Bulletin

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia police raid on Black Panthers, 1970, part of FBI's murderous COINTELPRO operation. Jamal (above) as young Black Panther Party leader, targeted since age of 15 by Philly cops.

Mumia...

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order to send a chilling message to all those who challenge cop terror in the ghettos, who stand up for labor's rights on the picket lines, who protest U.S. imperialist mass murder abroad.

No Illusions in the Capitalist Courts!

The rulers put their machinery of state repression in high gear particularly if they sense any potential evidence of the explosive combination of black and red. This was expressed clearly by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, who announced in the 1960s: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries."

Mumia's role as an articulate young spokesman for the Panthers put him squarely in the sights of the Philly cops and the FBI. The FBI amassed at least 900 pages on Jamal in its COINTELPRO files. Jamal had been in the cross hairs as well of the Philadelphia Police Department's Civil Defense Squad, formed in the mid-1960s. He was placed under daily surveillance by the CD unit, which not only closely collaborated with the FBI, but also served as a model for the deadly FBI's COINTELPRO operation of disruption and provocation against the left which resulted in the murder of 38 Panthers around the country. Philadelphia's police commissioner and then mayor, Frank Rizzo, became an icon of racist "law and order" among cops nationwide, particularly for his attacks against the Black Panther Party.

Mumia survived the rulers' onslaught against the Panthers in the '60s and '70s. Unlike Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, Jamal wasn't assassinated in his sleep in the dead of night. But the Feds and Philly cops did not call off their vendetta against Mumia. They continued to hate him for his eloquent and impassioned defense of black rights, and particularly because he remained defiant and unbowed in the face of state repression and racist oppression. The drive to execute Mumia is the extension of the COINTELPRO terror campaign by the FBI. It is a demonstration of the machinery of repression wielded by the capitalist rulers against any perceived threat to a system based on the exploitation of the many by the few, which in the U.S. is rooted in the forcible subjugation of the black population at the bottom of society.

Working-class militants, fighters for black freedom and leftist youth who have enlisted in Mumia's cause must learn the lessons paid for in blood in the struggles of the past. In particular they can learn from the writings of James P. Cannon. In his 1927 article "Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?" Cannon laid out the counterposition between liberal appeals and the principles of non-sectarian class-struggle defense on which the Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—bases itself:

> "One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale....
>
> "The other policy is the policy of 'respectability,' of the 'soft pedal' and of ridiculous illusions about 'justice' from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle.... It tries to represent the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti as an 'unfortunate' error which can be rectified by the 'right' people proceeding in the 'right way'."

William Loren Katz Collection

1917 march in New York City protested national wave of lynchings by race-terrorist Ku Klux Klan.

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

When Timothy McVeigh was put to death in June, the federal government carried out its first execution in 38 years. This unrepentant mass murderer was a perfect model for the re-imposition of federal executions, especially at a time when reservations about capital punishment have become increasingly prominent. One week later a more representative example of those on the government's hit list—one of the 80 percent of those on federal death row who is black or Hispanic—Juan Paul Garza was executed. In a statement issued on June 5, the PDC protested the executions of McVeigh and Garza, stating:

> "We recoil at this spectacle of vengeful, state-sanctioned murder. Capital punishment is a barbaric legacy of medieval torture, and in the U.S. of black chattel slavery. It is a system of legal murder that reinforces the brutalization of society in all respects. We oppose the death penalty on principle—for the guilty as well as the innocent."

In the U.S., where the decaying capitalist system offers no future to millions of inner-city youth, the death penalty, the mass incarceration of black men and the elimination of welfare speak to the bourgeoisie's impulse to genocide. For more than a decade, Democrats and Republicans did everything in their power to increase the number of victims and speed the pace of state-sanctioned murder. *Habeas corpus* was virtually eliminated and death penalty appeals were hastened with Clinton's 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act. Funds to defenders' offices dedicated to poor people charged with capital crimes were slashed, leaving many defendants stuck with such representation as lawyers who sleep through trials, who are drunken KKK kleagles, and even lawyers who brag about how many clients they sent to the death chamber. Clinton's 1996 federal crime bill, which expanded by dozens the offenses punishable by death, included imposing the death penalty in states that had rejected it. Bush's attorney general, John Ashcroft, an open supporter of the Confederacy, made this explicit, promising that the Feds are going to aggressively seek death sentences in those states. This recalls the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 which extended the reach of the slave-owners into the "free states" of the North.

Confronted almost weekly with exposures of innocent frame-up victims, public support for capital punishment, although still a majority, has significantly waned over the past two years. In January 2000, after the thirteenth case came to light of a death row inmate in his state who had been falsely convicted, Illinois' Republican governor, George Ryan, decreed a moratorium on executions pending review of death penalty procedures. Other municipalities have followed suit. Even nine cities and towns in North Carolina, in the heart of the old Confederacy, have passed nonbinding resolutions for a moratorium. However brief the Illinois moratorium may be, and whatever reasons the Illinois state authorities had for its institution, a curtailment of state-sanctioned murder is something Marxists welcome. But we also recognize that it does not change the fundamentally racist and oppressive nature of bourgeois class rule.

Some liberal bourgeois politicians, most notably Jesse Jackson, have pushed "life without parole"—i.e., a living death—as an alternative, portraying the death penalty as "ineffective" and too costly. At the same time, reformist groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and its Campaign to End the Death Penalty have built platforms for Chicago Democratic Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr., and his call for a nationwide moratorium on executions. The ISO's entire strategy is premised on appealing to the capitalist state and its representatives for justice. Cravenly, Campaign spokesman Alice Kim pleaded with Clinton last year: "Have a heart this Valentine's Day...Stop all federal executions!"

We don't play that game—our starting point is not what is the most effective means for the capitalist rulers to repress those they exploit. We seek to explain the true nature of the capitalist state—at its core made up of the cops, military, prosecutors and courts—as an instrument to protect the property, profits and class rule of the handful of capitalists against the working class and oppressed. We fight to bring to the working class an understanding of the class-struggle methods by which they can organize to fight. Our purpose is to imbue the proletariat with the understanding that the capitalist state must be smashed through socialist revolution and replaced with a workers state.

For the most part, as a recent *Wall Street Journal* (22 May 2001) article points out, the debate today isn't primarily about ***whether*** capital punishment should exist, but how it's applied in practice. "Opponents want stronger safeguards because it will mean fewer executions. Supporters will tolerate fewer executions as a means of stemming the erosion of public confidence in the death penalty."

Behind this is the worry by a section of the bourgeoisie that the high-profile exposures of a series of bogus death row convictions will undermine the "authority" of the state's killing machine. In early July, Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor conceded to a group of women lawyers in Minneapolis that the U.S. "may well be allowing some innocent defendants to be executed." Noting that Minnesota has no death penalty, O'Connor told them, "You must breathe a big sigh of relief every day." A few weeks after her speech O'Connor voted to uphold the execution of Napoleon Beazley, a 25-year-old black man convicted of killing oilman John Luttig during a carjacking when he was 17. Luttig's son, an appellate judge in Texas and a vocal advocate of the death penalty, assisted the prosecution in securing an all-white jury—including an outspoken white-supremacist and the president of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Of course, the concerns voiced by the capitalist rulers are laced with a heavy dose of hypocrisy. Oklahoma governor Keating proposed that the courts use a standard of proof more rigorous than "beyond a reasonable doubt" in capital cases, pontificating, "the people now expect moral certainty." That hasn't stopped Keating from ordering more executions this year than even Texas.

The ISO's Campaign to End the Death Penalty adapts to bourgeois liberals by subordinating the call for abolishing capital punishment to calling for "moratorium now, abolition next." But one doesn't necessarily follow the other. Britain's conservative news magazine the *Economist* perceptively pointed out, "Such reform could drive a stake through the heart of the abolitionist movement. The more the public becomes convinced that every person who sits on death row is guilty, the less of a groundswell there will be for ending capital punishment."

There have been prior moratoriums in American history. Between 1907 and 1917 nine states either abolished or severely restricted the death penalty and other states saw a sharp drop in executions. But corresponding to the anti-immigrant hysteria during the "Red scare" which followed the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, five of those nine states restored the death penalty. In the 1920s, the American capitalist state, fearing that the black masses were "seeing red"—the words they used to describe popular black support for the Russian Revolution—constructed a deadly apparatus of political repression. This vast

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Powerless at the Post Office

In the wake of the mid-October 2001 Anthrax scare, the imagery of Congressional members and staffers fleeing their Washington offices and chambers spoke volumes about the power of fear that motivates human conduct. This was quickly reinforced by the almost unprecedented evacuation of the august Supreme Court as word leaked out of the suspected presence of Anthrax spores at an off-site mail facility that serviced the nation's highest judicial body.

The evacuation of Capitol Hill and the Supreme Court building brought an eerie silence to an area that was long unaccustomed to such a hush, save on national holidays, weekends or seasonal vacations.

What it also revealed was the power of the powerful to protect their interests, no matter how infinitesimal the threat, while relegating those perceived to be lower on the food chain to the possible exposure of a significantly greater threat. For although no traces of Anthrax were found in the offices or mail rooms of the House of Representatives, both Senators and Representatives closed up shop, and left.

Postal workers, however, perhaps closest to the contaminating agent, worked on, blissfully unaware of, and uninformed of, the real and deadly risks facing them.

Neither were they tested or given the long-term regimen of the antibiotic, Cipro, as were their Congressional colleagues.

Although some postal areas were cleaned and detoxified the rank-and-file postal employees weren't informed of the results of any testing done in their work areas.

Such clearly disparate responses and treatment has left postal workers feeling like the low men (and women) on the totem pole; thus, angry, resentful and scared.

It is perhaps impolite to point out the obvious, but an undeniable truth emerges from the varied responses to the Anthrax scare; many, if not most, postal employees are black and of Latin origin. By contrast, postmen cannot strike.

Imagine their fears multiplied tenfold when a postman died, but his 911 call recording remained to broadcast his fears:

> 911 Operator: What's the problem?
> Mr. Thomas L. Morris: My breathing is very, very labored.
> Q: How old are you?
> A: I'm 55. Ah, I don't know if I have been, but I suspect that I might have been exposed to Anthrax.
> Q: You know when or what—
> A: Ah, it was last what, last Saturday, a week ago last Saturday [Oct. 13] morning at work. I work for the Postal Service, I've been to the doctor. I went to the doctor Thursday. He took a culture but he never got back to me with the results. I guess there was some hangup over the weekend. I'm not sure. But in the meantime, I went through achiness and headachiness. This started Tuesday. Now I'm having difficulty breathing. And just to move any distance I feel like I'm going to pass out.... It was—a woman found the envelope and I was in the vicinity. It had powder in it. They never let us know whether that thing had—was Anthrax or not. They never treated the people who were around this particular individual and the supervisor who handled the envelope. So I don't know if it is or not. I'm just—I've never been able to find out. I've been calling. But the symptoms that I've had are what was described to me in a letter that they put out almost to the T.... The doctor thought that it was just a virus or something.... [fr. 911 call, Oct. 21, 2001]

Thomas L. Morris, his words an eerie electronic echo from the grave, spoke in ways that resonated deeply with his fellow postal employees when he expressed his feelings about USPS management: "...I have a tendency not to believe these people."

Members of the New York Metro Area Postal Union sued in Federal Court to force the Postal Service to fully clean, detoxify, and close the Morgan postal facility in Manhattan until this could be assured. The U.S. District Court denied the injunction, saying postal workers had not "demonstrated that there is a likelihood of irreparable harm." By noting that the Morgan facility was the busiest in Manhattan, the court seemed to be balancing the harms to both sides. In reality it was a balancing of power, for although the union is vast it is forbidden by law to strike. And a union unable to withdraw its labor lacks a powerful tool.

Distrustful, and largely unheralded, they wait for another deadly shoe to drop.

29 November 2001

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Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal," to: Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Labor Defender

Mass mobilizations were key in saving the nine youths framed up in 1930s Scottsboro case from legal lynching.

army of spies and informers, local police "red squads," and a system of wiretaps and mail interceptions was later deployed by Hoover's FBI in the '60s. (For more on state activities against black militants following the 1917 Russian Revolution, see "The Russian Revolution and the Black Freedom Struggle," *WV* No. 751, 2 February 2001.)

In 1967, as a result of the mass civil rights movement and protests against the U.S.'s dirty, losing imperialist war in Vietnam, the capitalist rulers felt compelled to put the death penalty on hold. Five years later the court ruled that the death penalty was "wanton and freakish" and ordered the states to rewrite their laws. By 1976 the protest marches had stopped, and the same court gave the green light to resume executions. Nearly 600 people have been legally murdered since.

Amid growing apprehension about capital punishment, the American rulers' killing machine plugs on with its dirty business. Bush, who in his six years as governor of Texas carried out over 150 executions—one every two weeks—went ahead with the Garza execution despite charges of racial disparities in meting out death sentences. And figure this out: with 14 blacks and two Hispanics on federal death row compared to three whites, Attorney General Ashcroft declared that it was white people who were more likely to be targeted under federal laws!

American Capitalism and Black Oppression

The U.S. and Japan are the only advanced capitalist countries to retain the death penalty. In Japan it is used infrequently, although quite sadistically. No advance notice is given. One day the victim is taken from his cell and his life is terminated. Weeks later his family is sent a letter informing them that their loved one is no more.

The recent spotlight on capital punishment in the U.S. was a bit more luminous this spring, when Bush made his first trip to Europe. Stung by the contempt the Bush administration has shown its imperialist competitors/allies—like the about-face on the Kyoto accords and U.S. plans for a missile shield program, for example—the Europeans eagerly, and accurately, portrayed Bush as an ignorant, bloodthirsty, spoiled frat boy. The European powers were relishing the opportunity to posture as more civilized than crude Americans.

The U.S. ruling class *is barbaric* and the greatest enemy of the world's working people. However, this doesn't mean that the European imperialists treat their exploited and oppressed any less brutally. The horrendous crimes committed by the French, British and other imperialist powers against their colonial vassals and working masses are not merely subjects for history books. Citizenship rights for those second and third generations born in these imperialist countries has long been denied. Today, faced with a growing pool of ethnic minorities, these powers have stepped up deportations and increased brutal attacks on immigrants and asylum-seekers.

Witness the attacks in Britain on the brutally impoverished and oppressed immigrant communities in Oldham, Bradford and Burnley in the last few months. Across the Channel in France the cops have carried out a systematic campaign of terror against the North African ghettos surrounding every major French city. In Sweden, a place social democrats like to point to as some sort of socialist paradise, cops opened fire with live ammunition against anti-globalization protesters in June. In late July outside the G-8 meetings in Genoa, Italian cops killed protester Carlo Giuliani in cold blood and arrested hundreds, with many of them tortured. This is the real face of "civilized" capitalist Europe.

But if the death penalty stands at the pinnacle of a state apparatus whose purpose is to repress with force any threat to the capitalist social order, why have the European capitalist powers eliminated capital punishment and the U.S. hasn't? The central difference lies in the unique history of American capitalism—built on the unpaid labor of millions of chattel slaves. The origins of capital punishment in the U.S. are rooted in the Southern slave system which was smashed by the Civil War. Today 43 percent of those on death row are black—triple the representation of blacks in the general population.

In the infamous 1857 Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court announced that black people "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Exactly 130 years later, when black Georgian Warren McCleskey challenged his death sentence by presenting indisputable facts of the racist application of capital punishment in the U.S., the Supreme Court declared it to be an "inevitable part of our criminal justice system." The court rejected McCleskey's appeal, declaring that its premise "throws into serious question the principles that underlie our entire criminal justice system," including "the validity of capital punishment in our multiracial society." In their own legalese, the black-robed justices are confirming the old saying among black

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Mumia...

(continued from page 7)

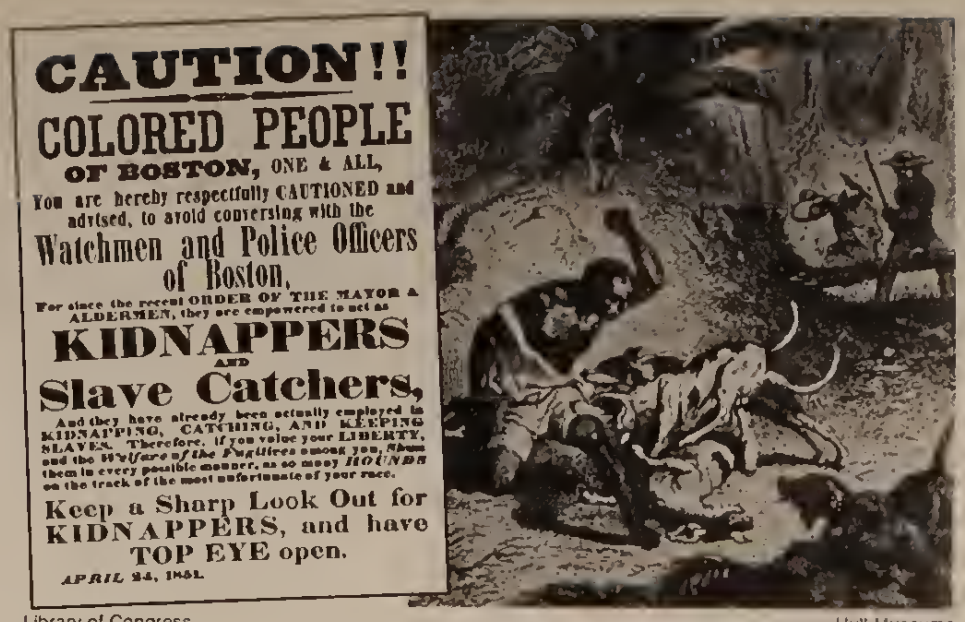
people: "They got the capital, we get the punishment."

The early Slave Codes defined the black slave as chattel—property—to be slaughtered with about the same "safeguards" as might befit a recalcitrant mule. Under the Southern slavocracy, special "Negro courts" were set up for slaves who, in the words of a South Carolina statute, could expect to be tried "in the most summary and expeditious manner" and executed by means "most effectual to deter others from offending in the like manner." Among the numerous crimes deemed capital offenses for slaves in every Southern state before the Civil War were rebellion and attempted rebellion. In Louisiana, death was mandated for a slave who struck his overseer or any member of the slaveowner's family, or for a third conviction for striking any white man.

The Civil War smashed the slave system and was the last great bourgeois-democratic revolution. The needs of the war, especially the recruitment of black soldiers into the Union Army to fight against the Confederacy, resulted in slavery's abolition and the consequent destruction of the old Southern plantation agricultural system. While many freed slaves fought to have the former plantations distributed to those who tilled them, the American bourgeoisie was not interested in a thoroughgoing social reconstruction of the South. Northern capitalists looked at the devastated South and saw opportunity—not for building radical democracy, but for profitably exploiting Southern resources and the freedmen. The Compromise of 1877, completing the withdrawal of the Union Army from the South, sealed this betrayal of black freedom.

A new system of racist exploitation was established through institutionalized repression of the freedmen's fight for land, education and civil rights. The former slaves became tenants and sharecroppers toiling on land owned by the white propertied class, made up of elements of the old slavocracy and a new Southern bourgeoisie with strong ties to Northern capital. A rigid system of legally enforced segregation called Jim Crow was imposed and maintained by KKK terror and police-state suppression of blacks and anti-racist whites. In 1896 the Supreme Court codified "separate but equal" segregation as the law of the land in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling.

At the heart of Jim Crow was lynch-law terror. From the late 1800s on, some 5,000 or more people were killed by lynch mobs. In the 1890s, as the Jim Crow regimes consolidated in the South, there were at least 1,540 lynchings—one every other day for ten years. The anti-lynching campaign initiated by courageous black journalist Ida B. Wells simply fought to get blacks charged with crimes into the courtroom. To the extent this happened, legal lynchings largely supplanted the extralegal ones. By the 1930s, mob lynchings had nearly ceased—replaced by the perfunctory death penalty trial. More than 1,600 people were executed during the 1930s alone—more than one every other day for ten years. Between 1930 and 1967, black people accounted for more than two-thirds of all U.S. executions.



Library of Congress Hull Museums

Boston poster was part of abolitionist struggle against 1850 Fugitive Slave Law. Black soldiers were key to victory of Union Army over slavocracy in Civil War.

Library of Congress

The Scottsboro defendants—nine black youths who in 1931 were falsely charged with rape, tried and sentenced to death in Alabama in a matter of days—narrowly escaped being added to these statistics. While the NAACP did nothing initially, an international protest campaign led by the Communist Party's International Labor Defense threw a worldwide spotlight on the brutal oppression of black people in the South and saved their lives. The Scottsboro defendants got a retrial, and another, and still spent nearly two decades in the horrendous Alabama prisons.

A recent book, *Proximity to Death*, by historian William McFeeley, captures this American reality very well. McFeeley, an expert on the Civil War and the South, was asked by Stephen Bright of the Southern Center for Human Rights to testify for Carzell Moore, a black defendant in a death penalty appeal in Georgia. The purpose of his testimony was to demonstrate that a black man cannot even conceive of equal justice in a courtroom whose state flag bears the St. Andrew's cross of the Confederate battle flag.

McFeeley described the history of the adoption of the flag on February 9, 1956 as a symbol of opposition to the civil rights movement's efforts to integrate Georgia's schools. This came one day after the all-white General Assembly of Georgia passed a resolution of interposition, which called for nullifying not only the Fourteenth Amendment but also the Thirteenth which abolished slavery. On the witness stand, McFeeley described how during the Civil War the Confederate flag would be "run into battle, accompanied by the rebel yell." He continued: "It flew, as well, after the war when Klansmen rallied and rode to surround a Negro cabin. The whole black county knew the terror, when one black person was dragged out of the cabin and killed."

The Confederate flag stands for black enslavement and racist murder, KKK cross-burnings, the lynching of any who would fight for the rights of blacks and labor. It still flies in Georgia and other Southern states, including Mississippi which this past spring voted overwhelmingly to retain it. Everywhere it flies—from Southern state capitols to KKK and Nazi skinhead rallies—it is an incitement to racist terror. And as Carzell Moore's attorneys attempted to point out, it stands for racist terror and state-sanctioned murder inside the courts as well. To make the link between KKK terror and legal lynchings by the state, Bright's witnesses included a grand dragon of the Klan who described celebrations outside the Georgia Diagnostic and Classification Center—a nice Orwellian name for the home of Georgia's electric chair.

The massive expansion of the death penalty is only the tip of the iceberg of an all-sided intensification of capitalist state repression. America houses one-fourth of the world's prison population—and half of them are black. Behind it all is the deepening poverty of the ghetto masses and sharp attacks on the living standards of the working class. In the 1970s and 1980s industry was decimated, and for every place lost on the assembly line, one was added in the prisons. In the past year nearly a million manufacturing jobs were eliminated. With nothing to offer the masses of black poor and working people but ever greater degradation and immiseration, the capitalist ruling class is intent on extinguishing any sign of protest with brute force.

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Karl Marx captured a fundamental truth of American society when he wrote at the time of the Civil War, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." It took a bloody civil war to destroy the system of chattel slavery. But the promise of black freedom was betrayed. Black people who fled to Northern cities to escape brutal Jim Crow segregation in the South were integrated into the workforce at its bottom and forcibly segregated into inner-city ghettos. As the "last hired and first fired," the black population supplied, in Marx's words, a "reserve army of labor" for the American capitalists.

The color bar remains a fundamental dividing line in American society, a key prop for obscuring the irreconcilable *class* divide between labor and capital. The special oppression of black people as a race/color caste is the bedrock of American capitalism. At the same time, black workers are a strategic component of the multiracial proletariat in the U.S. Won to a revolutionary program, black workers will be the living link fusing the anger of the dispossessed ghetto masses with the social power of the working class. In fighting to mobilize labor in Jamal's behalf, we seek to win workers to the understanding that they cannot break the chains of exploitation as wage slaves of the capitalists without simultaneously combatting every manifestation of racial oppression.

Time is short and the stakes are high. There is much to be done—and much to be undone. The new evidence of Jamal's innocence is the truth. But in this capitalist system of injustice, truth alone will not set Jamal free. What's needed is social power. If labor's power is to be brought to bear in a mighty blow on Mumia's behalf, it must be mobilized independently of the very forces of the capitalist state that have worked for years to frame up and kill this innocent man. It is necessary to expose not only those like Weinglass and Williams who openly betray Jamal's cause but also the reformists who would subordinate his fight for freedom to appeals to liberal Democratic politicians and the capitalist courts. Above all, it is the trade-union bureaucracy that is an obstacle to labor flexing its muscle in struggle on behalf of all the oppressed; labor must break the chains forged by the union misleaders that have shackled the unions to the political parties and the state agencies of the enemy class.

We say: Free Mumia! That means mobilizing now the power of the multiracial working class, the workers who run the trains, make the cars, drive the trucks, lay the pipes—who produce the vast wealth of this society. Workers who by withholding their labor can choke off the lifeblood of this racist ruling class: capitalist profits.

The Spartacist League fights to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party, a Leninist tribune of the people. This is key to sweeping away this system based on exploitation and oppression and putting a final halt to the grisly workings of capitalism's machinery of death—be they the guardians of death row or the cops who operate as "judge, jury and executioner" in gunning down minority youth on the streets. To put an end to this racist killing machine of lynch ropes, gas chambers and lethal injections means getting rid of the racist capitalist system once and for all—through workers revolution. ■

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Miami Five...

(continued from page 2)

inform on the terrorist plans hatched against our people" (*Granma*, 20 June 2001). The defendants themselves proudly acknowledged their role in a message to the American people published in the same issue of *Granma*. They asserted that Cuba, which "has heroically survived four decades of aggressions and threats to its national security, of subversive plans, sabotages and destabilization, has every right to defend itself from its enemies who keep using the U.S. territory to plan, organize and finance terrorist actions." Adding that they were "in no way repentant of what we have done to defend our country," they stated: "We declare ourselves non guilty and simply take comfort in the fact that we have honored our duty to our people and our homeland."

During the trial, the defense called a retired U.S. Air Force colonel to the witness stand, who testified that National Security Agency records show that the Brothers to the Rescue planes were well inside Cuban airspace when they were shot down in 1996. This flatly contradicts Washington's claims that they were over international waters at the time. The defense also called Brothers to the Rescue leader José Basulto, who turned back his plane in 1996 and was not pursued by the Cuban air force. Basulto admitted under questioning that he "broadly supports exile groups bent on overthrowing Fidel Castro violently."

From the CIA-backed invasion at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, to the bombing of a Cubana airliner by U.S.-trained counterrevolutionaries which killed 73 people in 1976, to the ongoing starvation embargo, the American imperialists and their *gusano* creatures have not ceased in their attempts to overthrow the Cuban Revolution. As well as arresting the Miami Five, last fall the FBI imprisoned Ana Belen Montes, a senior U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency analyst, on charges of providing classified material to Havana. She is being held without bail and could face the death penalty if convicted.

The smashing of capitalist class rule and the creation of a workers state, albeit deformed under the rule of the Stalinist Castro bureaucracy, brought tremendous gains to the Cuban population, from free medical care to jobs, housing and education. It also delivered a huge blow to racist discrimination against black Cubans, who had been the lowest of the low under the mafia-infested Batista puppet regime.

The Bush administration's drive to destroy the Cuban Revolution carries forward that of successive U.S. regimes starting with the Kennedy Democrats, who imposed the economic embargo in 1962. We oppose the U.S. blockade against Cuba. But at the same time we warn that this will hardly put a stop to the efforts of the imperialists to penetrate Cuba with the aim of the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism. Indeed, a whole wing of the American ruling class argues for ending the embargo in order to flood the Cuban economy with dollars and strengthen the forces for counterrevolution from within.

Following the 1991-92 destruction of the Soviet Union, once Cuba's economic lifeline and chief international ally, the Castro regime has increasingly opened the country to imperialist economic penetration, thus far from Europe and also Canada. This has meant a big increase in inequality, notably for the black population. While standing forthrightly in defense of Cuba against imperialism and counterrevolution, we call for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, whose nationalist program of building "socialism in one country" has placed the gains of the Cuban Revolution in mortal danger. Crucial to the defense of the Cuban Revolution is the struggle for proletarian power throughout Latin America and beyond, especially in the belly of the American imperialist beast.

The railroading of the Miami Five comes in the context of U.S. imperialism's "war on terror," which has seen more than a thousand people, chiefly Muslims, thrown in jail, with only a handful even being charged. The "anti-terror" campaign is being used to strengthen the forces of state repression, including even broader powers for the FBI to conduct break-ins, electronic eavesdropping and other hitherto "illegal" activities. Now, the Bush administration has declared that it is planning to hold prisoners from its war against Afghanistan at the naval base it continues to maintain at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba, while sending in an additional 2,500 American troops. ***U.S. out of Guantónomo now!***

In defending the Miami Five, we take a stand in defense of democratic rights at home and of the gains of the Cuban Revolution against the predations of U.S. imperialism. These are both crucial aspects of our fight to forge a revolutionary workers party that can lead the American proletariat to victory. ■

IG...

(continued from page 3)

Gorbachev, trying to placate the imperialists, pulled the Red Army out of Afghanistan in 1989, this was not only a deadly betrayal of Afghan women but a direct precursor to capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself.

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union in 1991-92 was a world-historic defeat for the international working class. In East Europe and the former Soviet Union, capitalist counterrevolution has brought an unparalleled plunge into mass immiseration, disease and fratricidal nationalist bloodletting. It also brought about a much more dangerous world. Without the counterweight of the Soviet Union, the U.S. imperialists have since been riding high in the saddle as the "world's only superpower," waging terror wars from Iraq to the Balkans to Afghanistan. The domestic price being paid for the imperialists' victory in the Cold War is the all-sided class war against the working class, immigrants, blacks and the poor, which has been dramatically ratcheted up with the imperialists' "war on terror."

IG Deep-Sixes Red Army

Those self-professed "Marxists," like the ISO and most of the rest of the fake left, who stood on the side of imperialism and its Frankenstein monsters in Afghanistan should be scathingly exposed as nothing other than reformist servants of the capitalist order. That is exactly what we did in our speeches, propaganda and placards at the Hunter protest. An understanding of the dearly bought lessons of the past is crucial to the consciousness that is necessary if the proletariat is to be mobilized in the struggle to shatter the rule of capitalist imperialism. For revolutionary Marxists, polemical combat against the various reformists and renegades who make pretensions to Marxism is critical to breaking the false consciousness that serves to tie the working class to its "own" bourgeoisie.

Not so for the IG. Whatever they may on occasion write in their propaganda stands in sharp contrast to their efforts to conciliate the reformists, liberals and others on the ground. In his speech to the protest, the IG's "commander in chief" Norden lamely declared: "We fought against the Taliban, we fought against the Islamic fundamentalists when the United States was pushing them." Completely eliminated was any mention of the Red Army intervention or that the "we" was the Spartacist League, of which Norden was a member at the time. And *we* stood with the Red Army against imperialism as part of our unflagging commitment to the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union.

What was left out of Norden's speech was hardly an oversight. Not one of the IG's placards, not one of their speakers and none of the propaganda they produced for the Hunter protest said a word about the Red Army or the Russian question. Subsequently, an entire *32-page* IG pamphlet (December 2001) devoted to the CUNY protest went so far as to edit out any reference to the Soviet intervention in the SL speech at the rally and completely eliminated the SYC speaker.

Obviously the IG did not want to offend those like the ISO, the League for the Revolutionary Party or the Revolutionary Communist Party who had endorsed and attended the rally and who to a man were on the imperialist side against the Red Army in Afghanistan. Here is a textbook example of what Trotsky spoke to in his article "Centrism and the Fourth International" (*Writings*, 22 February 1934): "A centrist always remains in spiritual dependence on rightist groupings and is inclined to cringe before those who are more moderate, to remain silent on their opportunist sins and to color their actions before the workers." As Trotsky also noted, the centrist—revolutionary in words, reformist in deeds—seeks to cover his tracks by reserving his polemical fire for the Bolshevik-Leninists. This, too, aptly characterizes the IG which, while not wanting to remind the reformists of their criminal embrace of the aims of the imperialist rulers, deliberately lies that the Spartacist League capitulates to jingoist warmongering in the U.S.

This is for the benefit of distant cyberspace audiences who cannot ascertain the truth on the ground. The IG's utter silence in front of several hundred protesters at Hunter College on the force that could have defeated the forces backed by U.S. imperialism in Afghanistan—the Soviet Red Army—certainly demonstrates that its oh-so-revolutionary calls for the defeat of U.S. imperialism is so much hot air.

In attacking our propaganda on the U.S. war against Afghanistan, the IG's *Internationalist* No. 12 (Fall 2001) fulminates against our call for "Class Struggle Against Capitalist Rulers at Home," declaring that the "emphasis on 'at home' is counterposed to the call to defeat the imperialists *abroad*." But the IG's call to "Defeat U.S. Imperialism" in its war against Afghanistan is nothing more than empty rhetoric. The notion that the world's most powerful imperialist country was going to be defeated at the hands of tribal forces in one of the world's most backward countries is truly deranged. The easy win for the U.S. in Afghanistan demonstrated that the Taliban was a creature of Pakistani intelligence services, with no base of local support. And while dispatching Special Forces to track down bin Laden, U.S. imperialism is not interested in a large-scale deployment of American ground troops in Afghanistan. Indeed, the international "peacekeeping" force has British, French, Italian, Spanish, Turkish and other troops, but not an American among them.

The IG's elevation of military struggle against imperialism over and above the political struggle to mobilize the proletariat to smash imperialism *from within* is simply a measure of its despair in the revolutionary capacity of the working class. Norden has always had proclivities toward a fatuous optimism about the capacity of forces very distant from Trotskyism, or the proletariat for that matter, to "struggle" in some successful measure against the depredations of U.S. imperialism. Correspondingly, this means seriously downplaying the crucial and related factors of political consciousness and material economic reality.

The slogans used by the revolutionary party to lead the working masses to the seizure of state power are necessarily conjunctural. In 1941, when James P. Cannon, leader of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and 27 other Trotskyists and Minneapolis Teamsters leaders were tried for their opposition to U.S. imperialism in World War II, an ultraleft critic in the Fourth International, Grandizo Munis, chastised Cannon for not stressing during his trial the need for the "organized violence of the poor masses." Cannon replied that it was foolish to engage in such phrasemongering. Noting that the SWP was still a small party whose task was to organize the proletarian masses to carry out a revolution, he referred to Bolshevik leader Lenin's writings in May 1917. Having already won the Bolshevik Party leadership to the perspective of "All Power to the Soviets!" and no support to the bourgeois Provisional Government, which was in power following the fall of the tsar in February, Lenin argued that this did not mean that the Bolsheviks should immediately raise the slogan "Down with the Provisional Government!" He wrote that since the Bolsheviks were still a minority in the working class, "such a slogan is either an empty phrase, or, objectively, amounts to attempts of an adventurist character."

Today, the IG hotly denies that there has been any retrogression in class consciousness following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. But they themselves are the product of a climate in which it is preached that the theory and program of Marxism have proved to be a "failed experiment." The IG's politics are those of accommodation to the existing consciousness, trying to give a "progressive" veneer to all manner of alien class forces and retrograde ideologies. Our politics serve a different purpose. As we wrote in our leaflet for the Hunter demonstration: "Unlike the revolutionary phrasemongers of the IG, we fight to awaken class combativity in the proletariat, and through patient education and in the course of class struggle to imbue the working class with revolutionary class consciousness." In its own way, the very existence of the IG as "death of communism" centrists underlines the vital necessity of this task, including and especially polemical combat to remove the obstacles on the road to the successful seizure of state power through proletarian socialist revolution. ■

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Argentina...

(continued from page 1)

the heightened interimperialist rivalries that have come in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the U.S. has sought to extend its NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico throughout all of Latin America under the proposed Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA).

As proletarian revolutionaries in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast, the Spartacist League/U.S. fights to mobilize the social power of the proletariat to shatter the rule of American imperialism from within. The pro-imperialist AFL-CIO trade-union bureaucrats who for decades have done the bidding of U.S. imperialism in its war on the workers and oppressed of Latin America now push the chauvinist poison of protectionism against these workers. Breaking the chains, forged by the labor tops, that shackle the proletariat in the U.S. to its "own" ruling class is central to a revolutionary perspective throughout the hemisphere. Down with NAFTA and the FTAA! For socialist revolution throughout the Americas!

AP

Trade union demonstration in Buenos Aires, August 2001, demands unemployment benefits. Powerful Argentine proletariat is shackled to bourgeois state by Peronist labor tops.

Argentine Capitalism at a Dead End

Argentina was long one of the most economically and socially advanced countries in the former colonial world. Having substantial natural resources and a highly educated workforce, and free of the leaden weight of pre-capitalist remnants such as a large peasantry, by 1930 it had far outdistanced the rest of Latin America in per capita income and wage levels. The urban working class enjoyed a living standard superior in some respects to that of most workers in continental Europe. By 1945, as it grew wealthy from selling food to the imperialist armies in World War II, Argentina had about the same per capita income as Canada. Now the average Argentinean earns *one sixth* as much as the average Canadian.

The country's current prostration provides a vivid illustration of one of the central premises of the theory of permanent revolution elaborated by revolutionary Marxist leader Leon Trotsky: that the bourgeoisies of the dependent capitalist countries are too weak and beholden to imperialism and too fearful of the power of the proletariat to be able to break the yoke of imperialist domination. The forms of bourgeois rule in Argentina have run the gamut: from laissez-faire liberalism (the age of the agrarian bourgeois *estancieros* and British-dominated export economy in the early 20th century), to bourgeois nationalism and state-sponsored industrial development behind protectionist barriers (Peronism in the 1940s and '50s), to unbridled imperialist domination under the recent neoliberal regimes. And this has been the case under both the trappings of bourgeois democracy and the jackboot of military rule.

With the destruction of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War configurations, the minimal autonomy that the Argentine ruling class thought it possessed—as displayed, for example, during the Malvinas/Falklands War with Britain—has evaporated. There is no way to break out of the cycle of crises, coups and state repression which has been the lot of Argentina since at least the 1930s short of a successful proletarian struggle for state power. The tasks of the proletariat in Argentina cannot be separated from those of the working class in the rest of Latin America. Elaborating on the perspective of permanent revolution in the region, Trotsky wrote:

> "The theses of the Fourth International state:
>
> "'South and Central America will be able to tear themselves out of backwardness and enslavement only by uniting all their states in one powerful federation. But it is not the belated South American bourgeoisie, a thoroughly venal agency of foreign imperialism, who will be called upon to solve this task, but the young South American proletariat, the chosen leader of the oppressed masses. The slogan in the struggle against violence and intrigues of world imperialism and against the bloody work of native comprador cliques is therefore: the *Soviet United States of South and Central America*'."

Trotsky continued:

> "Only under its own revolutionary direction is the proletariat of the colonies and the semicolonies capable of achieving invincible collaboration with the proletariat of the metropolitan centers, and with the world working class as a whole. Only this collaboration can lead the oppressed peoples to complete and final emancipation, through the overthrow of imperialism the world over."
>
> —"Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution," May 1940

IMF Starvation Austerity Enrages Argentine Masses

For more than a decade, Washington and the IMF touted Argentina as a prime example of a "fiscally responsible emerging economy." In turn, Argentina has been a staunch ally of U.S. imperialism, most recently pledging to send 800 "peacekeeping" troops to aid the U.S. war in Afghanistan. But now the country is bankrupt and in turmoil (and the troops are staying home).

In a 1 January *New York Times* op-ed piece titled "Crying With Argentina," columnist Paul Krugman wrote:

> "Argentina, more than any other developing country, bought into the promises of U.S.-promoted 'neoliberalism' (that's liberal as in free markets, not as in Ted Kennedy). Tariffs were slashed, state enterprises were privatized, multinational corporations were welcomed, and the peso was pegged to the dollar. Wall Street cheered, and money poured in: for a while, free-market economics seemed vindicated, and its advocates weren't shy about claiming credit. Then things began to fall apart....
>
> "Now Argentina is in utter chaos—some observers are even likening it to the Weimar Republic. And Latin Americans do not regard the United States as an innocent bystander."

So tightly tied to the fortunes of the American dollar, the Argentine economy was severely damaged by the U.S. financial/economic boom of the mid-late '90s. This saw capitalist investors worldwide flood into the Wall Street bull market, causing the value of the dollar to rise sharply in relation to nearly every other currency...except Argentina's. The Argentine peso—and thus the price of Argentine goods on the world market—also rose sharply compared to almost all other countries, including its main trading partner, Brazil. This made Argentine goods uncompetitive and produced mounting balance-of-trade deficits. The normal capitalist market mechanism to redress this would be currency depreciation, which reduces the world market price of exports and increases the domestic price of imports. But in an attempt to stabilize the economy, the Argentine government and many large businesses had denominated most of their new bond issues in dollars, so any peso devaluation would have proportionately increased Argentina's debt.

Thus the country slid into a deep recession four years ago, well before the current worldwide slump. Layoffs and plant closures grew by the month. By July of last year, the economy was collapsing at an annual rate of 11 percent and the masses were desperate. But the U.S. made clear that it expected all the loans negotiated by the Menem and de la Rúa regimes to be repaid with interest. In August, Washington put together an "emergency rescue package" through the IMF—not to bail out Argentina, but to bail out the Wall Street banks that hold Argentine government (and private) bonds. As usual, this involved harsh austerity conditions, including a suspension of the social security system. But the workers and poor, together with an increasingly impoverished middle class, were not willing to take any more and took to the streets in protest. The IMF's response was to freeze $1.3 billion in aid early last month, whereupon the government stole $700 million from the government workers' pension funds to pay the interest on the debt. All this led to the yet broader protests that brought down the de la Rúa government.

The situation cries out for the *repudiation of the foreign debt*, which for decades has lined the imperialists' coffers at the expense of Argentina's workers. But no capitalist Argentine government would take such a step, since this would bring down unremitting hostility from its imperialist patrons and undermine the whole basis of its rule. IMF spokesmen now claim that whatever the government does, it will take a further cut of 30 percent in real wages, plus another five to ten years of recession, for Argentina to become internationally competitive!

Keystone

Argentine strongman Juan Perón, 1952.

From the bourgeoisie's class standpoint, it is hard to see *any* regime short of a military dictatorship being able to enforce such gouging austerity against an already enraged population. Yet any move toward a military coup would be met by immense opposition from a population which remembers vividly the last army dictatorship, whose brutal rule ended only after its ignominious defeat in the 1982 Malvinas/Falklands War.

Since 1977, protesting mothers have been meeting at the Plaza de Mayo every week to memorialize the thousands killed and "disappeared" by the military government, which worked closely with the CIA against leftist insurgencies throughout Latin America. The mothers were in the forefront of the huge December 19-20 anti-government protests, where demonstrators chanted, "*Madres de la Plaza, el pueblo las abraza!*" ("Mothers of the Plaza, the people embrace you!").

Peronism: Deadly Trap for the Workers

To try to control the upsurge, the Argentine bourgeoisie has turned, for now, to the Peronists, specifically the

Rushdie...

(continued from page 4)

and the even sharper economic downslide in Japan are devastating the economies of South Korea, Thailand and the rest of capitalist East Asia.

To recognize that the fundamental responsibility of Western (and Japanese) imperialism for the economic impoverishment and cultural backwardness of the Third World does *not* exculpate (to use Rushdie's term) the indigenous ruling classes of these countries. Quite the contrary. All of the ruling groups in the Near East, whether Islamic traditionalists or modernizing nationalists, whether they read the Koran or Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*, act as the *political agents* of the imperialists. And as long as these countries are part of the world capitalist system, it cannot be otherwise.

The *only* country which during the 20th century transformed itself from a backward, semi-feudal, predominantly agricultural economy to an advanced industrial society was Soviet Russia. This was possible because—and only because—capitalism was overthrown in Russia by the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, laying the basis for a planned socialized economy. Even today the distance between the socioeconomic and cultural conditions in the former Soviet Central Asian republics like Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and those of Afghanistan are to be measured in centuries. .

However, the Soviet Union was throughout its history confronted by hostile and powerful capitalist states, above all the United States. Weakened internally by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule and under the unrelenting economic, military and political pressure of world imperialism, the Soviet Union was destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92.

Rushdie concludes his piece: "If terrorism is to be defeated, the world of Islam must take on board the secularist-humanist principles on which the modern is based, and without which Muslim countries' freedom will remain a distant dream."

It is Marxism that is the heir—the only legitimate heir—to the secular humanism of the Enlightenment that was the ideological driving force behind the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th century in the West. Fearful of proletarian revolution, the imperialist bourgeoisies have since supported or embraced all manner of social obscurantism and religious fundamentalism; in the U.S., this prominently includes the bigotry of the Christian right, which is heavily represented in the current White House. The only road to the social, economic and cultural modernization of the countries of the Islamic East lies through proletarian revolution—new Octoher Revolutions—leading to an internationally planned socialist economy extending from the oil fields of the Persian Gulf to the industrial plants of the American Midwest and German Ruhr. ■

wing under Duhalde which has chosen to put on national-populist trappings. This is a transparent attempt to utilize popular nostalgia for the government of General Juan Perón during the late 1940s and early '50s, which has come to be seen as a golden era when wages were raised, social programs launched and unions organized. Following a 1943 military coup, Perón emerged as Argentina's strongman. He followed a nationalist-corporatist model of capitalism, in which key sectors of the economy were state-owned, domestic industry was protected by tariffs and import licenses and foreign-exchange transactions were subjected to an array of controls.

While occasionally utilizing anti-Yankee demagogy, the Peronists in the post-World War II period functioned as the local political agents of Wall Street, keeping the proletariat in line through the labor bureaucracy. They periodically slashed wages and depressed living standards to repay Argentina's debt to U.S. and other foreign banks, usually through the mechanism of accelerated inflation rather than the deflationary measures now favored by the IMF. Workers' wages would rise, but the prices of food, fuel, clothing and other necessities rose even faster. Perón himself was an open admirer of Franco's Spain and Mussolini's Italy. During the "years of the fat cows," he outlawed the Communist Party, smashed every manifestation of working-class independence and subordinated labor to the state in corporatist fashion.

With the massive rise of industrialization, there was a corresponding explosive growth of the trade unions. Perón proved quite successful both in co-opting dissident union leaders and in organizing corporatist unions directly dependent on the government for their existence. Only those unions which swore allegiance to the Peronist agenda were declared legal, and only legal unions qualified for dues checkoff, subsidies for union buildings and access to social security programs, pension funds, etc. The Peronist regime used nationalist "anti-imperialist" rhetoric in order to further tie the working masses to the Argentine capitalist state.

New president Duhalde, a former vice president under the IMF's man Menem, now peppers his speeches with paeans to Perón and his wife Eva and cynically blames the plight of the Argentine people on a U.S.-backed "free-market model," which he calls "immoral." But this shift to the national-populist rhetoric of yesteryear is simply designed to strengthen the forces of capitalism in Latin America by recementing the ties of the working class to its "own" national bourgeoisie. Huge sections of the population will continue to suffer grinding immiseration under the Duhalde Peronists as the latter attempt to "reconstruct" the country on the backs of the working class and sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

The imperialist chains that bind the Argentine proletariat can only be broken through a struggle for socialist revolution in Argentina, throughout Latin America and beyond. A workers revolution in a country like France or Spain would have profound effects on the struggles of the Argentine working class. Conversely, nothing would be more heartening to the proletariat in South Africa and workers and the oppressed throughout the Third World than a socialist revolution in a country like Argentina. Crucial to this perspective is intransigent opposition to Peronist bourgeois nationalism, which has time and again led the Argentine workers and oppressed to disaster.

Argentine Left Pushes National Reformism

Opposition to bourgeois nationalism is the last thing being offered by the fake-Trotskyist groups that populate the Argentine left. Far from having an independent class perspective against the bourgeoisie, they are mired in national reformism, particularly tailing the Peronists. The main trend of ostensible Trotskyism in Argentina is that of the late Nahuel Moreno, today represented by the Movimiento Socialista de los Trabajadores (MST) and its split-off, the Partido de los Trabajadores por el Socialismo (PTS). In the 1950s, Moreno passed himself off as a "left" Peronist; his newspaper at the time was published as an "Organ of Revolutionary Workers Peronism—Under the Discipline of Gen. Perón and the Peronist High Council"! (See our 1980 *Moreno Truth Kit* pamphlet for the history of this tendency.)

During the Malvinas/Falklands War, the reformist left in Argentina openly backed the genocidal ruling military in the name of "anti-imperialism." The Moreno tendency boasted that it stood squarely "in the military camp of the Argentine dictatorship" (*Correo Internacional*, April 1982). With the backing of the fake left, the generals used the war to head off a general strike, part of burgeoning proletarian struggle against the military regime. In sharp contrast, we fought for proletarian revolutionary opposition to both British imperialism, then ruled by "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher, and the Argentine generals, declaring: "Sink Thatcher! Sink the Junta! The Main Enemy Is at Home!"

Hudson/PA

British marines collect captured arms following Argentina's surrender in Malvinas/Falklands War, 1982. Argentina's defeat led to fall of military regime.

In 1989, the Morenoites gave backhanded support for the installation of a new Peronist government under Menem. Declaring that "Menem received the majority of votes of the working people," they asked why he didn't use that support "to impose the solutions he says he has" (*El Cronista Comercial*, 31 May 1989). And Menem did just that.

Today, with the Peronists widely discredited, the Argentine left is trying to cloak its nationalist reformism in slightly different rhetoric. The Morenoite MST and the Stalinist Communist Party are the main components of the United Left (Izquierda Unida—IU), an electoralist bloc whose program raises as its maximum demand a call for "an independent political alternative of the workers and people." In the wake of the mass upsurge which overthrew de la Rúa, the IU joined with another fake-Trotskyist outfit, the Partido Obrero (PO) of Jorge Altamira, and some smaller groups in a December 22 declaration which prominently features the call "For a People's and Workers Government." And the more left-posturing PTS pushes the same perspective in its leaflets and statements, writing that "the revolutionaries of the PTS struggle for a workers' and people's government" (leaflet of 31 December 2001).

This purposefully confusionist call, which dissolves the proletariat into the mass of the "people," is the classic facade for a class-collaborationist alliance with a wing of the national bourgeoisie (who are, after all, part of the "people"). All of these groups uphold the disastrous, anti-revolutionary perspective of the "anti-imperialist united front," which is but a code word for the subordination of the working class to its "own" bourgeoisie. The social turmoil in Argentina today involves many layers of society, from the middle class to students to the unemployed and rural poor. If the proletariat is to emerge as the leading force of the oppressed, fighting for the overthrow of the capitalist order and imperialist domination, it is crucial to draw a clear class line. The MST, PO, PTS et al., in contrast, mix everything together in a "popular" reformist stew.

This is shown as well in the perennial call raised by PO and the PTS for a "constituent assembly" which would, in the words of a 31 December PO leaflet, express "the sovereign will of the workers and unemployed." The PTS adds its own twist to this demand in a statement calling for *both* a "national assembly of employed and unemployed workers" *and* "a sovereign Constituent Assembly, so that the people can discuss democratically and in freedom the way out of the crisis" ("Revolutionary Days," 22 December 2001). And how is this to be accomplished? "Even to open the road to this kind of democracy," the PTS writes, "it is necessary to sweep away the current power with a general strike and with a great national uprising that finishes the task initiated during the revolutionary days of December 19 and 20."

The call for a constituent assembly is, at best, a democratic slogan which at particular times can be used against dictatorial capitalist regimes as a subordinate element in a program for workers revolution. But Argentina currently *has* a bourgeois-democratic form of capitalist class rule with periodic elections, and this has been the case for nearly two decades now. Under these circumstances, the call for a constituent assembly serves only to foster, not break, bourgeois-democratic illusions among the workers and oppressed. In situations of pre-revolutionary turmoil, genuine Trotskyists would fight to forge *organs of dual power*—soviets (workers councils), factory committees, etc.—as organizing centers in the fight for proletarian revolution. But for the centrist PTS, the call for a "workers assembly" is just window-dressing for its perspective of a "great national uprising" to win...another bourgeois parliamentary body!

For all their "anti-imperialist" rhetoric, the Argentine reformist and centrist left were as one with the U.S. imperialist rulers in backing the forces of counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. As the West German imperialists pushed for the counterrevolutionary annexation of the East German deformed workers state in 1989-90, the Morenoites came out with a program "whose guiding slogan is: German reunification now" (*Correo Internacional*, January 1990). For its part, the PTS called for "the defense of the right of the German masses to unite however they wish, even if they decide to do so in the framework of capitalism" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 30 March 1990).

This treachery was repeated when the Morenoites and Altamira's PO hailed Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist counter-coup in Moscow in August 1991. In a 28 August 1991 statement, the Morenoites called it a "Great Revolutionary Victory in the USSR," while PO proclaimed that "the people's victory over the coup has a revolutionary scope" (*Prensa Obrera*, 29 August 1991). These groups bear their own small measure of responsibility for the post-counterrevolutionary devastation that swept the former USSR and East Europe and redounded so negatively against the working people of Latin America. In contrast, the International Communist League fought to the bitter end in defense of the working-class gains that were embodied in these states, despite their Stalinist misrulers. While the rest of the left embraced imperialist "democracy" against Stalinist "totalitarianism," we fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and restore the program of revolutionary internationalism that animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

For a Genuine Trotskyist Party!

The burning need in Argentina today is the forging of an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist party. Such a party would call for the full independence of the trade unions from the bourgeois state. It would act, in Lenin's words, as a "tribune of the people," rallying all those suffering under the capitalist yoke, from the unemployed and impoverished pensioners to the rural poor and small shopkeepers who are being ruined by the austerity crisis. It would embrazon on its banner the fight for women's liberation, combatting *machismo* and backward Catholic attitudes and raising demands for the full integration of women in the workforce at equal pay. It would fight for free abortion on demand as part of free, quality health care for all, and for full democratic rights for homosexuals.

Argentine society is saturated with the chauvinism of a ruling class which revels in its supposed "European" superiority over the rest of Latin America and which is riddled with former Nazis. Crucial to any revolutionary perspective is unmitigated opposition to all manifestations of racism, anti-Semitism and hostility to indigenous minorities and immigrants.

Only a program of revolutionary internationalism can offer a road forward for the Argentine working class. Following the 1917 Russian workers revolution, Lenin's Bolshevik Party canceled the debt amassed by the tsar and the Russian bourgeoisie by simply refusing to pay it. Recognizing that imperialism could not be appeased, they fought to extend the October Revolution worldwide. Today, to liberate themselves from Wall Street debt peonage, the workers and oppressed masses of Argentina and throughout Latin America must be won to the principles and program of proletarian internationalism as represented by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. This is the perspective of the ICL: to reforge the Fourth International in order to lead the struggle for new October Revolutions across the planet. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

WV Photos

San Francisco: Revolutionary Contingent at May 2001 demonstration. Mobilize labor/black power in fight to free Jamal!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

Free Him Now!

We print below an edited version of a presentation on the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal given by Spartacist League supporter Valerie West on September 15 in Oakland. Three months later, on December 18, federal district court judge William Yohn reversed the death sentence that has been hanging over Mumia's head since 1982. Ruling that the trial judge's jury instructions virtually compelled a sentence of death, Yohn gave the prosecution 180 days to conduct a new sentencing hearing, which could result in either another death sentence or life imprisonment. Their failure to hold a hearing would automatically reduce Jamal's sentence to life imprisonment without parole.

Yohn's ruling is the first crack in the state's 20-year vendetta to legally lynch this courageous fighter for the oppressed. It is clearly a response to the millions around the world who have rallied to Mumia's cause. It also represents fear that dramatic evidence of Jamal's innocence, centrally a sworn confession by Arnold Beverly that he, not Jamal, shot police officer Daniel Faulkner, could be heard in court.

Recognizing that even the limited legal forum of a death sentencing hearing could burst this case wide open, prosecutor Hugh Burns complained: "If there was a new sentencing hearing, it would probably entail the empaneling of a jury...and whatever evidence the defendant wanted to review again would be presented to the jury." Echoing these fears is Fraternal Order of Police mouthpiece Michael Smerconish, a Philadelphia lawyer who has led the howls for Jamal's blood for years. Smerconish signaled that he may reconcile himself to Jamal's life imprisonment—rather than death—because a sentencing hearing would open up a new round of appeals.

Following a six-month news blackout of his case, during which just about every major newspaper refused to even mention the confession of Arnold Beverly, Jamal's case was front-page news once again. The day after Yohn's ruling, millions of people watching NBC's *Today* show saw an interview with Eliot Grossman, one of Mumia's attorneys, and an excerpt from Beverly's videotaped confession.

Yet Mumia still resides in that same "valley of the shadow of death" which for 20 years he has searingly described in numerous columns from death row. Democratic Party District Attorney Lynne Abraham has appealed Yohn's order, and should that appeal be granted, not only would the death sentence be reinstated, but Jamal's execution would be imminent. In one ruling, Yohn threw out legal papers by Mumia's new attorneys demolishing the prosecution's case and arguing to present Beverly's confession. In another 272-page decision, Yohn denied all the claims of Jamal's habeas corpus petition challenging the frame-up conviction of this innocent man.

Jamal's 1982 trial was a travesty of justice, the prosecution's case based on an assemblage of lies manufactured through police coercion of witnesses and other invented "evidence." A central pillar was the claim that Jamal confessed on the night of the shooting, after he'd been critically wounded and nearly beaten to death by the cops. This supposed "confession" was not even reported for ***over two months after the shooting***. The original official police report from Officer Gary Wakshul, who was with Jamal the entire time from his arrest through his medical treatment, said that "during this time, the negro male made no comments." Yet in his December 18 ruling, Yohn declared for the veracity of this concocted confession story, his bottom line being that if the cops and D.A. said it happened, then it did.

While rejecting Jamal's claim that blacks were unconstitutionally excluded from the jury, Yohn "permitted" this one question to be appealed to a higher court. Should the Court of Appeals take the unlikely step of upholding Mumia's claim, the conviction would be overturned. But, under Clinton's 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, there can be no further appeals allowed on any other claim without judicial permission.

Yohn's ruling indicates that significant sectors of the bourgeoisie are eager to have this case put aside once and for all, confident that after the elimination of the death sentence Jamal's international support will dissipate. Left-liberal columnist Alexander Cockburn grotesquely echoed this in his *Nation* (7 January) column, writing: "One good feature of Judge Yohn's ruling is that it takes the emphasis off innocence or guilt, which surrenders the basic moral axiom of the anti-death penalty cause, namely, that capital punishment is wrong." State-sanctioned legal murder is indeed a barbaric abomination. But so is the fact that an innocent man would be entombed for life. As Mumia himself said of life imprisonment in one of his writings from death row: "'Life' is thus but a grim metaphor for death, for only death releases one from its shackles. 'Life,' it might be said, is merely slow death."

West's forum took place four days after September 11. Since then, the U.S. government and its imperialist allies in Europe have seized on the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center to sell the lie that the vast new powers for state harassment, intimidation and terror are for their populations' own "protection." But even in this climate of bloodthirsty jingoism, a recent Gallup poll revealed there has been virtually no change in support for the death penalty in the wake of September 11. Last year marked the second straight year of a drop in executions, testifying to the declining support for capital punishment. On January 3 Florida prosecutors finally dropped all charges against Juan Roberto Melendez, a man who spent 18 years on death row. In December, Melendez' conviction was overturned on grounds that prosecutors had withheld critical evidence—four confessions made by the actual killer!

In her talk, West quotes from speeches by International Labor Defense secretary and founder James P. Cannon as the state geared up to execute Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927. When the mass movement for these two anarchist workers was faced with rumors that the death sentence

continued on page 5

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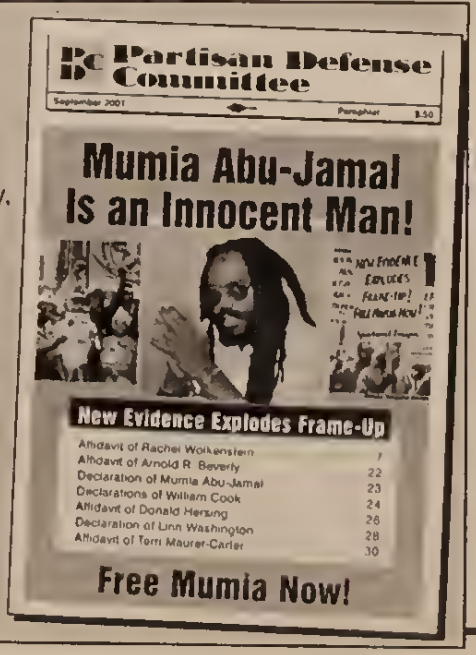

WORKERS VANGUARD

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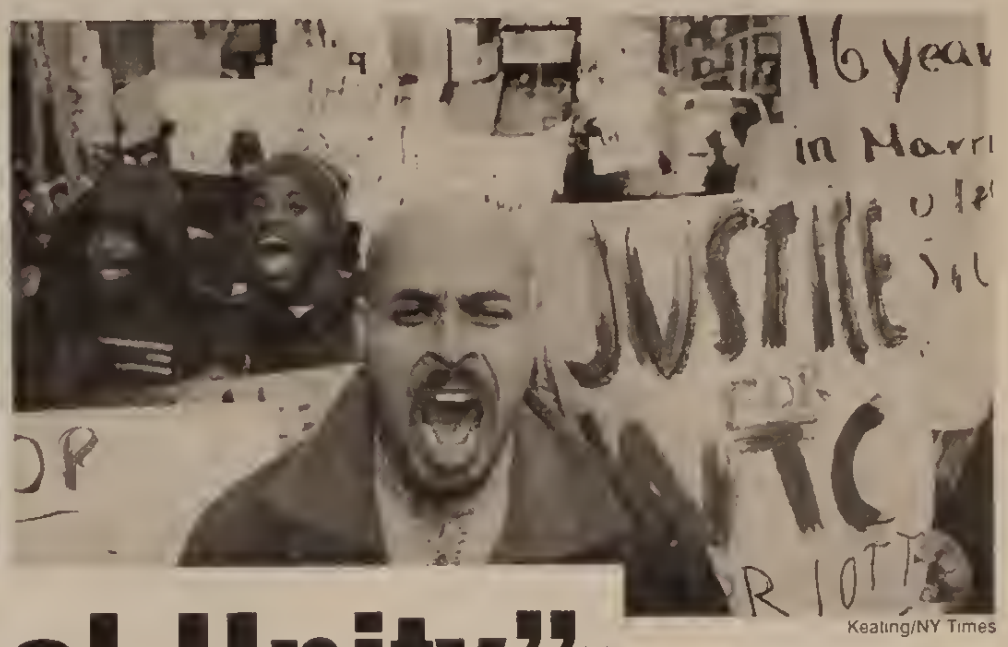
No. 773

25 January 2002

Jobs Slashed, Welfare Axed, Immigrants Targeted

Bloomberg News



Keating/NY Times

"National Unity": Bosses Profit, Workers Pay

Expropriate the Bourgeoisie— For a Workers Party! For a Workers Government!

Auto worker leaves Ford plant after company announced 20,000 North American job cuts. Hotel workers who lost jobs when Marriott World Trade Center was destroyed protest company's refusal to rehire them, January 16.

The political parties of American capitalism—Republicans and Democrats—seized on the killing of thousands of innocent people in the World Trade Center in order to reinforce their own class rule. Since September 11, the population has been bombarded with flag-waving propaganda proclaiming, "United We Stand." But what unity is there between those who stand outside soup kitchens hoping for some scraps for themselves and their children—or who may be a paycheck away from that fate—and the capitalists who ostentatiously gorge on the wealth gleaned from the misery of the masses?

Some 800,000 jobs were axed in October and November, coming on top of the 1.5 million people thrown out of work in the previous year. Now Ford has announced 20,000 more job cuts. And the postal bosses who forced workers to stay on the job with no protection from anthrax infection, callously allowing several to die, are threatening to lay off 15,000 workers. As the unemployment rolls swell, three in five workers who apply for unemployment insurance are rejected because they have been buffeted from one transitory McJob to another. This has all coincided with the "end of welfare as we know it," to use the words of former Democratic president Bill Clinton, as the five-year limit imposed under his 1996 law kicked in.

In New York City, many forced to slave in "workfare" schemes in transit and the parks are now faced with having neither their meager welfare payments nor the full-time jobs they had been promised. Today, 1.5 million people in New York City alone rely on charity food pantries in order to eat. And, in every major city across the country, the ranks of the homeless are burgeoning.

The overlay to all of this has been a dramatic intensification of state repression, as the government uses its "war on terrorism" to push through laws marking a qualitative diminution of democratic rights. In the wake of the racist roundup and detention of hundreds of people of Near Eastern origin, a former Justice Department official declared, "Profiling is not a four-letter word." While the government took first aim at immigrants, the purpose of the "anti-terror" drive is to sanction police intimidation, harassment and terror in the ghettos and barrios. This month, the New Jersey state troopers who fired a barrage of bullets into a van carrying four unarmed black and Hispanic youth four years ago—triggering mass outrage over "racial profiling"—walked out of a courtroom without even a probationary sentence.

The Enron "Scandal"

Thousands of Enron workers have just seen their jobs, life savings and pensions disappear into a sinkhole while a handful of top executives amassed a cool $1.1 billion in the 18 months before Enron collapsed by selling off shares that their employees were forced to retain. The collapse of the Houston-based conglomerate is a fitting coda to the lucre-grabbing orgy of the late 1990s. Enron was at the cutting edge of the deregulation frenzy that was a hallmark of the '90s boom, seeing its profits multiply three- or four-fold during the California energy fiasco.

But what has made Enron into a scandal is that this gang of corrupt capitalists seemed to have a corporate subsidiary in the White House. The president is a bosom buddy of Enron CEO Kenneth Lay, and "Kenny Boy" virtually scripted Bush's statements on energy deregulation; Vice President Cheney effectively served as the company's emissary in strong-arming India to accept an Enron deal; and the wife of leading Senate Republican Phil Gramm was on the corporate board of directors. Arrogantly dismissing the plight of those victimized by the Enron collapse, Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill blithely declaimed, "Companies come and go. Part of the genius of capitalism is people get to make good decisions, or bad decisions, and they get to pay the consequence or to enjoy the fruits of their decisions."

Touting this flagrant rip-off as evidence of the "genius of capitalism" is hardly designed to enhance public confidence in big business. Liberal Paul Krugman titled a column in the *New York Times* (15 January) on the Enron debacle "Crony Capitalism, U.S.A." and noted in a subsequent article (18 January), "It's not just a matter of the utter unfairness of it all—employees lose their life savings while crooked executives walk away rich. It's also a matter of what it takes to make capitalism work." It is indeed a problem for the ruling class to have its government so openly identified with the rich grinding their heels in the faces of those they exploit. But what makes "capitalism work" is the exploitation of the working

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Unions Protest Murder of Catholic Postal Worker

Northern Ireland: Imperialist "Peace" Fraud Fuels Loyalist Terror

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From Korea Through the Vietnam War

The U.S. Left and the "American Century"

Part One: Liberalism and the Crisis of American Stalinism

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On the Waterfront

Marxism vs. Trade Union Opportunism

We print the following letter as we received it by e-mail. Originally dated 19 November 2001, the letter was resent with one sentence slightly reworded.

Dec. 25, 2001

To the editor of Workers Vanguard:

In your front page article "No to Bosses' "National Unity"! For Class Struggle at Home! (WV No. 768, 9 November 2001) you fraudulently claim to be fighting "on the ground", i.e. within the trade unions for a revolutionary internationalist perspective. Your sole example is a "rally" at ILWU Local 10 in defense of the Charleston 5. First of all, it was not a mass rally of longshore workers as some readers of WV might mistakenly imagine. Rather it was a small public forum at Local 10 that was unfortunately attended by only 50 people, half of whom were longshoremen. Apparently, Ken Riley, president of the Charleston longshore union, who was initially scheduled to speak was unable to attend, which may in part account for the low turnout. If the SL had any influence in the longshore union, it was used to discourage a couple of members from attending the forum.

As chair of the meeting, I called on the SL supporter who uninspiringly read from a prepared text. It is unimaginable why those who claim to fight for revolutionary politics "on the ground" can't think on their feet. I notified her when her alloted three minutes were up, but allowed her another minute extension to finish reading.

Being "on the ground" of the class struggle means not shirking one's proletarian duty even in the face of capitalist repression. ILWU expressed solidarity with the embattled Charleston longshore unions early on by sending a financial contribution and two representatives to join them on the picket line. I was one of them. SL supporter Gene Herson showed up in Charleston to give a check and make "solidarity" remarks to some members at the union hall. When the Nordana ship appeared the next day, he conspicuously disappeared into thin air and was nowhere to be seen when the picketing resumed despite the massive police mobilization. Was this another example of Spartacist League/ICL abstentionism like instructing your then-trade union supporters in Brazil to "pull their hands from the boiling water" of the struggle to keep police out of their union as you did a few years ago?

This is consistent with your refusal to march in the 25,000-strong April 1999 San Francisco mobilization for Mumia which occurred simultaneously with a coastwide longshore union shutdown of all U.S. ports from Mexico to Canada. Your initial reporting disparaged this racially-integrated industrial action, like PMA, the employers' association, although your more recent articles have admitted that this was a step in the right direction—without mentioning that this is a change in your line.

All of this smacks of your sectarianism and abstentionism in the now-historic 1984 San Francisco longshore anti-apartheid action. First you opposed the 11-day action, then in midstream changed course and gave it critical support *from the sidelines* without ever joining the union-supported picket line and, of course, never acknowledging your scandalous aboutface. Given your record is there any wonder why longshore workers would say that *SL* stands for "*sidelines*"?

Finally, in the midst of the present war hysteria, revolutionary Marxists don't convince workers to break the chains of capital's "national unity" by uncritically quoting black Democrat Jesse Jackson, Jr.'s patriotic remarks about the terrorist attacks. Rather yours is the centrist method of social chauvinist opportunism looking for cover in the heat of an intensifying capitalist repression.

Jack Heyman

***WV* replies:** Jack Heyman's open hostility toward the Spartacist League and our spokesman at the support rally for the Charleston Five held at the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10 hall in San Francisco last October 10 may come as a surprise to some of the many longshoremen who attended that rally and who applauded our spokesman following her remarks from the floor. They also stopped Heyman, who was chairing the meeting, from cutting her off. Heyman's letter does everything possible to disparage her intervention, and for that matter the rally itself, which he considers too small to have been important. However, what he doesn't do—and this is very revealing—is say one single word about the *content* of her speech.

Against the union officials' talk at the meeting of "going to the polls" to vote Democrat, our spokesman clearly advocated a political fight within the unions to forge a new, class-struggle leadership, against the existing labor bureaucrats who deceive American workers and black people by pushing the illusion that the capitalist Democratic Party defends the interests of labor and minorities. She argued for the political independence of the working class from all capitalist parties and institutions and for building a workers party, a party capable of leading the working class in the fight to throw out the capitalist order of exploitation and racism and to create a new socialist society, where those who labor rule.

For the Spartacist League, this is a perspective of bringing revolutionary consciousness to the working class, which is necessary if the working class is to free itself from capitalist exploitation, wage slavery and racism. For Heyman, who long ago offered up his services to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, leadership means making occasional "progressive" noises while helping the labor fakers keep the workers firmly within the bounds of the capitalist system. For him, to become an officer of the union is more important than making a *political* fight within the unions against the misleaders who tie labor to the class enemy through the Democratic Party.

The Local 10 rally in San Francisco included a showing of video excerpts of the 9 June 2001 march in Columbia.

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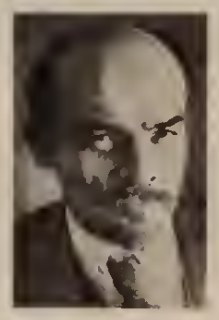
TROTSKY

For the Communism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg!

Upholding communist tradition, we honor this month Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, who died in January 1924, and Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, founding leaders of the German Communist Party who were assassinated in January 1919. The following appreciation of Lenin is excerpted from one of a series of articles honoring the "Three L's" published by the Trotskyist Communist League of America in January 1930.



LENIN

Foremost in Lenin was his unswerving confidence in the victory of the proletariat, organized and led by its most conscious and determined section, the revolutionary party. For more than twenty years he devoted himself to the formation, clarification and strengthening of the principal arm of the Russian working class, the Bolshevik Party. He persistently pointed out that the working class as grouped together by capitalist production, without organization, or even with the elementary organization of trade unions, cooperative groups, etc. could carry on a defensive struggle against the daily encroachments of the capitalist class, but never the successful struggle for power. It was a cardinal point in his work, tested and proved in life in 1917, that only by possessing an organized political vanguard, a party embracing the most active, devoted and clearest elements of the class, embodying and crystallizing all the experiences of the struggle, serving as a guide and leader, could the working class rise to the position of the ruling class and free itself from exploitation. With Lenin, the revolutionary proletarian party was the only door through which the working class might enter the realm of power and maintain itself there....

The essence of Leninism is the application of the teachings of Marx and Engels to the period of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. The theories of Lenin are just as little "Russian" as those of Marx were "German." The favorite argument of the social reformists and revisionists in past decades—and even now—has been that while Marxism might be applicable to Europe, or to Europe of the last century; it did not apply to the United States, for example, or to Europe today. The argument of all national and social reformists today, of those to whom the name of socialist or revolutionary still applies only because of past associations, is that Leninism *might* be suitable for "backward Russia" but that it does not apply to highly developed industrial countries....

The man who stands out in his work is not so much Lenin the Russian Bolshevik, but Lenin the international revolutionist who led the Left wing in the Second International, who laid the foundation stone for the Third, who poured out his vitriolic denunciation upon the heads of traitors who gave lip-service to "internationalism" and sent their followers into the trenches in order to defend their "national interests"; Lenin the internationalist, who considered the Russian revolution as a temporary outpost of the world's working class, a fortress to be defended at all costs until the workers of other countries could save it for socialism by overthrowing their own bourgeoisie.

—"Leninism Lives!" (*Militant*, 25 January 1930)

Andrew Ciscel

Mic Smith/Post and Courier

Several thousand turned out for June 2001 labor protest in Columbia, South Carolina in defense of Charleston Five, longshoremen victimized for defense of their union against January 2000 police assault (below).

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is 22 January

No. 773 **25 January 2002**

Unions Protest Murder of Catholic Postal Worker

Northern Ireland: Imperialist "Peace" Fraud Fuels Loyalist Terror

Faith/PA

Hugh Russell/Irish News

Postal workers at funeral for Catholic co-worker Daniel McColgan, whose assassination by Loyalist paramilitaries sparked five-day postal strike. Right: Postal workers union contingent at January 18 Belfast protest.

DUBLIN, January 19—The killing of 20-year-old Catholic postal worker Daniel McColgan by Protestant Loyalist paramilitaries in Belfast has provoked a rare display of united protest action by Catholic and Protestant workers in Northern Ireland. McColgan's murder by the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) as he arrived at work in the early morning of January 12 is the latest incident in a dramatic upsurge of Loyalist terror against Catholics in the context of the imperialist-imposed "peace process." The Red Hand Defenders, a cover name often used by the UDA, subsequently threatened to kill Catholics working in Protestant areas including postal workers, teachers and transit workers.

When they heard about McColgan's murder, postal workers organised by the Communication Workers Union (CWU) walked off the job across Northern Ireland, refusing to return to work for five days in response to the threats against Catholic workers. Trade unions representing both Catholic and Protestant workers condemned the murder and threats. Yesterday, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) called a half-day public sector strike against sectarian attacks and organised mass rallies in Belfast, Derry and several other cities.

Upwards of 15,000 attended the rally in Belfast and thousands more demonstrated elsewhere. Trade-union contingents included the CWU, NASUWT and INTO teachers unions, National Union of Journalists, AMICUS (rail, aerospace and other workers), UNISON (hospital and school workers) and Northern Ireland Public Servants Association. The rally represented a broad swathe of Northern Irish society. Protestant and Catholic, old and young, men and women showed up to express their revulsion at the murder of McColgan and the upsurge in anti-Catholic terror.

British Troops Out Now!

The proletarian responses to the Loyalist murder campaign showed that it is the integrated working class that has both the interest in combating sectarian terror and the social power to do so. However, the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats worked to divert the justified outrage of the workers into support for the imperialist "peace" fraud, which has in fact resulted in an escalation of anti-Catholic violence. The bureaucrats also tied workers to their own capitalist exploiters. The ICTU sought and received the endorsement of the rallies from the bosses association, the CBI, and the British imperialist Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, John Reid.

Obscenely, the Belfast rally was addressed by Northern Ireland First Minister David Trimble of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP). David Ervine of the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP), which is a front for the notorious anti-Catholic Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), was also present. While embracing the likes of Trimble, Ervine and the murderous British imperialist state, the ICTU organisers emphasised that "militant Republicans" were not welcome at the rallies, though Education Minister Martin McGuinness of Sinn Féin, which supports the "peace process," was there. ICTU Assistant General Secretary Peter Bunting called "on all paramilitary groups to dissolve," but predictably said not a word against the anti-Catholic killers of the British army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), now renamed the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI). The ICTU bureaucrats even ensured that there were no pictures at the rally of McColgan or other recent victims of sectarian terror.

The class collaboration pushed by the trade-union tops is a deadly danger to the working class and an obstacle to fighting against Loyalist terror. Oppression of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland is the very foundation of the Orange (Protestant-dominated) statelet and is reinforced by British imperialism. Sectarianism serves the interests of the capitalist exploiters by keeping the working class divided. To be effective, any fight against Loyalist terror must confront the capitalist system that breeds it as well as the state forces which back the Loyalists—the British Army and PSNI. Key in making workers conscious of this fact and in breaking them from illusions in the imperialist "peace" fraud is the intervention of revolutionary proletarian internationalists.

Comrades from the Dublin Spartacist Group went to the rally in Belfast and distributed *Workers Vanguard* and the Spartacist League/Britain's *Workers Hammer*. The workers that our comrades spoke to, including construction, rail and postal workers, generally saw the imperialist "peace" as better than—and the only alternative to—a return to the widespread communalist violence of the 1970s and '80s. On the other hand, there was universal acknowledgement that things have recently gotten worse. One rail worker noted that when the Good Friday Agreement was signed there were a lot of hopes that things would get better, especially for the youth, but with the upsurge in sectarian attacks he was thinking that his teenage son should leave Northern Ireland.

Our comrades called for the withdrawal of the British Army; one construction worker replied, "They should all get out, what we need is a workers army!" We explained our perspective of programmatically based workers militias to combat Loyalist thuggery and all sectarian terror. We also argued that a just solution to the situation in Northern Ireland will only come about through workers revolution throughout Ireland and Britain.

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Hammer* No. 179 (Winter 2001-2002).

Paul McErlane

September 2001: Catholic families in Belfast faced Loyalist blockade and police lines while trying to take children to school.

WORKERS HAMMER

The 11 September attack on the World Trade Center was a gift to Tony Blair in several ways, not least that the IRA announced on 23 October that they had begun to decommission their weapons. The British government claims to be waging a "war against terrorism" in the interests of "democracy" and the "civilised world" against religious fanatics. Terrorism anyone? How about the terrorism of the British state, such as the massive bombing of Afghanistan, and before this Serbia, in which this bloodthirsty Labour government took centre stage? What about British imperialism's domination of Ireland, which lasted for centuries and created a militarised garrison state in the North where the facade of democracy was never much in evidence and where no one had any reason to believe in such myths as "unarmed Bobbies." As for religious zealots, there are very few Muslims in Northern Ireland but British rule there rests on collaboration with a gang of crazed fundamentalist Protestant bigots.

We said in 1993 that "Any imperialist 'deal' will be bloody and brutal and will *necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority*. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either" (*Workers Hammer* No. 138, November/December 1993). This has been borne out: Loyalist violence against Catholics has continued, firebombings and pipebombings are commonplace. There were 220 Loyalist

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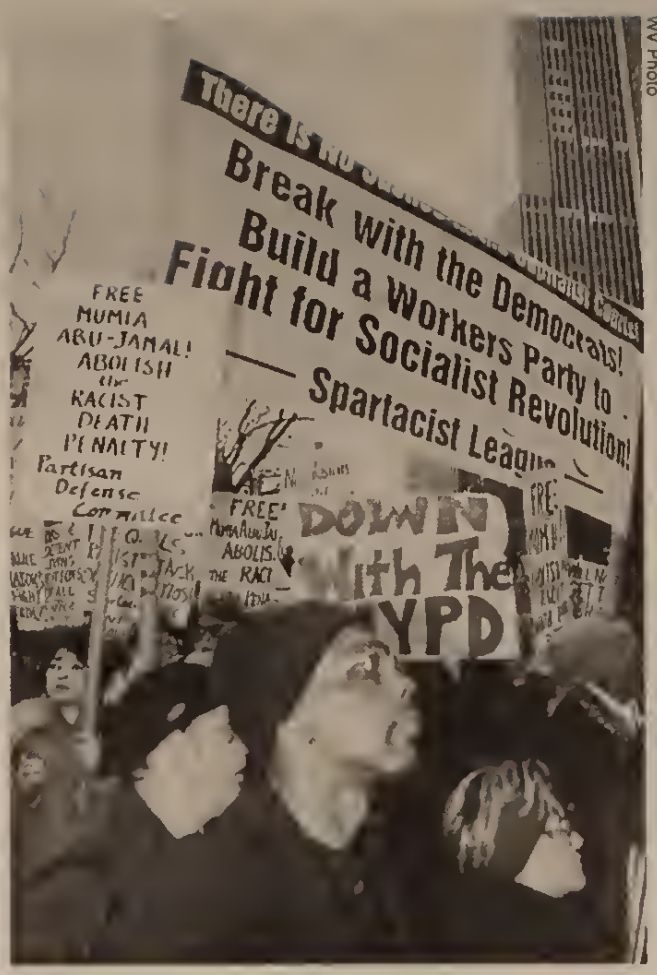
Bosses Profit, Workers Pay...

(continued from page 1)

class from whose labor the capitalists derive their profits. Mass unemployment and recurrent crises—as well as episodic swindles and financial chicanery—are endemic to capitalism. When the capitalists can no longer secure a desirable rate of profit from increased production, they slash production—and jobs—and boom turns to bust.

Moreover, while much is made of the connections between the Republican White House and Enron (which also doled out money to Democratic candidates), the fact of the matter is that the capitalist state is not some kind of "neutral" agency that somehow represents the "will of the people." Rather, in the words of Karl Marx, "The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." And these affairs are equally represented by the other party of American capitalism—the Democrats.



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at February 2000 protest against acquittal of NYPD killers of African immigrant Amadou Diallo.

Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party!

In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* (9 December 2001), AFL-CIO president John Sweeney boasted, "We supported the president and his administration in the war on terrorism from the very first day." He then went on to complain that "the people who are suffering the most—the hundreds of thousands of laid-off workers—have not had their issues of unemployment insurance and health-care coverage addressed," while promoting the Democrats for "trying their damnedest to get worker protections."

As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution, observed, "The labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the 'democratic' state how reliable and indispensable they are in peacetime and especially in time of war" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" [1940]). Supporting Bush's war against Afghanistan, at home these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class serve to police the unions and channel the workers' anger into Democratic Party bourgeois electoralism.

In New York City, the municipal labor tops banked on getting a Democrat elected mayor and kept their members working without a contract, in some cases for up to two years. Now, with a recession and another Republican in City Hall, the United Federation of Teachers has dropped its earlier demand for a 23 percent pay raise and sent a letter to its membership saying it will merely try to "eke out more" than Giuliani's original offer of 8 percent over two years.

The Democrats Sweeney praises for doing their "damnedest" for working people oversaw the "welfare reform" that has condemned millions to homelessness and hunger and pushed through a series of attacks on immigrants and civil liberties that paved the way for the Bush administration's repressive legislation. That the union tops continue to be able to sell the Democrats as the "friends" of labor and blacks is simply a statement of how openly vicious and pro-big business the Republicans are.

Bennett/Christian Science Monitor

Commenting on the huge and growing chasm between rich and poor in the U.S.—the widest in the industrialized world—Paul Krugman noted, "You might have expected the concentration of income at the top to provoke populist demands to soak the rich. But...the Democrats haven't moved left, the Republicans have moved right" (*New York Times*, 4 January). At the same time, fearful that the glaring inequality could spark social conflagration, the Democrats and Republicans have joined in vastly increasing the powers of state repression.

The boom of the last decade, with its free-wheeling profit-gouging, was hailed as definitive proof of the superiority of the capitalist "free market" and the "failure of Marxism." Emboldened by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, the American imperialists have perpetrated one military adventure after another against defenseless peoples abroad and ridden roughshod over workers and minorities in the U.S. The utter decline in the living standards of working people not only in the Third World but in the U.S., far from repudiating Marxism, thoroughly confirms the statement in the *Communist Manifesto*:

> "The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth."

Writing at the height of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal"—the heyday of Democratic Party liberalism, when a variety of social programs were first enacted—Leon Trotsky noted in "Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto" (October 1937), "Even the development of the mightiest capitalism in the world, namely, U.S. capitalism, has transformed millions of workers into paupers who are maintained at the expense of federal, municipal, or private charity."

Reformists like the International Socialist Organization, which at bottom shares the New Deal Democratic Party liberal politics espoused by Krugman, routinely present wish lists calling for massive government spending for programs beneficial to the working people. What they don't tell you is that to get things like decent affordable housing, free medical care and decent-paying jobs for all, you first have to break the power of the bourgeoisie. For that you need to build a workers party, one that doesn't "respect" the property rights of the bourgeoisie, a party that says to the exploited and oppressed: We want more, we want all of it, it ought to be ours, so take it! And that can't happen without a socialist revolution that smashes the bourgeois state and replaces it with a workers state.

It's a political question at bottom. You can solve a lot of problems with money—make life livable for blacks, Hispanics, the jobless, the homeless, welfare mothers, etc. And we communists intend to do so. When the working people have the wealth of this country, we will begin to build a planned, socialist economy on an international scale. Then we can right some historical crimes and pay off some debts left over by our rulers to those countries that have been maimed under the bombs and missiles of U.S. imperialism. As for "compensation" to the people who have driven the United States to ruin, we can offer to those who don't get in our way that they will live to see their grandchildren prosper in a truly humane society. We need a workers party to grab the wealth of America before the bourgeoisie squanders it all. ***Fight, don't starve—For class war in America!*** ■

Agins/NY Times

NYC: Former welfare recipients hired last year by Parks Department as part of cynical "welfare to work" scheme now face layoffs.

Black History Month Forums

Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt—Deadly Danger to Blacks, Labor!

U.S. Imperialism Abroad Means Racist Reaction at Home!

Break with the Democrats! Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!
Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

NEW YORK	CHICAGO
Saturday, February 9, 2 p.m.	Saturday, February 16, 4 p.m.
Columbia University 116th and Broadway Room to be announced	University of Illinois 750 S. Halsted Room 509, Circle Center
For more information: (212) 267-1025	For more information: (312) 454-4930

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forums

"Anti-Terror" Witchhunt Targets Immigrants, Workers, the Left

Labor Must Defend Immigrant Rights!

TORONTO	VANCOUVER
Saturday, January 26, 7:30 p.m.	Friday, February 8, 7 p.m.
Trinity-St. Paul's Centre 427 Bloor Street West (west of Spadina)	Britannia Community Centre, Rm. L4 1661 Napier Street (off Commercial Drive)
For more information: (416) 593-4138 or e-mail spartcan@on.aibn.com	For more information: (604) 687-0353 or e-mail tll@look.ca

Young Spartacus

UCLA Students Protest Racist Ideologues for U.S. Imperialism

Right-wing demagogue David Horowitz, notorious apologist for American slavery, was recently joined in his "Battle for America's Youth" hy the equally sinister Dinesh D'Souza, whose motto as one-time editor of the *Dartmouth Review* was "Genocide is never having to say you're sorry." A more accurate name for this affair would be the "Battle to Silence America's Youth." On January 14, these two racist ideologues descended on the UCLA campus in a speaking engagement to whip up pro-war patriotism and advance the capitalist rulers' "anti-terror" crackdown that immediately targets foreign students and immigrants but also has black people, labor, leftists and antiwar youth squarely in its cross hairs.

Young Spartacus

January 14: SYC-initiated protest against Horowitz and D'Souza at UCLA.

Much to the chagrin of Horowitz and D'Souza, there were more balloons than supporters at their outdoor "Rally for America," where the two were met with scornful jeers from individual students and a defiant protest we Marxists of the Spartacus Youth Club initiated, which was later accompanied by a sizable contingent of black and minority students organized by the UCLA African Student Union (ASU). Our united-front call was issued around the slogans: "Protest David Horowitz and Dinesh D'Souza, Racist Ideologues of U.S. Imperialism! U.S./UN/NATO Out of Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf, and the Near East! Down With the Racist Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt! Defend Black Rights!" In our signs, chants and speeches, we sought to drive home the understanding that racist reaction and anti-immigrant witchhunts are the domestic component of U.S. imperialism's wars abroad.

An obviously humiliated Horowitz predictably resorted to his Big Lie smears and slandered us Marxist protesters as "fascists." In a whining letter to the UCLA *Daily Bruin* (17 January), Horowitz bemoans the unfavorable coverage of his right-wing rally and ludicrously claims that the SYC "had obviously come to prevent anyone from hearing what Dinesh D'Souza and I had to say." In fact, the aim of Horowitz and D'Souza's speaking tour is to intimidate and muzzle all anti-racist and antiwar voices on college campuses. We protested these apologists for racist reaction and slavery, exposing their attempts to provide the ideological justification for racial oppression and imperialist war. It's not our problem if Horowitz occasionally choked on his words when hearing such chants as "Horowitz, D'Souza: What do we sec? Racist tools of the hourgeoisie!", "Horowitz, D'Souza: dogs of war! Workers revolution is what we're for!" and "Black rights, immigrant rights—Same struggle, same fight!"

Our spirited demonstration stands in stark contrast to the conspicuous inaction of the reformist groups Socialist Action and Spark and the liberal Student Coalition Against the War (SCAW)—hacked hy the fake socialists on campus—which were all absent that day. The International Socialist Organization (ISO) showed up with an unsigned flyer but never even put up their placards and, refusing an invitation to join with and speak at our demonstration, quickly moved their table closer to the fringe of the pro-Horowitz rally with its huge American flag. The "socialist" anti-Communists of the ISO preferred to peddle their wares in the shadow of Horowitz rather than risk any association with us Marxists.

Horowitz expects black youth to act as the reformists on campus did and silently tolerate his racist provocations. What really enraged him was the sight of 60 or more black students who marched through the plaza and protested alongside our demonstration, holding signs saying "We Owe America Nothing!" and "Education for All!" The racist pigs Horowitz and D'Souza have opined that slavery left no enduring legacy on American society and that racism no longer exists (except against "Whitey"). Last spring, Horowitz orchestrated a national ad campaign on college campuses that attacked reparations for black people on the grotesque basis that slavery actually "created wealth for black Americans." D'Souza likewise is a notorious racist bigot who derides blacks as "destructive and pathological," blaming poverty among blacks and Latinos on "shocking moral behavior" and the lack of a "work ethic." These are revolting lies! America is a racist hellhole for black people and other minorities!

While opposing the racist agenda of Horowitz and D'Souza, the ASU did not endorse our united-front call and instead held its own rally at a more remote location before marching through the pro-Horowitz rally and assembling next to our protest site. In calling their separate demonstration, the ASU leadership consciously sought to disappear any opposition to U.S. imperialism's war in Afghanistan. The ASU refused to allow us a speaker at their rally because of our vocal opposition to U.S. imperialism. An unsigned flyer distributed at the ASU rally characterized the bombing of devastated Afghanistan as a fight "for the protection of human life." This is a grotesque alibi for racist American capitalism. U.S. imperialist military mobilizations are always accompanied hy domestic repression, particularly targeting labor, black people and immigrants. The fight for black freedom is integrally linked to the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

It's no accident that Horowitz and D'Souza combine racist demagogy with pro-imperialist flag-waving in agitating for state repression against any and all dissent or social struggle. The two have launched a neo-McCarthyite campaign on the campuses to brand all who oppose U.S. imperialism's war on Afghanistan or the bosses' "national unity" front at home as traitors. Horowitz put an advertisement in 15 campus newspapers in late September entitled "An Open Letter to the 'Anti-War' Demonstrators: Think Twice Before You Bring the War Home," in which he complains that during the Vietnam War "this country was too tolerant towards the treason of its enemies within."

Horowitz named everyone from left liberals like Noam Chomsky, to black Democrats like Barbara Lee, to every single antiwar student as "The Enemy Within... A shameful roster of traitors, cowards, defeatists and fifth-columnists flourishing in America's heartland." In going after academics and students, Horowitz is carrying out the same work as the sinister American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA), founded by the second lady of U.S. imperialism, Lynne Cheney. Two months ago, ACTA released a report including a blacklist of 40 college professors "short on patriotism." Their intent is a chilling suppression of any campus political activity that isn't hand in hand with "Big Brother" Ashcroft.

Much of Horowitz's fire is directed at liberals, who in fact think peace is patriotic and war is just a bad policy. As Marxists, we understand that war is inherent to capitalism. But whoever is his target of the moment, Horowitz's talk of "treason" is nothing but a thinly veiled justification for government repression of antiwar activism and comes at a time when immigrants are facing government persecution.

Foreign students already are afraid to attend college in the U.S., and those already here live in fear of being rounded up and held for "voluntary questioning," not knowing whether they will join more than one thousand who have already been rounded up. Over 200 campus administrations have handed over the names of foreign students to the FBI or INS. At UCLA, students of Near Eastern and Muslim backgrounds, in particular those associated with the Muslim student newspaper, have been targeted as objects of special scrutiny.

D'Souza at UCLA denounced protesters as "homegrown Taliban." This takes some chutzpah. As a former Reagan administration "policy analyst," D'Souza would certainly know something about U.S. imperialism arming and bankrolling Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan. Horowitz and D'Souza have the vile distinction of being apologists for slavery on two continents: black chattel slavery in America and the enslavement of women in Afghanistan. In contrast to our left opponents who cheered the anti-Soviet crusade, we said in 1979: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the social gains of the Russian Revolution to the Afghan peoples!"

The fight against racism, poverty and war has to be linked to the struggle against the entire capitalist system. We seek to win radical youth to the understanding that what is needed is a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution. It is by joining such a struggle that radical-minded students and youth can help to unify the working class to overthrow this whole rotten capitalist system and open the door to human freedom. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BOSTON
Thursday, 6:30 p.m.
January 31:
Marxism: A Guide to Action
Boston University
College of Arts and Sciences
725 Commonwealth Ave.
Room information and readings:
(617) 666-9453

CHICAGO
Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.
February 5:
The Capitalist State—An Instrument of Organized Terror
University of Illinois at Chicago
Behavioral Sciences Bldg.,
1007 West Harrison Street
Room information and readings:
(312) 563-0441

LOS ANGELES
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.
February 2:
Economics of Communism and the Transition Period
3806 Beverly Blvd., Suite 215
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
January 29:
Marxism: For the International Rule of the Working Class!
Columbia University (116th and Broadway)
Room information and readings:
(212) 267-1025

TORONTO
Wednesday, 5:30 p.m.
January 30: **Live From Death Row: This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal**
Video showing and discussion
York University Student Ctr., Room 307
Information: (416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER
Alternate Wednesdays, 6 p.m.
January 30:
For Unconditional Military Defense of China Against Imperialism and Internal Counterrevolution!
University of British Columbia
Student Union Bldg., Room 213
Information and readings: (604)687-0353
tilt@look.ca

From Korea Through the Vietnam War

The U.S. Left and the "American Century"

Spartacist

Part One: Liberalism and the Crisis of American Stalinism

We print below the first part of an educational on the American left given over two days by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour to a gathering of Spartacus Youth Club members and youth from throughout the International Communist League in New York last summer.

Let me begin by asking and answering two questions which may have occurred to some of you. Why did I want tu give an educational on this particular subject, the history uf the American left from the end of the Korean War in 1953 through the end of the Vietnam War in 1975? And why this particular periodization?

I'll address the second question first. This period corresponds to the development of a distinct generation of American leftists, one whose experience and corresponding outlook was quite different from the preceding generation of leftists whuse main formative experience was the mass militant labor struggles during the Great Depression of the 1930s. In the 1960s, young leftist radicals called themselves the New Left as opposed to the "old left," which had been dominated by the pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party.

What I'll call the New Left generation, of which I'm a member, makes up a majority of the present SL leadership and cadre. And this is also the case for our left opponents—the International Socialist Organization, Progressive Labor (PL), Workers World et al.

This generation of future leftist radicals acquired their first fragments of political consciousness in the intensely anti-Communist climate of the post-Korean War period. I first started reading the newspaper at the age of ten in 1954. One of the stories I remember reading was about the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were Jewish American Communists convicted of betraying the "secret" of the atomic bomb to Soviet Russia. The new generation of young liberal idealists first entered the political scene during the Southern-centered civil rights movement of the late '50s and early '60s. During the '60s they were propelled leftward by the combined impact of the Cuban Revulution, the Northern black ghetto rebellions and, above all, the Vietnam War.

By the early 1970s, the most serious and left-wing elements of the New Left joined or formed organizations which claimed to be or claimed to be building the "Marxist-Leninist" vanguard party of the American proletariat. As such, they went into factories and engaged in trade-union left oppusitional activity. For example, there were half a dozen or more different "Marxist-Leninist" groups operating in the Fremont General Motors plant in the Bay Area in California in this period. One of them was us. If you want a firsthand account, talk to comrades Joan and Darlene.

Another reason for beginning with the Kurean War period is that the development and outlook of the New Left was decisively conditioned by the collapse of the old left under the pressure of Cold War anti-Communism. In the mid 1950s, the Communist Party (CP) and also the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) suffered massive rightward defections. In 1953, in the Cochran-Clarke fight, the SWP lost 20 percent of its members. In 1956-57, the CP lost three-quarters of its members. Furthermore these losses were heavily concentrated among the parties' active trade unionists. Workers who when they were younger had joincd the communist movement during the leftward radicalizatiun of the 1930s or during World War II, when the U.S. was allied with Soviet Russia against Nazi Germany, now left it en masse.

The defections of the mid 1950s were also concentrated in the middle generation of the CP and SWP, people between their mid 30s and late 50s. A few years later, when young leftist radicals spoke disparagingly of the old left, they meant this in a biological as well as an ideological sense. In 1963, I was briefly in the Progressive Labor youth group, and I was selling Chinese Maoist pamphlets to a CP May Day rally. Most of the people who buught them were over 70. Of course, now my attitude toward 70-year-old communists is very different—much less disrespectful—than when I was a brash 19-year-old.

The purging and self-purging of reds from the labor movement during the first decade of the Cold War was by far the single most important ***negative*** factor shaping the outlook of what would become the New Left. Because when young liberal activists—black and white—entered the political scene during the civil rights movement, they encountered a labor movement which had no significant (or even insignificant) left wing that shared their own views toward racial oppression and Cold War militarism. And for them, these were the key questions of the day.

All wings of the labor bureaucracy were militantly anti-Communist and staunch anti-Soviet Cold Warriors. All wings defended the racist status quo in the North and only paid lip service to opposing legalized racial segregation and supporting the democratic rights of blacks in the South. The head of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, was directly and personally based on the white labor aristocracy of the construction trades, in which jobs were handed down from father to son and uncle to nephew. And even the racially integrated industrial unions, like the United Auto Workers (UAW), were pervaded by racist practices. For example, the UAW skilled trades section in this periud was almost exclusively white.

Under these conditions, there developed the view that would become a central premise of New Left ideology: the fundamental division within American society and also the world at large was that of race and not class. When in the late '60s Stokely Carmichael expounded the ductrine of "revolutionary" black nationalism, he argued in effect that the interests of a black steel worker in the U.S. were fundamentally closer to those of a Brazilian peasant than to those of a white steel worker in the U.S.

The absence of a visible left wing of the labor movement shaped especially the early New Left in another important way. The unly left critics of American society which liberal youth encountered or knew were intellectuals. Consider a left-liberal high school student in 1960 in New York City who attended a rally fur nuclear disarmament—one of the main fashionable liberal causes of the day. He's addressed by the head of the Physics department of the City College of New York, by the pastor uf the Riverside Church, by the nationally known pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock. But he is *not* addressed by a representative of the New York City Central Labur Cuuncil ur one of the major NYC unions.

So there developed the view that among the white population only students and other intellectuals could be mobilized as a social group against racial oppression and Cold War militarism. In 1966, Isaac Deutscher, Trotsky's biographer, who considered himself an old-fashioned classical Marxist, toured the U.S., speaking at Vietnam antiwar protests and other left events. He was both surprised and disturbed by the intellectual elitism among young radicals who considered themselves opponents of American capitalism and imperialism. And at the Socialist Scholars Conference, Deutscher lashed out at his audience:

> "Do you really take such a contemptuous view of your working classes that you think that you alone are so sensitive or so noble as to he dissatisfied with this degrading society and that they cannot find it in themselves to be dissatisfied? Do you really believe that they are so much more prone, and by nature conditioned, to be corrupted by the meretricious advantages of this war-flourishing capitalism than you are?"

Much of the audience did think exactly that at that time.

A few years later things changed. Many of these same people went into the factories, ran for union office and—lo and behold—they became workerists. In some cases, they capitulated to the backward prejudices of white workers whom they had previously disdained for having those prejudices. Guys who had a PhD in classics, who could read Homer in the original archaic Greek, talked like Marlon Brando in the film *On the Waterfront*. You know: "Us woikers gotta fight back against da bosses."

A personal anecdote in this regard. In 1970-71, we did an entry into the PL-led Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) after the original broad umbrella SDS had split. For a time our relations with Progressive Labor were not that bad—not hostile—because we helped legitimize their SDS operation. They could say, "SDS is not a PL front group. Look, we even have cuunterrevolutionary Trotskyites in it."

One of the heads of the PL-SDS fraction was a guy called Bob Leonhardt, who, like a lot of PL male honchos, cultivated this Brandoesque speaking style—

TWU

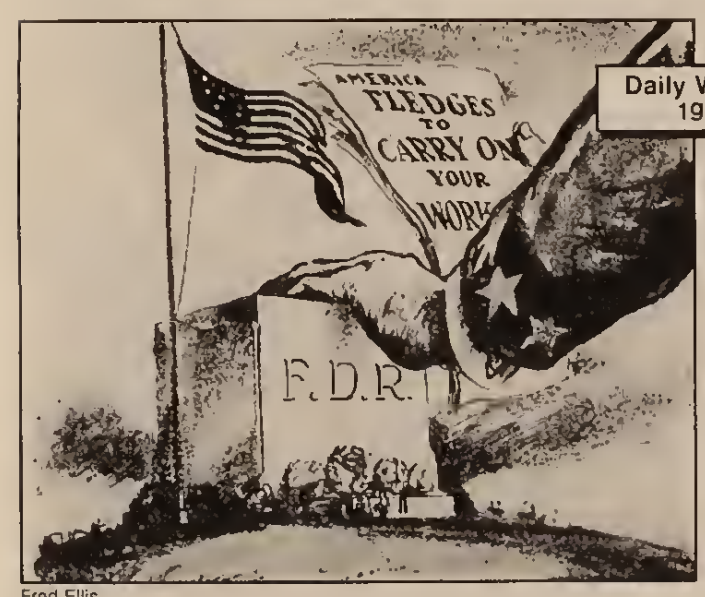
Amid Cold War witchhunt in 1948, union chief and onetime CP supporter Mike Quill (center) led vicious red purge of Transport Workers Union.

no words over three syllables. I learned he had a PhD in classics. Since he wasn't a bad guy, one day I decided to play a benign trick on him. I went up to him and said, "Bob, I heard you majored in classics. Which do you think is a better translation of the *Iliad*, the Richmond Lattimore or the Robert Fitzgerald?" He thought a few seconds and said he thought the Lattimore was better. He momentarily forgot he wasn't supposed to know or care about such highfalutin intellectual matters.

The American Left and American Liberalism

So why do I want to discuss the American left in this period apart from indulging in personal nostalgia? As we frequently emphasize, the United States is the only advanced capitalist country in which the working class lacks any political class consciousness, even in a reformist, social-democratic form. The main reason for this is the deep racial division in the working class and society at large. A consequence of this is the ideological and political hegemony of liberalism—organizationally represented by the Democratic Party—in the labor movement, the organizations of the oppressed ethnic minorities and all "progressive" movements.

American leftists—Stalinists and Trotskyists in the 1930s, New Left Maoists and Spartacists in the early '70s, yourselves and our left opponents today—operate in an environment dominated by liberalism, whether in the trade unions, in the black and Latino communities or on the campuses. Most of the people you seek to influence and recruit—whether on the picket line of a labor strike or at a campus protest for affirmative action—will subscribe to liberal ideas in some form.



Daily Worker
1945

Fred Ellis

Communist Party cartoon eulogized Democratic president Roosevelt.

Here it's important to emphasize that liberalism is *not* a single, logically coherent doctrine. It's not the political equivalent of Euclidean geometry in which everything follows logically from a few basic premises. Liberalism is a complex of different and contradictory ideas, attitudes and values. The liberalism of a black local union president is not the same as the liberalism of a white woman college professor. On many important issues they'll be opposed to one another, even hostile to one another. It's precisely because a liberal outlook consists of different and contradictory elements that liberals can evolve into revolutionary socialists and then devolve back again into liberals.

The American left is constantly interacting with American liberalism. And this interaction is a two-way, not a one-way, street. You seek to recruit and influence liberals. But they also, often unconsciously, seek to influence you, to win you to their outlook.

In 1940, Trotsky, in discussions with the SWP leadership, expressed serious concern that the party trade unionists were too soft, too conciliatory toward so-called "progressive," pro-Democratic Party workers with whom they collaborated on shopfloor and union issues. He said:

> "We are in a bloc with so-called progressives—not only fakers but honest rank and file. Yes, they are honest and progressive but from time to time they vote for Roosevelt—once in four years. This is decisive.... The danger—a terrible danger—is adaptation to the pro-Rooseveltian trade unionists."

And he went on to generalize. Party trade unionists, he emphasized,

> "deal with the class, the backward elements; they are the party vanguard in the working class. The necessary field of adaptation is among the trade unions. The people who have this adaptation as their job are those in the trade unions. That is why the pressure of the backward elements is always reflected through the trade union comrades. It is a healthy pressure; but it can also break them from the historic class interests—they can become opportunists."
>
> —"Discussions with Trotsky" (June 1940), reprinted in *Writings 1939-40*

It was precisely this layer of SWP trade unionists, about whom Trotsky expressed concern, who 13 years later left the party en bloc in the Cochran-Clarke fight.

At the beginning of 1956, the American Communist Party had an estimated 20,000 members. By the end of 1957, it had perhaps 5,000 members. What happened to the 15,000 people who left the CP? Most became independent left-liberal activists working in and around the Democratic Party.

The same pattern repeated itself in the next generation of American leftist radicals. In 1968 or '69, I and a few other comrades—in those days there were only a few other comrades—were selling *Spartacist* at a rally in Harlem jointly sponsored by the Black Panther Party and SDS. The featured speaker was the Panther chief of staff, David Hilliard, who used the occasion to expound on Marxist dialectics, a subject of which he was effectively ignorant. But to his credit, Hilliard was trying to educate black ghetto youth and white student radicals in Marxism as he understood it. A few years ago, Hilliard ran for Oakland city council as a member of the Democratic Party.

Stewart/Bethel

Many New Left radicals later turned into liberal activists. David Hilliard (right), former Black Panther Party leader, announces his Democratic Party candidacy for Oakland city council, 1999.

DaSilva/NY Times

In 1972, in the heyday of New Left Maoism, I would estimate there may have been as many as 40,000 left-wing activists in this country who were members of groups claiming to be the "Marxist-Leninist" vanguard of the American proletariat. Ten years later, I doubt if there were 5,000. So what happened to these tens of thousands of ex-"Marxist-Leninists"? Most dropped out of politics, and those who didn't were mainly involved in fashionable liberal causes like feminism and environmentalism. People who in the late '60s were involved in defending the Black Panthers against murderous state repression were ten years later defending fish, amphibians and raptors supposedly threatened by government and corporate policies. Young women college students who in the late '60s were marching and taking over campus buildings to demand freedom for Huey Newton and other imprisoned Panther leaders ten years later were bourgeois feminists quite hostile to young black lumpen males.

The basic point is that we are constantly in battle with liberalism, which uses different weapons, strategies and tactics against the left in different periods. Sometimes it's repression, sometimes co-optation, sometimes both simultaneously. Liberals can denounce American imperialism when they want to appear very left in order to appeal to young radicals. We have no copyright on that term. We can't sue them for misusing Leninist terminology for their own purposes. When young black radicals raised the slogan of "black power" in the mid-late '60s, the demagogic black Democratic Congressman from Harlem, Adam Clayton Powell, began using it, too. "You want black power," he said, "well, here I am!" To better fight liberalism in the present and future, it's useful to analyze the battles of the past.

The Korean War and the Anti-Communist Witchhunt

Today, when most Americans think of the Korean War, they think of the TV program *M.A.S.H.* But the Korean War was an event of no little importance in modern world history, and it had an important effect on the American left not only in its immediate aftermath but in the longer term as well.

Xinhua

Winter 1950: U.S. prisoners of war in Korea.

Objectively, the Korean War ended in a stalemate. The armistice agreement restored the division of Korea as it was when the war had begun. North Korea remained a deformed workers state allied with the Soviet Union and China; South Korea remained a capitalist state and a puppet regime of the U.S.

Subjectively, however, the American people regarded the Korean War as a defeat. The greatest military power on earth had been fought to a standstill by Communist China and North Korea. That wasn't supposed to happen. Malcolm X later commented on the Korean War with his usual perceptive wit. He said if you get into the ring with Joe Louis—the great black heavyweight boxing champion of the 1930s and '40s—and the fight ends in a draw, you've won. Well, the American people thought that Red China had won the Korean War because it hadn't lost. Also during the Korean War, the Soviet Union successfully tested its own hydrogen bomb. So the U.S. no longer had a monopoly on this supposed ultimate weapon of mass destruction.

Under these conditions the U.S. government incited and orchestrated an anti-Communist witchhunt throughout American society, including especially the labor movement. Liberal Democratic politicians like Hubert Humphrey and union bureaucrats mobilized backward workers to purge and terrorize reds. The bourgeois media depicted world Communism as a powerful, red-armored giant on the march striving to conquer the world and turn it into a global version of a Stalinist gulag. At the same time, the American people said to themselves: never again should the U.S. fight a war like that in Korea, a war of attrition with Asian Communist countries.

Thus, the longer-term impact of the Korean War on the American left was quite different from its immediate effect. The immediate effect was to intensify the anti-Communist witchhunt. However, in the 1960s the memory of the Korean War was one of the important factors in the rapid erosion of popular support for the Vietnam War, long before the level of casualties in Vietnam reached those in Korea.

The introduction to American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon's *Speeches to the Party* documenting the 1952-53 Cochran-Clarke fight describes quite well the often violent anti-Communism, even in sections of the unionized working class in which the left had previously been influential. It cites the situation of Sol and Genora Dollinger, the leaders of the SWP's Flint, Michigan branch. Genora had been a leader of the famous sitdown in the mid 1930s which established the UAW union in the Flint GM plant. But

continued on page 8

New Left...

(continued from page 7)

now Sol, who worked there, was driven out of the plant every day by a mob of right-wing workers. And the same thing was happening across the country at the time to the far more numerous Communist Party trade unionists.

It was this anti-Communism at the base of American society rather than government persecution that demoralized much of the ranks and cadre of the CP and SWP. This demoralization found organized expression in large right-wing factions and then splits in these parties. After the Cochranites split from the SWP, they published for a short time a magazine called the *American Socialist*. They were desperate to overcome their alienation from the mass of the American working class caused by the Cold War with the Sino-Soviet states. Similarly, a main slogan of the CP right-wingers was returning to the "mainstream of American political life."

The Collapse of American Stalinism

Since the pro-Moscow Communist Party was the dominant force on the American left until the crisis of 1956, I want to discuss the state of the party leading up to this crisis. There's a saying that if you wear a mask long enough your face changes to fit it. By the early 1950s, I believe the faces of the ranks and cadre of the CP had changed to fit the mask of pro-Democratic Party liberalism.

When the American CP first supported and worked in Roosevelt's Democratic Party in the mid 1930s, as part of the turn of the world Stalinist movement toward popular-frontism, its members considered this quite cynically as a tactical maneuver. Just a few years earlier, the CP had denounced Roosevelt as a "social fascist."

But by the early 1950s, I think most CPers had ceased entirely to believe in their own formal ideology. They no longer believed there would be an American proletarian revolution like the Russian October Revolution led by an American Marxist-Leninist vanguard party like the Bolsheviks. They now really believed that political and social progress in the U.S. would come about through reforms enacted by the Democratic Party, with the CP acting as its left pressure group.

A personal anecdote in this regard. In 1964, I was arrested along with dozens of others in a major civil rights protest at the opening of the World's Fair in Queens. We were taken out to Rikers Island and put in holding pens for a day or so. I was one of the last to be bailed out, around midnight. Bailed out at the same time was a girl I knew from City College who was a member of the Communist Party youth group. Her parents, who were veteran CPers, picked her up and gave me a lift back to Manhattan.

They asked us what exactly we had done to get ourselves arrested. We explained that there were a number of different protest activities. Some of us had disrupted the Budweiser beer exhibit to protest the fact that Budweiser had segregated operations in the South. Others had attempted to shout down the Democratic president, Lyndon Johnson, who was addressing the opening of the Fair. When they heard that, they said: "Oh, that's very bad, they should have listened to what he had to say." These were decades-long members of the CP talking in private to their daughter and a left radical acquaintance of hers.

AP

Budapest workers topple statue of Stalin during 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

I believe this same attitude was prevalent or at least common among the members of the CP in the early '50s as well. There was also a relatively small minority of left CPers at this time who viewed themselves as hard Bolsheviks. They, too, favored electoral support to the Democratic Party but considered this a reversible tactic.

One such left CPer was Harry Haywood, one of the party's leading black spokesmen. Comrade Emily tells me that during the 1920s Haywood was for a time a member of the Cannon faction in the CP. In the 1970s, Haywood, who had predictably become a Maoist, published an autobiography titled *Black Bolshevik* in which he recounted in great detail the bitter, decades-long animosity between left-wingers like himself and what he called the "right opportunist" forces who dominated the American Communist Party.

The effect of the Cold War on left CPers like Haywood, Milt Rosen, Nelson Peery was to deepen their commitment to Stalinism and to Stalin. Why was that? In the late '40s and early '50s, if you were a known CP member, supporter or sympathizer and you wanted to keep your job—whether as a union official, a Hollywood screenwriter or college or high school teacher—you had to denounce Stalin as the bloody-handed dictator of a totalitarian police state. Since Stalin really *was* the bloody-handed dictator of a totalitarian police state, this made it easier to do. You could be an ex-Communist opportunist with a good conscience.

But in reaction to this, left CPers like Haywood locked on to the position that the Soviet Union was "building socialism" under the great, wise and benevolent leadership of comrade Stalin as a kind of talisman against opportunism. They brandished the portrait of Stalin as if it were a cross to ward off the liberal vampires who were sucking the lifeblood out of the Communist Party.

In 1956, the world Communist movement was deeply shaken by what was called the "crisis of de-Stalinization." It began in February when Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev made a supposedly "secret" speech to the Soviet party congress denouncing the crimes of Stalin, especially his crimes against Soviet Communists. This turned out to be one of the most publicized speeches in the history of the world. The ensuing relaxation of harsh Stalinist rule in East Europe led in Hungary in October to a proletarian political revolution, which was then suppressed by the Soviet Army.

In some countries, notably Britain and Japan, the combined impact of Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin and the Hungarian Revolution propelled a significant number of CP cadre to the left. They joined the Trotskyist movement or what they thought was the Trotskyist movement. It was at this time that Trotskyism became a major factor on the British and Japanese far left.

For the reasons I've been discussing, this did *not* happen in the United States. Of the estimated 15,000 people who left the CP, only a relatively small handful joined the SWP. Incidentally, two of these—Geoff White (who had been a second-level CP leader) and Harry Turner—later joined the Revolutionary Tendency in the SWP and went on to become founding members of the Spartacist League. Almost all the CP left-wingers remained in the party, defending the heritage of Stalin and supporting the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian Revolution. In his autobiography, Harry Haywood describes, from his own ideological vantage point, how the "crisis of de-Stalinization" impacted on the factional alignment and balance of forces in the American Communist Party:

> "Rather than finding a source of support in the Soviet Union, we on the left were thrown completely off balance by the new 'revelations.' At first we couldn't believe Khrushchev made such a speech, thinking it must be some imperialist propaganda stunt. When this initial reaction passed we tended to give the new Soviet leadership the benefit of the doubt and failed to grasp the full implications of this attack on Stalin.
>
> "The liquidationist right used this as an excuse to attack proletarian internationalism in general, calling for a sweeping reevaluation of our line. They bitterly denounced our past history as one of slavishly clinging to imported doctrines, the bankruptcy of which was now being proven. Under the guise of 'fighting dogmatism' inherited from the era of the 'cult of personality,' the Gates crowd [CP right wing represented by John Gates] concluded that Leninism was nothing more than Marxism applied to the peculiar, backward condition of Russia—a purely 'Russian social phenomenon'—and therefore not applicable in the U.S. They found Lenin's theories of the bourgeois state as an instrument of class rule to be particularly outmoded under U.S. conditions."

As I've previously indicated, most of those who left the CP remained politically active as independent left liberals. In a sense, American liberalism now acquired a cadre, people experienced in building large-scale, popular-frontist protest movements. This legion of ex-CPers played an important role in organizing all the main left-liberal and radical movements of the late '50s and '60s—the movement for nuclear disarmament, the civil rights movement in the North, the support groups for the Cuban Revolution and the Vietnam antiwar movement.

Most of these ex-CPers did not become anti-Communists. They themselves had been the victims of anti-Communism. They did not become anti-Soviet Cold Warriors but favored "peaceful coexistence" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Thus the main body of political activists who had split from the CP to the right in 1956 or earlier came to occupy a position on the American political spectrum intermediate between Cold War liberalism and traditional Moscow-line Stalinism. This was the same position that the early New Left would occupy in the mid 1960s. In a sense, the ex-right-wing CPers were the political and in more than a few cases biological parents of the New Left.

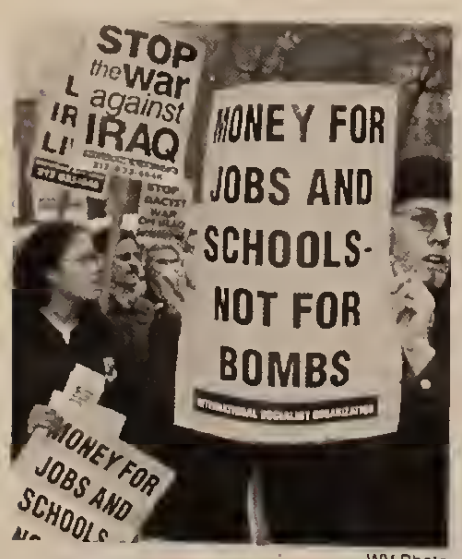
WV Photo

San Francisco: SL/SYC contingent in October antiwar protest raises call to break from Democratic Party.

The hardline left Stalinists who remained in the CP in '56 would also influence the New Left in a later period and in a different way. In the late 1950s, the disintegration of the world Stalinist movement reached a new, more advanced level with the Sino-Soviet split. At bottom, this reflected the *conflicting national interests* of the Russian and Chinese Stalinist bureaucracies. But at the time and for the next several years, Mao's China adopted a more left-wing posture, denouncing the Soviet leaders for "revisionism" and for collaborating with American imperialism.

In the late 1950s and early '60s, almost all the left Stalinists in the American CP left to form an American Maoist movement, which was never unified but always divided into competing groups. As the New Left radicals moved left in the mid-late '60s, they thus encountered Stalinism in its then more attractive Maoist form.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



WV Photo

Much of the U.S. left today openly accommodates liberalism, like the ISO in a December 1998 NYC demo against the bombing of Iraq.

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

South Carolina organized by the state AFL-CIO, where thousands of trade unionists from throughout the South showed up to demand freedom for the Charleston Five. Ever since picketing Charleston longshoremen, members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), shut down a union-busting stevedoring outfit and defied a vicious attack by 600 cops on 20 January 2000—a courageous stand that inspired workers throughout the region and the world—the AFL-CIO union tops have carefully sought to diminish the real story of what happened that day. After all, the job of the labor bureaucracy is to *prevent* that kind of class struggle.

The union tops who spoke at the Columbia rally bragged that they had helped bring the Democratic Party back into office in South Carolina. For his part, Heyman, in response to a floor speaker at the October Local 10 rally, prettified the pro-capitalist labor leadership under John Sweeney, stating without blinking an eye that the AFL-CIO sees Charleston as the beginning of a drive to organize the South. In fact, the struggle to organize the "open shop" South requires a fight to break labor's ties to the Democratic Party, which for decades enforced Jim Crow segregation with the help of its KKK auxiliaries and worked to ensure that integrated unions were kept out. Heyman ended his speech with a call for a labor party. Led by whom, John Sweeney?

In his letter, Heyman saves his fire for a spurious attack on Gene Herson, the labor coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee, which issued a protest letter to the South Carolina attorney general the very day of the cop attack on the Charleston longshoremen and called for contributions in defense of the arrested ILA members to be sent to ILA Local 1422. The PDC is known and respected by the Charleston longshore unions. When Herson hand-delivered a check from the PDC, he was warmly greeted and asked to address the members in the Charleston ILA hall. Heyman uses quote marks around the word "solidarity" in order to sneer at Herson's remarks, the core of which were repeated in a speech from the podium at the start of the Columbia march last June (reprinted in *WV* No. 761, 6 July 2001). At that rally, in opposition to the pleas by the labor tops to elect more Democrats, Herson raised the call for independent class struggle, linking this to the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal:

> "We must use our power here, our independent power: No reliance on Democratic or Republican politicians! They have lied to us and they have oppressed us. This whole issue is about the power used on the picket line on the docks of Charleston. That power must be used to defend the Charleston Five. That power must be used to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Workers to power!"

If it were not so ludicrous, it would really be annoying to be accused by Heyman of "the centrist method of social chauvinist opportunism" for supposedly uncritically quoting Jesse Jackson Jr. in the article Heyman criticizes in the opening sentence of his letter. Heyman chooses to attack us for noting that this black Democratic Congressman reflected justifiable apprehensions among black people over the government's shredding of democratic rights. Jackson pointed out that it was not "the terrorists" but "the supporters of this bill [USA-Patriot Act] who are really attacking American liberties." The indifference to black oppression Heyman here unwittingly manifests is a hallmark of the U.S. labor bureaucracy. Thus, in their statements against the Port, Maritime and Rail Security Act now before Congress, the ILWU brass have *ignored* the racist content of the bosses' current attacks (including this bill) targeting black and Latino longshoremen and immigrant port truckers.

We have also noted Oakland black Democratic Congresswoman Barbara Lee's courage in voting against unlimited war powers, which earned her right-wing death threats. At the same time, as readers of *WV* are well aware, we have consistently warned that black Democrats like Jackson and Lee are positioning themselves to get ahead of and contain increasing discontent in the black population at intensifying racist repression and the deepening effects of the recession. In sharp contrast, in a 22 September 2001 Internet posting ("Longshore Unions and the 'War Against Terrorism'"), Heyman approvingly notes that Local 10 voted overwhelmingly to send Lee a letter "commending her for her courageous sole vote against the war. In a sense, it was a *workers' referendum* on the undefined, unlimited 'war against terrorism'" (our emphasis). No mention by Heyman that Lee's Democrats, like the Republicans, represent the interests of the class enemy, or that they have been virtually in lockstep alliance with Bush nationally over Afghanistan. Far from seeking to break workers from illusions in the Democrats, Heyman is happy to reinforce them.

Heyman's reference to the International Communist League's supposed "abstentionism" in Brazil further illustrates how his "militant" rhetoric serves to deflect from the necessary political struggle against the misleaders of the working class. We did not have "trade union supporters" in Brazil; we did have fraternal relations with a group then called Luta Metalúrgica, which claimed that it agreed with our program. We broke relations with this group after a long political struggle because they proved to be trade-union opportunists, more concerned with becoming the leadership of a cop-riddled municipal union than with building a revolutionary party. Showing a complete disregard for working-class principles, they have since dragged the union into the capitalist courts three times in a squalid fight to retain their union positions (for details, see "IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* No. 671, 11 July 1997). Heyman proclaims his opposition to suing unions in the bosses' courts. But his defense of these unprincipled trade-union hustlers reveals his own appetites for labor opportunism—including leaving open the possibility of supporting anti-union lawsuits, which unfortunately is not uncommon in the American labor movement.

Heyman seeks to cover his opportunism by "chicken"-baiting our organization, a posture also assumed by centrist outfits like the Internationalist Group (IG) and the International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT), whose arguments he borrows from wholesale. His defense of the Brazilian trade-union opportunists is a direct echo of the IG, which maintains this group as a section of its fraudulent "League for the Fourth International." Similarly, on the question of the Democratic Party, Heyman echoes not only the IG but the BT's cynical declarations that the Spartacist League is "soft" on the Democrats. This is particularly rich coming from the BT which, in concert with Heyman's maneuvers inside the ILWU, did its level best to turn the April 1999 labor action for Mumia into a platform for liberal Democrats (see "Labor Opportunism, the Democratic Party and the Defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal," *WV* No. 714, 28 May 1999).

Despite Heyman's ability to throw leftist phrases around, class-conscious workers will recognize him as a phony and a labor careerist whose real role is deceiving the workers. ■

Mobilize...

(continued from page 12)

cops in 1969, got a full blast of what being labeled a "terrorist" in capitalist America means. Coordinating these repressive measures is Tom Ridge, the man who signed two death warrants against former Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man framed up for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia cop, who was sentenced to death for his political views. *Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

On the docks, largely immigrant port truckers are already being harassed by armed cops and federal agents. The Maritime Security Act—authored by a Democratic Party Senator from "open shop" South Carolina—calls for "background checks" under which waterfront workers can be fired for any conviction in the past 10 years on any of 20 felony offenses, including minor drug charges. This directly threatens the jobs of black and Latino longshoremen who have been on the receiving end of the racist cop harassment in the ghettos and barrios under the so-called "war on drugs."

Just as the fight for black freedom is central to the liberation of all working people, the labor movement can only defend itself if it defends the rights of immigrants. In this country, the raw exploitation of labor has always come wrapped in the envelope of racial and ethnic-religious hostilities fomented by the capitalist rulers. Black oppression is the cornerstone of American capitalism. But black and immigrant workers are not helpless victims; they're a vital component of the multiracial working class. Armed with the militant traditions of their homelands, immigrant workers have been a key part of labor battles in this country, from the 1912 "Bread and Roses" strike in the Massachusetts textile mills to the Justice for Janitors organizing drive in L.A. Together with black workers, they can help spark a working-class offensive against racial oppression and capitalist exploitation.

From the Chinese exclusion acts over a century ago to Mexican workers deported during the Great Depression and the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, assaults on the immigrant workforce have always gone hand in hand with stepped-up oppression of blacks and the persecution of the most militant workers. Don't forget—here in California the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 led directly to the racist, anti-affirmative action Proposition 209 two years later. We demand: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!* We must fight against deportations, for unionizing the unorganized and for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay in order to spread the available work. Let our motto be *class* struggle—joining forces against our common enemy, the capitalist ruling class!

The labor bureaucracy's commitment to the capitalist system leads them to denounce Mexican truckers and our downtrodden working-class brothers and sisters throughout Latin America and Asia for "stealing American jobs." This is a convenient fraud which promotes anti-immigrant bigotry at home and is directly opposed to our fighting unity as a class against the bosses' "divide and rule" schemes. Peddling the lie that the interests of the workers and their exploiters are compatible, AFL-CIO head John Sweeney says that "no sacrifice is too great" for workers to make for the reactionary "war on terror." Opposition to the war on labor, blacks and immigrants at home means opposition to the wars of American capitalism abroad. All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of Afghanistan, the Near East and Central Asia!

Instead of mobilizing union power to defend their members and all the oppressed, the labor tops sell the Democratic Party as the "friend of labor." But the Democrats, like the Republicans, represent the interests of the class enemy. The only difference is that the Republicans openly revel in attacking the working people and oppressed; the Democrats lie and do the same thing. Black Democrats like Barbara Lee, with her show of opposition—however superficial—to Bush's war powers, are positioning themselves to contain and head off increasing discontent as the recession and racist repression bite. Democrat Bill Clinton declared, "I feel your pain" while he axed welfare and spearheaded an anti-immigrant crackdown. Here in the Bay Area, "liberal" Democratic mayor Jerry Brown's gentrification plan for Oakland encouraged rampages through black West Oakland by the police gang who took the name "Riders" from the nightriders of the KKK. On the other side of the Bay Bridge, mayor Willie Brown has launched a new war on the homeless of San Francisco while 16,000 laid-off workers in low-wage industries face homelessness, and those still employed are only a paycheck away from the same fate.

To fight for its interests the working class must stand independent of all agencies and parties of the class enemy. The trade-union misleaders who have shackled labor's power to support for the Democrats now offer to help implement "security" on the docks and elsewhere. It is not the job of the workers to enforce the laws, "security" or otherwise, that will be used against them: cops and security guards have no place in the union movement!

There must be a political struggle within the trade unions, the only significant racially integrated institutions in segregation America, to break from the Democrats and build a class-struggle leadership which will champion the cause of black freedom and the defense of immigrant rights. The working class needs its own party—one that fights for a workers government. Those who labor must rule!

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Ireland...

(continued from page 3)

attacks recorded in 213 days to August this year, including 75 bombings and 20 gun attacks (*An Phoblacht*, 9 August 2001). In the last week of October alone there were 12 bomb attacks against Catholics in North Belfast. There have been a number of murders of Catholics, including that of 19-year-old Ciaran Cummings, killed in a drive-by shooting in Antrim in July, and Gavin Brett, an 18-year-old Protestant killed by Loyalist gunmen who mistook him for a Catholic. On 28 October Colin Foy was killed in Tyrone by a member of the British Army's Royal Irish Regiment.

The Catholics are an oppressed minority living under permanent siege. The plight of working-class Catholic families hit international headlines this summer as schoolgirls in Ardoyne, North Belfast trying to walk to Holy Cross school with their parents were shown daily on television confronting a Loyalist mob howling vile anti-Catholic and anti-woman slurs and throwing pipebombs, bags of excrement and balloons filled with urine. The British Army and RUC—now re-named the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI)—lined the streets and tried to look as if they were making an honest effort to "keep the peace." On the day of their name change, the PSNI escorted leaders of the Orange Order down the Catholic Garvaghy Road. Catholics know they have as much to fear from the police and army as they do from the Loyalist death squads; indeed IRA decommissioning leaves sections of the Catholic population feeling defenceless against these forces.

The scenes at Holy Cross school are a microcosm of Northern Ireland which show the bitter reality of Labour's imperialist "peace" deal. The fact that Catholic parents refused to meekly accept their status as second-class citizens brought out blatant anti-Irish prejudice from British journalists who would often report with amazement that the situation is like the segregated American South in the 1950s prior to the civil rights struggles; in the next breath they would ask Catholic parents why they don't use a back entrance to the school! The Irish bourgeois press, which has the same contempt for working-class Catholics in the North as for those in the South, echoed Loyalist lies that the exercise was just a publicity stunt for Sinn Féin (SF). But, with or without decommissioning, Sinn Féin manifestly cannot offer a way forward to the beleaguered Catholics.

Sinn Féin has been organising protests against particular military installations and complaining that the imperialists have not lived up to the "'programme for demilitarisation' that was promised in the Good Friday Agreement" (*An Phoblacht*, 1 November 2001). But while the British may agree to scale down the army presence to cut their costs, the Good Friday Agreement is premised on troops remaining in Northern Ireland.

We fight for the *immediate unconditional withdrawal* of British troops, not merely because no good can come of the British military presence there, but also because we agree with Karl Marx that the British working class cannot make a revolution against their "own" capitalist rulers if they accept imperialist oppression in Ireland. It is in the direct interests of the working class to oppose repressive measures in Northern Ireland, which are often subsequently imposed on workers and minorities in Britain. After 11 September, Jack Straw pledged Britain would see "security of a kind people in Northern Ireland have had to live with for decades." Sure enough, immigrants suspected of "terrorism" are being rounded up and interned without trial.

Alan Lewis/Photopress

Belfast, August 2001: 15,000 UDA paramilitaries march in ominous display of anti-Catholic terror.

Withdrawal of the British Army does not in itself automatically ensure advance in a revolutionary direction, but it is the necessary starting point for a proletarian revolutionary perspective. We seek to break workers from illusions in Labour, which has loyally served racist, chauvinist British imperialism and the monarchy. The Spartacist League/Britain and Dublin Spartacist Group, sections of the International Communist League, fight to build revolutionary internationalist workers parties to put an end to capitalist rule and to establish a workers republic in Ireland as part of a federation of workers republics in the British Isles. Our framework is internationalist and is based on the necessity to link the struggles of the working class of Ireland, North and South, with those of the workers in England, Scotland and Wales.

In Northern Ireland divisions between Catholics and Protestants have deepened, which means the prospect of united struggle by Protestant and Catholic workers for their common class interests appears remote. Although Protestant workers are only marginally better off than their Catholic counterparts, the view is pervasive that improvements in the position of one community will necessarily be at the expense of the other. This indeed is true, unless such struggles challenge the framework of capitalist rule. A proletarian revolutionary perspective is the only way forward. There can be no just solution to the communal conflict in Northern Ireland short of proletarian rule in all of Ireland and in Britain.

Labourite "Socialists" Push Imperialist "Peace"

The Labour-loyal fake left have shamelessly touted British imperialism, in the guise of Blair and the Labour government, as the agency to bring peace and equality to the North. In the last British election, the Socialist Alliance—which at the time consisted of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Socialist Party, Workers Power and others—supported the re-election of Labour and removed the call for troops out of Northern Ireland from their manifesto before launching it to the bourgeois press. We said, "No vote to Labour, imperialist butchers" and "No vote to Socialist Alliance, lackeys of Labour."

The SWP is silent about the British Army, but gushing about the "tremendous hopes for peace in Northern Ireland following the IRA's announcement that it will destroy its weapons." They cravenly claim Labour's "peace" process provides "space" for united struggle of the working class. *Socialist Worker* (3 November 2001) says:

> "That process is about reaching an accommodation between politicians representing Catholic and Protestant 'communities.'
>
> "It can reproduce the sectarian division that is built into the Northern Ireland state. But it does provide a space for working class people, Catholic and Protestant, to fight for their interests and against sectarianism."

This is almost exactly what the SWP said when they supported British troops being sent to Northern Ireland in 1969 (by a Labour government, of course), which they claimed would provide a "breathing space" for the Catholics. They wrote:

> "The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital. Those who call for the immediate withdrawal of the troops before the men behind the barricades can defend themselves are inviting a pogrom which will hit first and hardest at socialists."
>
> —*Socialist Worker*, 11 September 1969

Less than three years later "their" British Army shot down 14 defenceless Catholics in cold blood in Derry on Bloody Sunday.

The sectarian Orange statelet was created by British imperialism's partition of Ireland as a police state based on subjugation of the Catholic minority. Its backbone is the RUC and, since 1969, the army; both work in tandem with the Loyalist paramilitary killers. Recent history is littered with scandals about collusion between Loyalist murderers and the RUC/PSNI and British Army, and there's no "breathing space" for anyone who tries to expose this to the outside world. Thus on 28 September, Martin O'Hagan, a journalist with the Dublin-based *Sunday World*, who researched the collusion between the British Army, the RUC, leading Unionist politicians and Loyalist death squads, was murdered by the LVF [Loyalist Volunteer Force]. Rosemary Nelson, a prominent Catholic lawyer who reported to the UN that she received death threats from the RUC, was also murdered in 1999; ten years earlier Pat Finucane, another well-known Catholic lawyer, was also murdered by Loyalists in collusion with the state. The current Labour government is withholding documents on the 1974 bombings in Dublin and Monaghan which killed 33 people and British state involvement is widely suspected.

The Labourite left even advocate "peace" with Loyalist thugs such as Billy Hutchinson. Irish secretary of the transport union ATGWU, Mick O'Reilly, recruited the UVF's Hutchinson and David Ervine into the ATGWU. The wretched Socialist Party has sponsored Hutchinson in public meetings and the SWP jumped on the bandwagon by taking part in a 1999 "debate" with him organised by the Scottish Socialist Party.

Not Orange Against Green, But Class Against Class!

Following capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1991-92, petty-bourgeois nationalist movements like Sinn Féin and the PLO have had much less room to manoeuvre and have increasingly sought to make deals with imperialism. Sinn Féin played up illusions that by involving U.S. imperialism and the Dublin government they would secure a better deal from British imperialism for the Catholics. This overlooks the fact that U.S. imperialism is the most powerful enemy of the workers and oppressed of the world, as can be seen in the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, or the dirty colonial wars against Korea and Vietnam: the bedrock of the system of exploitation of American workers rests on racist oppression of black people. The imperialist "peace" deal was brokered under Democratic president Clinton, who preferred to pass off imperialist marauding as "human rights" imperialism, something Bush & Co. don't bother with. British imperialism is a junior partner of U.S. imperialism—the City of London has close ties with Wall Street and British imperialism is also the foremost military ally of U.S. imperialism in Europe. The Irish capitalist government is certainly no better. It supported the U.S. and Britain's military adventures, including offering facilities for NATO warplanes at Shannon airport, and is viciously repressive of workers, women, Travellers and Republicans at home.

Petty-bourgeois nationalism is a political dead end which cannot further the interests of the Catholic minority. It is premised on the world being divided into good and bad peoples. Whether through armed struggle ("the Armalite") or the parliamentary road ("the ballot box") the perspective of the Irish nationalists is to pressure imperialism.

Actions such as the Omagh bombing by the "Real IRA," which killed and maimed both Protestant and Catholic civilians in a shopping area, are hideous crimes from the standpoint of the working class and in no way a blow against imperialism. Marxists oppose the tactic of individual terror because it is antithetical to the necessary task of mobilising the working class against the imperialist and capitalist oppressors. Rather it expresses the aims of its practitioners to be the leaders of "their" people. When Irish nationalist groups strike a blow against the forces of British imperialism, the RUC or Loyalist fascistic killers, we defend the perpetrators of such acts against state retribution. But we have a fundamentally different attitude to indiscriminate terror directed against civilians. From a proletarian standpoint, bombings such as Omagh or the bombings of British shopping centres and pubs are criminal acts which serve only to deepen hatred between Protestant and Catholic, English and Irish workers.

The attack on the World Trade Center, an atrocity designed to kill as many civilians as possible, has served to weld American workers to the ruling class just as Irish nationalist atrocities against Protestants push Protestant workers towards Loyalist reactionaries. Viewed from the interests of the working class, nationalist terror ranges from criminal—such as Omagh—to merely stupid. Even when the IRA hits a military target these acts are carried out as part of a programme which writes off the Protestant—and Catholic—working class and also the British proletariat, which has an important Irish component.

In 1993, on the eve of the "peace"

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negotiations, the mainly Protestant workforce at Short Brothers in Belfast walked off the job in protest against the murder of a Catholic co-worker by Loyalist paramilitaries; very shortly afterwards the IRA placed a bomb in Belfast's Shankill Road, which killed nine working-class Protestant shoppers. This led to anti-Catholic demonstrations by Protestant workers in Belfast.

A revolutionary party would struggle for an integrated, programmatically based workers militia to defend both Catholics and Protestants against sectarian attacks. As we said in our "Theses on Ireland" this must be based on the demand for the immediate withdrawal of the British Army and our Marxist analysis of terrorism:

> "Such militias will need a broad and strong programmatic basis if they are not to be derailed or coopted. They cannot develop just out of trade unionism but fundamentally require the existence of a strong and authoritative revolutionary cadre. Each militia unit would need at least one member of each community and the presence and strong influence of trained revolutionary cadre. Consequently, the demand for an anti-sectarian workers militia is closely linked to the growth of a Leninist party based on a developed revolutionary program."
>
> —*Spartacist* No. 24, Autumn 1977

We also explained there that:

> "Leninism and nationalism are fundamentally counterposed political viewpoints. Thus, while revolutionists struggle against all forms of national oppression, they are also opposed to all forms of nationalist ideology. It is a revision of Leninism to claim that the 'nationalism of the oppressed' is progressive and can be supported by communist internationalists. In one of his major works on the national question Lenin stressed: 'Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the "most just," "purest," most refined and civilised brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism' ("Critical Remarks on the National Question," *Collected Works*, Vol. 20)."

Workers Revolution Both Sides of the Border and Both Sides of the Irish Sea!

Loyalist bigot Ian Paisley howls that the Good Friday Agreement is the slippery slope to being ruled by Dublin. Partition meant that Catholics in the North constituted an oppressed minority (although they are over 40 per cent of the population) but an overwhelming majority in the South. In the North, we oppose all discrimination against the Catholic minority. We also recognise that the Protestants are a distinct community, largely defined in opposition to the Irish Catholic nation. As Leninists we uphold the right of self-determination for all nations, which means the right to set up an independent state, but where peoples are geographically interpenetrated "self-determination" for one can only be achieved by denying it to the other. Under capitalism this leads to intercommunal slaughter. We oppose the perspective of a capitalist "united Ireland" proffered by Sinn Féin nationalists, a prospect which is used to heighten genuine fears among Protestants of a reversal of the terms of oppression. Fear of being incorporated into the clericalist state serves to compact Protestants behind the Loyalist bigots, precluding a polarisation along *class* lines and instead laying the basis for a communal blood-bath and forced population transfers.

The fact that the bourgeois state in the South is a Catholic clericalist state is grist to the mill of the Loyalist bigots. The struggle for separation of church and state and for free abortion on demand is key not only for social progress in the South but as a way to undermine communalism in the North. Sinn Féin shares the clerical-nationalist outlook of [Southern bourgeois party] Fianna Fail. Sinn Féin no longer flatly opposes abortion rights, but only concedes that it should be legally available in extreme circumstances, specifically: "Where a woman's mental and physical well-being or life is at risk or in grave danger" (*Irish Times* on the Web, 6 December 2001). The struggle for abortion rights strikes at backward Protestant fundamentalists as well. Significantly, although SF's Bairbre de Brun is health minister in the Stormont Assembly, SF was conspicuously absent from a crucial debate there on legalising abortion in Northern Ireland which was opposed by Ian Paisley's [ultra-chauvinist Loyalist] Democratic Unionist Party, David Trimble's UUP, the Alliance Party and the [Catholic] Social Democratic Labour Party.

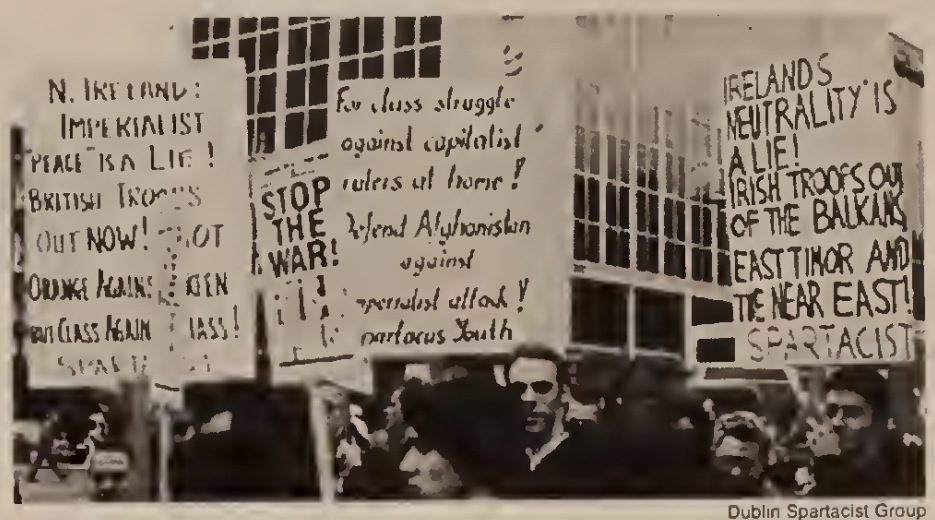
The DSG has actively intervened in support of struggles of the combative Irish working class, fighting for abortion rights and counterposing our programme to that of the Labourite bureaucrats. We said in a leaflet for the 1999 Irish nurses strike:

> "It is this anti-woman Church which runs the hospitals. We call for: complete separation of church and state! We need free, quality healthcare for all. For free abortion and free contraception on demand! For free 24-hour childcare! To achieve these basic needs of women and the working class requires a revolutionary struggle against the entire capitalist system—and its labour lieutenants within the working class."
>
> —reprinted in *Workers Hammer* No. 171, Winter 1999/2000

With elections pending in the South, Sinn Féin is poised to gain support at the expense of Fianna Fail, and also trying to re-brand itself as a "left" alternative to Labour. Labour is rightly hated by workers for having dished out capitalist attacks as partners in coalition governments, most notoriously in 1994 by refusing to support striking TEAM Aer Lingus workers at Dublin airport. The Irish Labour Party, like its British namesake, is a bourgeois workers party—having a working-class base but a bourgeois programme. They are loyal servants of the Irish capitalist class.

Sinn Féin can be scathing in their press about Labour's rotten record. One of their articles on Labour concludes: "Sinn Féin is well on its way to overtaking the Labour Party, to cementing its position as the voice of the Irish left, but in doing so the party must be careful that it does not lose sight of one of Connolly's most fundamental truths. 'The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland, the cause of Ireland is the cause of labour'" (*An Phoblacht*, 30 August 2001). But the idea that Sinn Féin could become the "voice of the Irish left" is absurd—they are a petty-bourgeois capitalist party.

It is disingenuous in the extreme for Sinn Féin to claim the tradition of James Connolly. Connolly initiated and led the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin, hoping it would ignite workers' struggles against capitalist rule in Europe amid the carnage of World War I. This did come about, with the Russian October Revolution of 1917, but by that time Connolly had been executed. Nonetheless the Rising was the catalyst for the end of British colonial rule in Ireland. Connolly was a revolutionary socialist and an internationalist who, together with Jim Larkin, led significant class battles of the Irish working class in Dublin, and in Belfast they made huge strides to unite Catholic and Protestant workers. Connolly's success in overcoming sectarian bigotry was achieved because as a socialist he fought against the state, the Orange Order and, to the best of his ability, against Catholic nationalism. Like most socialists of his time outside Russia, he was not acquainted with Leninism, which alone hammered out a Marxist perspective on the national question. Connolly fought trenchantly against the Labourite trade-union bureaucracy in Britain and in Ireland; as a true labour lieutenant of British imperialism, Labour's Arthur Henderson led the applause in the House of Commons when the announcement was made that Connolly had been executed by a British firing squad.



Dublin Spartacist Group

Dublin Spartacist Group protests Irish government's support to bombing of Afghanistan by U.S./British imperialists.

The kind of consciousness Connolly had instilled among workers was once again in evidence among the Belfast workers in the 1919 engineering strike, the most significant class battle to take place during the independence struggle. Charles McKay, a socialist of Catholic background, led a strike of mainly Protestant workers that shut all heavy industry and most of the city. It was part of a wave of tumultuous strikes in engineering centres, including Glasgow. The army was deployed in Belfast (and later in Glasgow) but the strike lost because it was betrayed by the Labour bureaucrats in Britain and in Ireland. The defeat of the Belfast strike led to massive purges of Catholics and trade-union militants from the shipyards (including Protestant shop stewards), which paved the way for partition. Lord French, the British overlord in Ireland, released Sinn Féin leaders such as Arthur Griffith from prison in Dublin in recognition of Sinn Féin opposition to working-class struggle. He told the Cabinet:

> "I did not however, consider that the time was ripe for an actual move in the direction of an immediate release of prisoners until the strikes in the North occurred and a very dangerous crisis was at hand which might plunge the whole country in disaster."
>
> —quoted in C. Kostick, *Revolution in Ireland* (1996)

Today with the growing economic recession throughout Britain and Ireland, the capitalists will seek to increasingly pit one section of the working class against another. This could lead to increased communalism in Northern Ireland or, as happened during the struggles of unemployed workers in Belfast in the 1930s, it could lead to united struggles of Protestant and Catholic workers. When instances of integrated working-class struggle do arise, intervention by a communist vanguard will make a decisive difference to the outcome.

We seek to awaken the working class of England, Scotland and Wales to socialist consciousness and mobilise them around opposition to the monarchy, House of Lords and all other archaic institutions of British bourgeois rule including the "Mother of all Parliaments." We fight for an Irish workers republic, part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles. Our purpose is to forge revolutionary international-ist parties, sections of a reforged Fourth International, in Britain and Ireland. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

—All Out February 9!—
Frank Ogawa Plaza, Oakland, 2 p.m.

Mobilize Multiracial Union Power in a Mass Labor-Centered Protest!

WV Photo

Jane Therese

Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!

Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labor

No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act!

We reprint below the demonstration call issued on January 20 by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee.

We call on the powerful multiracial unions in the Bay Area to mobilize against the government's war on America's integrated working class, on black people and on immigrants. Every bombing raid and missile attack on Afghanistan came together with new deadly assaults on the democratic rights of *all of us*. Bush and Attorney General Ashcroft—that apologist for the Confederate slavocracy—have taken first aim at people of Near Eastern descent who were rounded up and thrown in jail where hundreds still remain. They've created the spectre of an "enemy within" in order to strengthen the powers of their own consummately violent state. But what America's racist rulers can get away with will be determined by class struggle. We must fight *now* to defend our rights and jobs, and the rights and jobs of our immigrant brothers and sisters. A united demonstration of the power of our class, together with youth, black and immigrant organizations, can spike the bosses' racist "national unity" campaign.

Under the USA-Patriot Act, rammed through with bipartisan support in the wake of the criminal attack on the World Trade Center, non-citizens can be deported without a hearing while operations like the FBI's COINTELPRO, which murdered 38 Black Panthers and framed hundreds more, are once more officially sanctioned. "National security" is also the pretext for a frontal assault on the longshore unions, a historic bastion of labor power, under the Port, Maritime and Rail Security Act. *Down with the anti-immigrant witchhunt! No to the USA-Patriot Act and Maritime Security Act!*

The "war on terrorism" is aimed straight at the heart of the working class. Hundreds of New Jersey teachers striking for a decent contract were handcuffed and jailed, while their union spokesman was denounced as "the representative of the Taliban." The State Attorney of South Carolina compared International Longshoremen's Association members in Charleston, who had fought to defend their union against cops and scabs, to the World Trade Center terrorists. Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, murdered by Chicago

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"We endorse and will help build a united front labor/black demonstration with the following demands: 'Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labor—No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act!' and 'Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!'."

Partial list of endorsers as of January 20, 2002:

AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA

Willie Lee Bell, retired Recording Secretary, IAM&AW Local 739 and 1584,* Oakland, CA

CARECEN, Central American Resource Center, San Francisco, CA

Leroy Colller, President, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA

Michael Crahan, President, LIUNA Local 1141,* San Francisco, CA

John Holmes, Delegate, Representative Assembly, Typographical Sector, Northern California Media Workers Union #39521*

International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, San Francisco, CA

Labor Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, CA

Brian McWilliams, SFLC delegate, International Longshore and Warehouse Union,* San Francisco, CA

Charles Minster, Steward and SFLC delegate, National Park and Public Employees, LIUNA Local 1141,* San Francisco, CA

Killu Nyasha, Producer/Programmer, "Connecting the Dots" KPOO 89.5 FM,* San Francisco, CA

Partisan Defense Committee

German Reyes, Shop Steward, SEIU Local 87,* San Francisco, CA

Spartacist League/U.S.

Spartacus Youth Club, San Francisco Bay Area

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense printed above.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 774 — 8 February 2002

Greed, Hypocrisy and the Profit System

Reuters

Estrin/NY Times

Enron: Capitalism U.S.A.

Media pundits and a growing chorus of capitalist politicians are decrying the "improprieties" that led to the meltdown of Enron, until recently America's seventh-largest corporation. In fact, the spectacle of Enron executives cashing in their chips to the tune of billions while 19,000 former employees have seen their jobs and future well-being disappear has simply brought into sharp focus the daily operations of the capitalist system. In short, working people produce all the wealth and the rich do as they will with the proceeds. This has aroused anger among ordinary Americans and caused not inconsiderable discomfort for the ruling class, which prefers that the gloss of democracy cover the reality that this is *its* system and *its* state.

From TV talk shows to the editorial pages of leading newspapers like the *New York Times*, much has been made of the seeming failure or erosion of corporate "checks and balances" and government regulations. By their lights, "crony capitalism" was a disease peculiar to Japan and Southeast Asia, whereas American capitalism was "virtuous" in its "transparency," because the government supposedly controlled such excesses as may occur in the pursuit of profits. An editorial in the *Straits Times* of Singapore, with justice, exposed the hypocrisy of America's rulers: "How could all this have happened on Wall Street, the benchmark (or so Asians were told in 1997) of corporate transparency? The simple answer is: The U.S. government let it happen."

From its formation in 1985, Enron could not have prospered as it did without a coordinated effort by the government—from the Supreme Court to Congress and the White House—to deregulate the energy industry and clear other obstacles in its way. The truth of the matter is that the U.S., of all advanced capitalist countries, is one in which the least effort is expended in maintaining the fiction of government "independence" from its capitalist masters. One need only look at the rapidly revolving door between the Enron board of directors and the government.

Former Enron chief Kenneth Lay was at one time the Interior Department's deputy undersecretary for energy affairs. Thomas White, now Secretary of the Army, began his climb in the military, then became an Enron vice chairman and was then appointed to his current post in the Bush administration, where he pushed efforts to deregulate and privatize energy utilities serving the military. Democratic Senator Joseph Lieberman, whose contempt for "immorality" gave him the vice presidential slot in the Gore campaign, has been the recipient of much Enron-related largesse and played a role in quashing efforts to impose stricter financial reporting on corporations in 1994. Now Lieberman runs a Senate committee poised to investigate Enron's improprieties. Robert Rubin, Secretary of the Treasury under Clinton, was Enron's man at Goldman Sachs before assuming his Cabinet position and has since gone on to become Enron's man at Citigroup. The list of co-conspirators goes on and on and on. Over 50 percent of the current members of Congress have been recipients of Enron handouts. All of this only serves to underline the understanding laid bare by Karl Marx more than 150 years ago, that the capitalist state is the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole.

As the "let them eat cake" party of the bourgeoisie, the Republicans arrogantly dismiss the sufferings of those victimized by capitalist devastation. Bush economic adviser Larry Lindsey extolled the Enron debacle as a "tribute to American capitalism." Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill declared that "companies come and go. It's part of the genius of capitalism." The other party of American capitalism, the Democrats—which incorporates the trade-union tops as a constituent part in order to capture the votes of those who labor—at times proposes to "reform" capitalism's most egregious excesses.

At base, the Democrats are no less avaricious. Terry McAuliffe, national chairman of the Democratic Party, was virtually moved to tears by Enron's aftermath, describing its practices as "simply outrageous" and, with funereal solemnity, declaring that his "heart goes out to the employees and shareholders who were victimized by a web of greed and deceit." When later confronted with the fact that he had parlayed a $100,000 investment in Global Crossing, a telecom venture, into $18 million and "managed" to cash out before it went belly up this week, the fangs of the entrepreneur became more apparent. Echoing the anti-Communist rejoinder of the McCarthy era, he proclaimed: "If you don't like capitalism move to Cuba or China."

The revolutionary overturns that effected the expropriation of capitalism in China and Cuba meant that, even in backward circumstances, all had a job and housing as well as access to education and health care. These gains are now being eroded, particularly so in China, precisely by the penetration, to varying degrees, of capitalist exploitation into the economies of these deformed workers states.

Workers in the U.S. have an option unmentioned by McAuliffe, that is, to carry out a socialist revolution in this country: to overturn the U.S. imperialist order, wrest control of the means of production from the capitalist moguls and proceed to build a society in which there is no exploitation, joblessness, want or injustice.

Monopoly Capitalism and Business Secrets

Lecturing on the ills that had allegedly brought about the 1997-98 Asian economic crisis, then Secretary of State Madeleine Albright sermonized to an annual gathering of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in July 2000 on the path to capitalist virtue: "A critical component of this effort will be strengthening the rule of law and curbing official corruption and cronyism." Businessmen hiding their assets and liabilities while working hand in glove with government

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Ten Years After Counterrevolution in the USSR

For New October Revolutions!

SEE PAGE 6

Anti-Arab Witchhunt, Mass Layoffs

Detroit: A City on the Edge

The following is a January 18 report, edited for publication, on a visit to the Detroit area by a team of Spartacist League comrades from Chicago.

Detroit is a city on the edge. The effects of the recession are kicking in, and layoffs are coming with a vengeance. After years of humongous profits, Ford announced a "restructuring" plan including plant closures and tens of thousands of layoffs, and the huge Henry Ford Hospital also announced thousands of layoffs. The effects will be massive. The parts plants, many of which were spun off years ago, have contracts coming up, and they are going to be nowhere near as good as the old United Auto Workers contracts. A lot of these plants are out in all-white suburbs like Livonia and Sterling Heights, places where black people never hear of job openings, and nepotism is rife. Detroit proper was eviscerated 20 years ago in the last recession, and so it remains. Detroit has a new young mayor, Kwame Kilpatrick, son of a longtime City Council member. He's promising the sky, of course, but is facing a budget deficit and a teachers union contract coming up soon.

Protesters in Dearborn, Michigan demonstrate against government's anti-Arab campaign.

Waldman/PDI

Then the "war on terrorism" gets thrown into the mix. The case that is hot right now is that of Rabih Haddad, co-founder of the Global Relief Foundation, an organization that the FBI says has funneled money to terrorists. The Feds are trying to deport him, and on January 15 they spirited him to Chicago, probably in large part because he has a vocal base of support in Detroit, Dearborn and Ann Arbor. There have been demonstrations of several hundred, and last week Al Sharpton came to town to support him. Congressman John Conyers was refused admittance to his hearing. Dearborn mayor Michael Guido ominously announced that the city will appoint a

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TROTSKY

LENIN

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Black oppression, rooted in the legacy of chattel slavery, is the bedrock of American capitalism. As a spokesman for the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party stressed during World War II, when the Jim Crow system of racial segregation reigned in the South, racial oppression can only be eliminated through the proletarian overthrow of the American bourgeois order. This Marxist understanding is underscored by the continuing and deepening oppression and immiseration of the mass of the black population today, nearly four decades after the end of legal segregation in the South.

In 1848 Karl Marx, after making a scientific analysis of the history of society, arrived at the conclusion that the state was supported and kept in power by and for the ruling class in society. Whoever owns the means of production makes up the ruling class. The state serves to protect the interests of the exploiting minority over the exploited majority. In slavery days the judges, law officers, and governors, that is, the state apparatus, unfailingly upheld the interests of the slaveholder over the slave. In feudal days the state was always on the side of the noble and against the serf.

We have reached the point in America today where it is the monopoly capitalists who own and control the means of production. The industrial workers, on the other hand, comprise the exploited majority. True to the Marxist analysis, every agent of the state from top to bottom must do the bidding of the monied interests. If he defies the capitalists he is soon kicked out in one way or another. Now what has that got to do with the Negro? Marx said that no ruling class has been able to long exploit the vast majority unless that majority was split within itself. The capitalists know this and they make the most of it. Whether based on race, religion, nationality, language, or custom, the axiom "divide and rule" is never forgotten and never neglected by those who are in power....

Therefore we say that this system—capitalism—is the basic and fundamental enemy of the Negro people. Here is the spring from which flows the vile potion that cascades down to form the final stream of Negro inequality. We have found the source—let us mark it well. This is the reason why the fight against Jim Crow without a fight against capitalism, well intentioned though it may be, is an endless and fruitless fight. To establish Negro equality, we must abolish capitalism....

Now what would bring the Negro full equality? What would bring him full employment? We say not capitalism, but socialism. Socialism with its nationalized property and its planned economy. Now factories hum only with the production of instruments of death and destruction, manufactured solely for the profit of the few. Under socialism factories would hum with the production of instruments of life and construction, manufactured to supply the needs of the many. World socialism, without a doubt, would bring with its classless society full equality, full employment, job security, peace, and plenty to not only the Negro people but to all mankind.

—Charles Jackson, "How to Win the Struggle," *Militant*, 25 November 1944, reprinted in *Fighting Racism in World War II* (1980)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is 5 February

No. 774 **8 February 2002**

Martha Phillips

Spartacist

10 March 1948 — 9 February 1992

It has been ten years since the murder of our comrade Martha Phillips in Moscow. A cadre of the Spartacist League/U.S. for 20 years, Martha was actively involved in the antiwar, civil rights and labor movements. For many years, she had lived and worked in the San Francisco Bay Area, where she helped found the Labor Black League for Social Defense, which grew out of her 1983 election campaign for Oakland City Council.

In 1991, Martha went to Moscow, where she died on the front lines of the struggle to reimplant Lenin and Trotsky's communism in the homeland of the October Revolution. In July of that year, Martha presented greetings from the International Communist League to a meeting of the Moscow Workers Congress. Her remarks, published in *WV* No. 532 (2 August 1991), sought to lay bare what capitalist restoration would mean for the working people of the Soviet Union. She presented a fighting perspective for defense of the gains of October and the need for a proletarian political revolution to return the Soviet Union to the internationalist program which animated the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. She sharply denounced the anti-Semitism that permeated the Stalinist "patriot" milieu.

Following Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary coup in August 1991, Martha oversaw the distribution to Russian workers of tens of thousands of copies of our statement "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" She played a critical role in the production of our Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* series, including an issue published immediately after her death titled "Leninist Party—Tribune of the People," which was dedicated to her memory.

At the time of her death, Martha was the most visible fighter for the program of Trotskyist internationalism in the former Soviet Union. Our anguish over her irreplaceable loss is compounded by the fact that, to this day, we still do not know who murdered Martha, or why. Our efforts to press for a serious investigation into this tragedy were met with deliberate evasion and incompetence by the Moscow authorities and utter indifference by the American consulate.

The devastation of capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union cries out for the construction of a proletarian, internationalist party that can organize and lead the fight against grinding immiseration, murderous chauvinism, all-sided social bigotry and all the other horrors of capitalist restoration. Comrade Phillips dedicated her life to building such a party, a Leninist tribune of the people. We honor our fallen comrade's spirit, tenacity and courage through our resolve to continue the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

Mobilizing for the February 9 Immigrant Rights Demo

Bay Area SYC

Our efforts to mobilize labor, blacks, immigrants and students to demonstrate in defense of immigrant and labor rights on February 9 have met a fantastic response here in the Bay Area. From the docks to colleges, from high schools to downtown supermarkets, interested youth and workers are organizing contingents, mobilizing friends and co-workers, and picking up leaflets to advertise for this labor-centered united-front protest. In building from their respective campuses, our Spartacus Youth Club comrades have been giving presentations at high schools and colleges in San Francisco, Oakland and Berkeley. The following report is by two members of the SYC, Kat and Burt, who have been actively participating in preparations for the rally.

WV Photo

February 4, Oakland City Hall: Press conference announcing growing support for February 9 mobilization included representatives of AFSCME Local 444, SF Day Labor Program, Filipino Workers Association, PDC and Bay Area Labor Black League.

In October, the Democrats and the Republicans passed the USA-Patriot Act. This allows the government to deport any non-citizen without any hearing at all. This act leaves immigrant labor defenseless, unless fought against by other elements of the working class. That is why we are mobilizing the multiracial Bay Area unions against the USA-Patriot Act.

The bourgeoisie has created this idea of the "terrorist enemy within" in order to strengthen the powers of their own violent state. But just how violent and crazy these racist capitalists are going to get depends on how much class struggle fights them. We have to fight now for our own rights and our own jobs, and the jobs and rights of our immigrant brothers and sisters. We are forging a united demonstration of working-class power—together with youth, black and immigrant organizations—to stop the attacks of the capitalists' "national unity" campaign. And if you look at the American left, you'll realize if we don't, no one will!

That is being reflected in the conversations we're having with students from campuses around the Bay Area. Students from Oakland's Laney College, a heavily black and immigrant community college, while enthusiastic about a labor-centered action to defend immigrants, also want to know what kind of organization would initiate and build such a demo. It's quite clear that you don't need to be a communist to realize that workers have to defend immigrant rights because the capitalists' anti-immigrant campaign is ultimately aimed at the working class as a whole. That is easy to grasp. But it is apparent that it does take a communist organization to organize workers to act in defense of immigrants. On campuses around the region, most other leftist groups have met our call with silence at best. The International Socialist Organization, which actively boycotted the united-front demonstration we organized in defense of immigrant workers and foreign-born students at San Francisco State University in December, won't even answer the question as to whether they'll endorse this demo. This shows their blind faith in the reformability of the capitalist system, and consequent fear of independent labor action, which could threaten bourgeois rule.

The message about this mobilization is traveling fast. People are taking leaflets by the dozens to distribute in their neighborhoods, and many groups are organizing contingents to bring to the demo. Students from high schools from San Francisco to Walnut Creek are mobilizing contingents; an English as a Second Language teacher at Laney College, active in the defense of immigrant students, took a bundle of flyers to distribute to her students and fellow ESL instructors. A group of black gay youth from Oakland stopped one of our comrades on the street as he was carrying a sign for the demo and got leaflets to pass around, saying they wouldn't think of missing such a protest. Contingents are also being organized from San Francisco State University, UC-Berkeley, Laney College and UC-Santa Cruz.

Immigrant rights groups are also organizing contingents: CARECEN, the Central American Resource Center, is arranging transportation to bring their members and workers from the SF Day Labor Program to the demo. Supporters have been dropping off leaflets in mom-and-pop stores, with particular success in San Francisco's Chinatown and on East 14th Street in Oakland, a long avenue with a wide range of Asian and Latino immigrants and blacks. At one barbecue joint, the owner posted in his window all three of our flyers, English, Spanish and Arabic/Chinese.

The main thing we're cutting across in building this demo is the capitalists' divide and rule scheme of pitting American-born workers against immigrant workers. We do not see the world divided by national lines—or gender, racial or ethnic lines, for that matter. We see it in terms of worldwide class lines, which means that workers in Mexico are the brothers and sisters of American-born workers. This demo has been endorsed by the SF Day Labor Program, which finds work for immigrant workers, and it has been endorsed by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 6

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"We endorse and will help build a united front labor/black demonstration with the following demands: 'Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labor—No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act!' and 'Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!'."

Partial list of endorsers as of February 5, 2002.

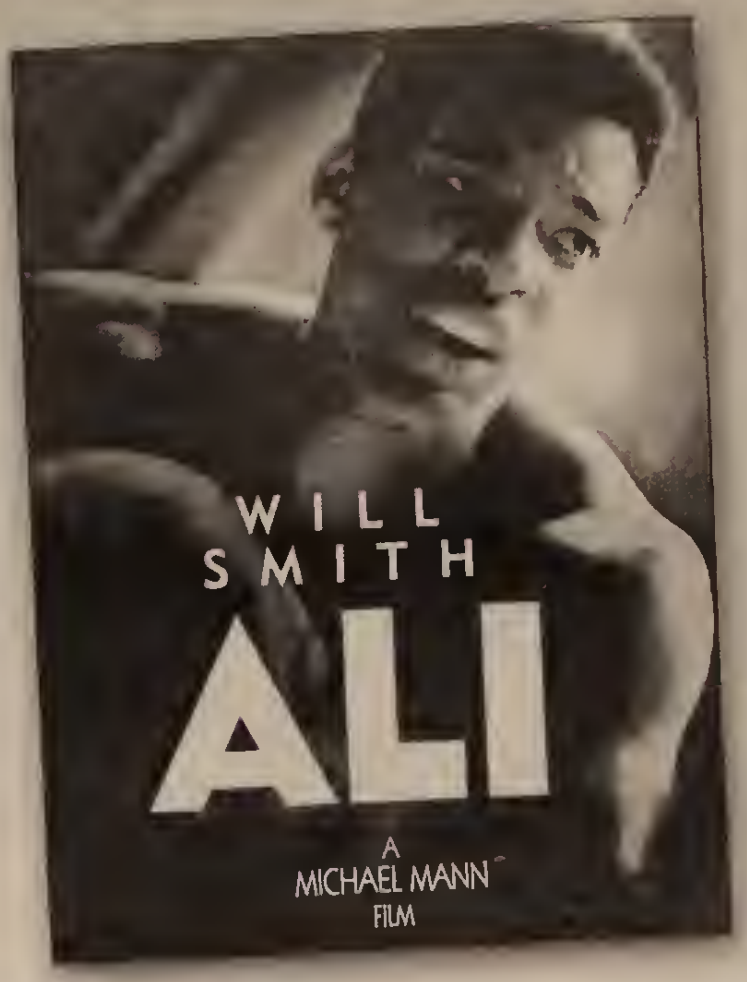
Mumia Abu-Jamal, Revolutionary Journalist, Death Row, PA
African Students Union, Hunter College,* New York, NY
AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Al-Awda/Palestine Right To Return Coalition — NY/NJ Committee
Amalgamated Transit Union Black Caucus
Association des Palestiniens en France, Ivry sur Seine, France
Marcellus Barnes, President, Amalgamated Transit Union Black Caucus
Willie Lee Bell, retired Recording Secretary, IAM&AW Local 739 and 1584,* Oakland, CA
Berkeley Stop the War Coalition, Berkeley, CA
Berlin Afrikanisches Immigrantinnen Projekt, Berlin, Germany
Wanda J. Black, President/Bus. Agent, Local 241, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union - AFL-CIO*
Canadian Areb Federation, Toronto, Canada
Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Metro Toronto Region
CARECEN, Central American Resource Center, San Francisco, CA
Leroy Collier, President, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Coordination Nationale des Sans Papiers, Paris, France
Michael Crahan, President, LIUNA Local 1141,* San Francisco, CA
Ron Oicks, V.P. for Political & Legis. Action, International Federation of Professional & Technical Engineers Local 21,* San Francisco, CA
Filipino Workers Association, Richmond, CA
Freedom Socialist Party/Radical Women
John Holmes, Oelegate, Representative Assembly, Typographical Sector, Northern California Media Workers Union #39521, CWA*
Mustapha Houamed, Secretary, Student Committee for Peace in Palestine,* St. Denis University, Paris, France
Hakim Husien, Chicago Chapter President, Palestine Aid Society,* Chicago, IL
International Federation of Iraqi Refugees (Sydney) Inc., Sydney, Australia
International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 6, Oakland, CA
International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, San Francisco, CA
Internationelist Group
Geronimo ji Jaga
Juslice Action, Sydney, Australia
Kews.El.Karama (newspaper), Tunis, Tunisia
Randell Kim, previous 2nd Vice President, AFSCME Local 444
Kurdish, Turkish Human Rights Committee, Melbourne, Australia
La Raza Centro Legal, San Francisco, CA
Labor Council for Latin American Advancement - SF (LCLAA), San Francisco, CA
Latino Workers Center, New York, NY
Patricia Loya, Executive Orector, Centro Legal de la Raza,* Oakland, CA
LTS-Contracorriente, Mexico City, Mexico
Stephen Lysaght, President, East Bay Area Local, American Postal Workers Union,* Walnut Creek, CA
Ronald Malone, Shop Steward, HERE Local 2,* San Francisco, CA
Brian McWilliams, SFLC delegate, International Longshore and Warehouse Union,* San Francisco, CA
Charlee Minster, Steward and SFLC delegate, National Park and Public Employees, LIUNA Local 1141,* San Francisco, CA
Eugene "Gus" Newport, former Mayor, Berkeley, CA
Kililu Nyasha, Producer/Programmer, "Connecting the Dots" KPOO 89.5 FM,* San Francisco, CA
Gary Okihiro, Professor, Columbia University,* New York, NY
One World Society, Trinity College,* Oublin, Ireland
Pilipino Workers Center of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA
German Reyes, Shop Steward, SEIU Local 87,* San Francisco, CA
Wilson Riles, candidate, Riles for Mayor,* Oakland, CA
Eduardo Rosario, Vice President, GCIU Local 4N,* and President, LCLAA-SF, San Francisco, CA
Michael Rossman, archivist, Free Speech Movement Archives,* Berkeley, CA
Stephanie Ruby, Secretary-Treasurer, HERE Local 2850,* Oakland, CA
Section Syndicale SUO PTT, Créteil PFC, Créteil, France
SF Oay Labor Progrem, San Francisco, CA
Earl Silbar, Chief Steward, AFSCME Local 3506,* Chicago, IL
Sindicalo Independiente de Trabajadores de la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Mexico City, Mexico
Oonald A. Smith, Executive Board-Trustee, NALC,* Pasadena, CA
Socialist Workers Organization
SOS Struggle of Students, Hamburg, Germany
Spartacist League/U.S.
Spartacus Youth Club, San Francisco Bay Area
Ted Wang, Policy Director, Chinese for Affirmative Action,* San Francisco, CA
Everette Whitfield, Steward, SEIU Local 73,* Chicago, IL
John Williams, Shop Steward, General Motors Holden, Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union,* Melbourne, Australia
Gerald Zero, Secretary-Treasurer, Teamsters Local 705,* Chicago, IL

* Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense.

Initiated by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee

Black Struggle and the Vietnam War



A Review

By Paul Costello

The movie *Ali* brings to the screen the story of boxer Muhammad Ali, the heavyweight champion whose intransigent opposition to racist oppression and U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam made him a hero to millions around the world. This gripping movie captures not merely the champ's prowess in the ring, his searing wit and compassion, but his courage in standing up to the U.S. government which threatened him with imprisonment and stripped him of his heavyweight title and livelihood. The movie reminds those who lived through this period, and acquaints those who didn't, why Ali could claim, "I am the greatest."

Directed by Michael Mann, with Ali's close cooperation, and starring Will Smith, the movie focuses on ten years of Ali's life. It begins in 1964, when Ali (then named Cassius Clay), as a brash 22-year-old underdog known as the "Louisville Lip," won the heavyweight title from Sonny Liston in 1964. It ends on a morning in Kinshasa, Zaire in 1974, when as an aging "over the hill" underdog, Ali recaptured the championship from the seemingly unbeatable George Foreman. This was a period of vast social upheavals—marked by ghetto rebellions, the rise of the "Black Power" movement, the mass protests against U.S. imperialism's brutal war against Vietnam. In 1975 came the battlefield victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants over the world's most powerful imperialist military.

Ali grew up at the beginning of the movement for black civil rights. In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court declared school segregation unconstitutional. Rosa Parks' arrest in 1955 for refusing to move to the back of a Montgomery, Alabama bus led to the year-long Montgomery bus boycott and thrust Martin Luther King Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) onto center stage as a national spokesman for pacifist "direct action." Across the South the KKK, heavily overlapping with local police forces, launched a blitzkrieg of racist terror—lynchings, church burnings and brutal beatings of civil rights workers and just about any black person who "got out of line." In 1955, 14-year-old Emmett Till was castrated and lynched for the "crime" of whistling at a white woman in Mississippi.

The movie's riveting opening sequence intersperses shots of Ali training for the Liston fight—including being stopped by a cop who asks, "What you running from, boy?"—to moments in Ali's childhood which shaped his consciousness. One scene shows Ali being forced to move to the back of the bus in segregated Louisville, Kentucky, as he sees a newspaper headline on the Till lynching. Not shown, however, is how Ali was greeted upon returning home after triumphantly representing the U.S. in the 1960 Olympics. As Ali later recalled, "With my gold medal actually hanging around my neck, I couldn't get a cheeseburger served to me in a downtown Louisville restaurant." In disgust, Ali threw the medal into the Ohio River.

Even before his public condemnations of American racism, Ali was being vilified by white sportswriters because he didn't fit their image of what a boxer, especially one who is black, is supposed to be. This brutal sport has always been about pitting two impoverished fighters, who are increasingly likely to be black or Hispanic, against one another to beat themselves senseless to the thrills of a bloodthirsty—mostly white—crowd. Shortly after Georgie Flores became the sixth boxer killed in 1951, James P. Cannon, leader of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) wrote:

> "Cock-fighting is illegal; it is considered inhumane to put a couple of roosters into the pit and incite them to spur each other until one of them keels over. It is also against the law to put bulldogs into the pit to fight for a side bet. But our civilisation—which is on the march, to be sure—has not yet advanced to the point where law and public opinion forbid men, who have nothing against each other, to fight for money and the amusement of paying spectators."
>
> —*Militant*, 24 September 1951, reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* (1958)

Ali was different. As he said after his 1971 victory over Jimmy Ellis, "Ain't no reason for me to kill nobody in the ring." Ali used his speed and agility, circling to the left on his toes, snapping off jabs and rapid-fire combinations. With his hands at his waist, Ali dared his opponent to hit him, only to miss widely as Ali either pulled his head back or darted to the side, ripping off a stinging jab as he "danced" away. This style gave birth to his trademark slogan, coined by his black Jewish ring assistant, Drew "Bundini" Brown: "Float like a butterfly, sting like a bee."

Ali and Malcolm X

Ali captured the title at the height of the struggles against Jim Crow segregation and a growing polarization within the civil rights movement. Young activists were becoming increasingly disillusioned with King's pacifist strategy. Through bitter and repeated experience, young black militants, like those of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), learned firsthand that despite King's capacity to land thousands of activists in jails, he was unable to dent the stone wall of racist reaction. On the streets of Birmingham, Alabama in 1963, the dead end of King's pacifism was exposed in blood. Sheriff Bull Connor and his stormtroopers set upon black demonstrators with police dogs and firehoses set at pressures sufficient to strip bark off a tree, hurling children up against the walls. King's nonviolent philosophy was junked by the black masses who fought back with sticks, rocks, knives and bottles against the racists in the streets.

As the young civil rights activists became more radical, they found in Malcolm X the one man who expressed boldly the thoughts they were still afraid to voice themselves. Malcolm was the voice of the angry black ghetto, of black militancy. He was black America's truth-teller, intransigently opposed to the "white man's puppet Negro 'leaders'," as he called King, Bayard Rustin and other liberal civil rights leaders. He reviled their calls to "turn the other cheek" in the face of murderous attacks by the KKK and other agents of Southern Dixiecrat rule. He denounced their appeals to Democratic president John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert, the attorney general who "came to the aid" of civil rights activists by sending the FBI and federal marshals to suppress militant black protest.

After capturing the heavyweight crown, Ali immediately came under fire for his association with Malcolm, who was then the most prominent spokesman for the Nation of Islam (NOI). As the movie shows, Malcolm had been seen with Ali before the Liston bout and rumors surfaced that Ali had joined the NOI. The morning after he defeated Liston, Ali confirmed the rumors, announcing he was a Muslim, henceforth to be known as Cassius X. Shortly afterward, NOI leader Elijah Muhammad gave him the name Muhammad Ali.

Ali's relationship to Malcolm X was outside the bounds of what was deemed acceptable for a black sports figure in racist America. And they were going to make him pay. Because he consistently spoke out in support of the struggle for black freedom, Ali was pilloried by virtually the entire corps of white sportswriters. They wanted him to "know his place" in American society. This is conveyed in the movie when Ali, walking in Harlem with Malcolm X, is asked by a reporter if he is going to be "a great champ, like Joe Louis." Ali replied, "I'll be a great champ, but not like Joe Louis." Louis agreed to be used by the racist rulers to build support for their imperialist war aims in World War II, which they claimed was a "war for democracy against fascism."

One of the film's great attributes is its portrayal of Malcolm X's split with Elijah Muhammad and the NOI in a much more honest way than Spike Lee did in his movie *Malcolm X*. The NOI had existed for more than a quarter of a century, attracting a few thousand followers and no serious interest among politically active blacks. In the early 1960s, at the height of the civil rights movement, the Black Muslims suddenly exploded into the consciousness of black (and to a lesser extent white) America. It had always been a tenet of the NOI that the black Christian preacher was the white man's main tool for keeping blacks subjugated. By this Elijah Muhammad meant nothing more than that Christianity prevented the black masses from discovering "the natural religion of the black man." But amid growing dissatisfaction with the liberal leadership of the civil rights movement, the Muslims' condemnation of Christian submissiveness appeared to be something more, namely a political criticism of King's pacifistic liberalism and ties to the white ruling class.

Although they considered the white

LNS

AP

Left: Black soldier in Vietnam. Sign reads: "U.S. Negro Armymen! You are committing the same ignominious crimes in South Vietnam that the KKK clique is perpetrating against your family at home." Right: Muhammad Ali escorted from Army examining station after refusing induction, 1967.

man to be the personification of evil, the NOI opposed in principle any struggle against racial oppression. Instead they stood for *maintaining* hard racial separation, even inviting American Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell to attend a 1961 NOI rally in Washington addressed by Elijah Muhammad. Where Elijah Muhammad continued to emphasize the sect's religious nature, Malcolm X did not. It was largely through his powerful oratory that the Muslims attracted young black men who wanted to struggle against racist oppression. At the same time, Malcolm upheld the NOI's separatism, declaring "No *sane*' black man really wants integration."

Yet masses of blacks were fighting precisely for social, political and economic equality *within* American society. Though a critic of the civil rights movement, Malcolm remained outside. And while the young black militants admired him, they marched against the racists with King & Co., not with the minister of the NOI's Temple No. 7 in Harlem. In the face of the historic struggles for black rights that were shaking the country, Malcolm let it be known that he wanted to see the NOI abandon their abstentionism, arguing that the Muslims were perceived as people who "*talk* tough, but they never *do* anything, unless somebody bothers Muslims."

When Malcolm responded to the 1963 assassination of John F. Kennedy by saying it was a case of "chickens coming home to roost," the civil rights and liberal establishment went apoplectic. Elijah Muhammad responded by suspending him from the NOI. A scene in the movie captures the increasing political gulf which would later lead Malcolm X to split with the NOI. Following Ali's victory over Liston, Malcolm, under suspension at the time, visits Ali and talks of how his "blood was boiling" when a bomb planted by the KKK ripped through Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist church a year before, killing four black girls. Malcolm declares that no more will he allow himself to be restrained by Elijah Muhammad in fighting for black freedom.

Refusing to be silenced by Elijah Muhammad and increasingly aware that the NOI was responsible for the death threats he and his family had received, Malcolm split from the NOI and formed his own organizations, the Muslim Mosque, Inc. and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). At an OAAU meeting in January 1965, Malcolm read aloud a telegram he had sent to the Nazi Rockwell:

> "This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement, and that if your present racist agitation against our people there in Alabama causes physical harm to Reverend King or any other black Americans who are only attempting to enjoy their rights as free human beings, that you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not handcuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence, and who believe in asserting our right of self-defense—by any means necessary."

UPI

Muhammad Ali, victorious in 1965 rematch with Sonny Liston.

Ali stayed with the NOI. The movie shows his last meeting with Malcolm, a chance encounter while both were on separate tours of Africa before the rematch with Liston. On 21 February 1965, Malcolm was assassinated in Harlem's Audubon Ballroom. In the movie Ali, driving down a Detroit boulevard when he learns of Malcolm's murder, pulls the car over and breaks down in tears. Ten years later, Ali himself left the NOI.

Howard L. Bingham

Ali with Malcolm X in New York City, 1963.

"No Vietcong Ever Called Me N----r"

The year Ali won the championship, 1964, saw the lynching of civil rights workers Goodman, Schwerner and Chaney in Mississippi, the cop riot in Harlem and passage of the Civil Rights Act, which formally ended Jim Crow segregation in the South. The next four years were marked by ghetto rebellions in Watts, Detroit and Newark, the rise of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense and the assassination of King, which provoked an explosion of ghetto upheavals in scores of cities. It was marked as well by the rapid development of massive opposition to U.S. imperialism's war on Vietnam.

Because it omits all but one of his boxing matches during this period, the film fails to convey just how public a figure Ali was, and accordingly why he was so despised by the Feds. Unlike other heavyweight champs, Ali took on all challengers. He went overseas to fight Europe's top boxers, and gave a shot at the title—and the only chance at a real payday—to journeyman fighters at the end of their careers, like Cleveland Williams and Zora Folley. Just about every match was broadcast live on television. Ali was a fixture on the screen for weeks of pre-fight promotion and post-fight interviews, speaking out against American racism and drawing perceptive analogies between his mistreatment by the boxing establishment and the press and how the U.S. imperialists were trampling on dark-skinned peoples at home and abroad.

For his stand against racist oppression, Ali became one of thousands of black activists targeted by the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO program, which was responsible for the killings of 38 Black Panthers and the frame-ups of hundreds more. But it was his refusal to join U.S. imperialism's killing machine that brought down the weight of government repression upon him.

Earlier found ineligible for the draft, in 1966 Ali was reclassified. As the press corps hounded him about whether he would serve if called up, Ali announced, "I ain't got no quarrel with them Vietcong." Capturing the sentiments of millions of black people, Ali added, "No Vietcong ever called me n----r," which promptly became a slogan carried by black activists at protests against the war. On 28 April 1967, he was called up. *Ali* depicts how the champ refused to step forward and complete the induction ceremony when the name "Cassius Marcellus Clay" was called, even though promised that he could coast through military service by performing boxing exhibitions as Joe Louis had done. Ten days later, he was indicted by a federal grand jury for draft evasion. Convicted on June 20, Ali was sentenced to five years in prison and a $10,000 fine. The government's lead prosecutor was former NAACP Legal Defense Fund counsel and liberal icon Thurgood Marshall, who shortly afterward was appointed the first black justice on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Despite their increasing success in football, baseball and basketball, black athletes, who overcame vicious racism in their college and early professional careers, were then subjected to a quota system which made sure that enough spots on team rosters were reserved for whites. Any step out of line would threaten the loss of their sports careers, which was the only ticket—often fleeting—out of the ghetto hells. The few boxers who made any money found themselves fleeced by unscrupulous managers, promoters or the IRS, and left the sport with nothing to show for their careers but broken noses and scrambled brains. If they minded their Ps and Qs, they could make a few bucks as "greeters" at gambling casinos or resort hotels. Middleweight champ Dick Tiger, who had donated his savings to his native Biafra during the civil war in Nigeria in the late 1960s, was working as a security guard for New York City's Museum of Natural

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Black History Month Forums

Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Immigrants, Blacks, Labor

No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act! Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!

BAY AREA
For more information: (510) 839-0851

Thursday, February 21, 6:30 p.m.
Tearoom, YWCA of Oakland
1515 Webster Street, Oakland

Anti-Terror Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labor

Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!

LOS ANGELES
For more information: (213) 380-8239

Saturday, February 23, 4 p.m.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church
3300 Wilshire Blvd.

Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt—Deadly Danger to Blacks, Labor!

U.S. Imperialism Abroad Means Racist Reaction at Home!

Break with the Democrats! Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!
Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

CHICAGO
Saturday, February 16, 4 p.m.
University of Illinois
750 S. Halsted
Room 509, Circle Center
For more information: (312) 563-0441

NEW YORK
Saturday, February 9, 2 p.m.
Columbia University
Hamilton Hall, Room 602
116th and Amsterdam
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Slavery, American Capitalism, Reparations and the Fight for Black Freedom

BOSTON
For more information: (617) 666-9453

Saturday, February 9, 3 p.m.
Harvard Science Center, Room B-09

Der Spiegel

Economist

Yeltsin's barricades of counterrevolution, Moscow, August 1991. Russians thrown into impoverishment following restoration of capitalism line up at soup kitchen in freezing cold.

Ten Years After Counterrevolution in the USSR

For New October Revolutions!

We publish below on edited version of a presentation by Sportocist Leogue Centrol Committee member Ed Clorkson ot a September 8 SL forum in Chicogo.

Since the Yeltsin-led counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the world has changed in many ways. I was recently watching a movie called *Moy Fools* by Louis Malle about a provincial bourgeois French family that's undergoing the process of decay. The old matriarch has just died, and they are figuring out which paintings to sell so that they can get by on the proceeds of previous generations. It is called *May Fools* because it is set in 1968 in the month of May, that is, during the period of the great upsurge of the French proletariat. There's this big family in the countryside, and they're listening to the radio. The batteries are defective, so the radio sputters on and off. They hear that President de Gaulle has fled Paris and the workers have seized the city, and they speculate that the Soviet Army is only two days from the border.

That sense no longer exists. The Soviet Union—as the pre-eminent society where capitalism was overthrown, where working-class property forms were initiated, a power second only in the world to U.S. imperialism—is a place that no longer exists. Just on the purely military level, a great advantage has accrued to the world bourgeoisie. The other thing is that people no longer perceive workers, and indeed to a large extent workers no longer perceive themselves, as inclined toward socialism, as was the French proletariat in 1968. That is a direct result of the final unraveling of the Russian October Revolution of 1917—the first and to date only successful proletarian revolution in history—in 1991-92. Since that time, the imperialists have reveled in "death of communism" triumphalism.

Flashing back to the movie *Moy Fools*, they all ran out to the woods and hid out for a couple of days until the radio told them it was safe to return. The fears of our bourgeois friends were rather unjustified, even in 1968. The USSR had no intention whatsoever of invading France. Indeed, in the period immediately following the Second World War, Stalin had ordered the disarming of both the Italian and French Communist-led Resistance forces, at a time when there was a power vacuum because the buurgeoisies in both countries were discredited by their embrace of fascism during the war. In 1968, the French Communist Party, the dominant organization of the proletariat, had no aspirations whatsoever to claiming state power. Yet the strength and depth of the workers uprising was certainly strong enough so that one could have considered that.

Nevertheless, there was some basis for that bourgeois family's fear. The Red Army had, after all, overturned capitalism in East Europe in the aftermath of World War II. And the Soviet Union, by giving considerable material support to Mao's Communist forces in China, had played a significant role in the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which took about a fourth of the population of the planet out of the hands of the imperialists. The contradictory behavior of the Soviet Stalinist regime in these various instances serves to illustrate that what ultimately developed from the October Revolution was a very complex and contradictory historical phenomenon, described by Leon Trotsky as a degenerated workers state.

The imperialists are not so silly as to believe their own public relations campaign about the "death of communism." They are quite aware that the vicious contradictions of their system will continue to engender working-class opposition and popular uprisings. The remaining workers states, which we describe as bureaucratically deformed—China, North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam—do not have anything near the military capacity of the former Soviet Union. Nunetheless, since the fall of the USSR, the U.S. has been relocating most of its military forces to the Pacific theater as a bludgeon particularly against China, which has some nuclear weapons. That is simply because the U.S. imperialists intend, if necessary, to utilize military might to overthrow the last remnants of proletarian state power on the planet. To that end, the U.S. continues to this day its blockade of Cuba, even though probably most of the population here no longer supports the blockade. It's gratuitous in a way, but it expresses the fundamental opposition of U.S. imperialism to the very existence of a society in which capitalism was overthrown.

Now, of course, there are two sides to this question. There have been intrusions of capitalist development into the remaining workers states, but they have not been overthrown yet. The European imperialists have invested considerable capital in Cuba, for example, which has gone un beggars' rations since the demise of the Soviet Union. The economic penetration and the military buildup are two sides of the same coin: both are directed at overthrowing the deformed workers states in East Asia and the Caribbean.

Novosti

Y. Shteinberg

Above: Soldiers march through Moscow under banner of Communism in 1917. Right: First Congress of Communist International, March 1919. Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks fought for world socialist revolution.

"Death of Communism" Ideological Campaign

At the same time, you have an all-out propaganda campaign, which has been conducted in literary journals by the intelligentsia both in this country and in Europe, directed at the history of the October Revolution and the history of Communism. In this country, it has taken the form of—if one reads the *New York Review of Books*, for example—any number of articles attempting to prove once again that the Rosenbergs were really guilty of spying for the Soviet Union and deserved to be executed in 1953, and that the American Communist Party (CP) was nothing but a nest of spies. In actuality, by the time of World War II the CP was simply a reformist organization. Its leader, Earl Browder, described Communism as "20th century Americanism." The important thing for us was that the Suviet Union was able to obtain the atomic bomb as a counterweight to the intentions of U.S. imperialism.

In Europe, this ideological campaign is taking the form of an attack not only on the Russian Revolution but on the French Revolutiun of 1789. Every revolution, even that bourgeois revolution, is

now seen as suspect by the bourgeoisie. David Horowitz, an ex-New Lefter from the 1960s, recently appeared at the University of Chicago. He's fairly well connected with right-wing Republicanism. Previously he did some work for Reagan down in El Salvador, and he was evidently part of Bush's troops in Florida during the "chad" controversy. He is currently beating the hustings with his peculiar notion that not only is there no racism in American society today, but that American society was always good, that slavery was pretty good and the slaves got a real good break. And if you don't believe this, then you are condemned in Horowitz's eyes as an opponent of "free speech" and the American Constitution. Moreover, if you get up and oppose him in one of his forums, he will have you shut up and dragged out.

One remembers that during the McCarthy period of the early 1950s there were two crimes: one, you believed in racial integration and fought for it; and two, you believed in a socialist future. Horowitz plays a role in an effort by the U.S. rulers to squash any sort of oppositional thought or social protest in the egg, before it begins.

The October Revolution and Soviet Russia

The October Revolution, better known as the Bolshevik Revolution, arose out of the holocaust of World War I. It was the signal act of the 20th century, which Lenin described as the epoch of imperialist decay and socialist revolution. It took the question of socialist revolution out of the realm of theory and made it real in the former tsarist empire.

The revolution's accomplishments were many and great. In backward Russia, it gave land to all the peasants, it eliminated discriminatory legislation against gays and others, it was the first country of any significance to give the franchise to women, which caused all the imperialist states to subsequently try to catch up. It also gave self-determination to the captive nations within the former tsarist empire. It expropriated the capitalists and took the first steps to building a socialist society.

Internationally, it inspired revolutionary uprisings throughout Europe, most notably in Germany, Italy, Finland and Hungary, and triggered colonial uprisings against the imperialist powers. The victorious Bolshevik Party forged an international party of world revolution, known as the Third International, which by 1921 had attracted over six million workers to its banner. It is important to realize that the Bolshevik Revolution, through the first four Congresses of the Third International, educated and organized the world working class in struggle.

Even in the rather politically backward United States, it was the leaders of the Russian Revolution who made the important connection between the cause of black liberation and working-class revolution, emphasizing Karl Marx's point that one section of the working class cannot prosper when the other section is in chains. So that even in this country every struggle against black oppression, every effort to build the trade unions—including the building of the gigantic CIO industrial unions in the 1930s—was led by those who were inspired by the October Revolution.

But things did not go well in the Soviet Union itself. In 1918, it was plunged into civil war by an unending series of imperialist-sponsored interventions. The devastation of that civil war was then superimposed on the previous devastation of World War I. Because of this, in the early days of the Soviet workers state a huge governmental apparatus was necessary to simply ration out the scarcity that was prevalent in that starving society at the time.

The other thing that happened during the early years of the Russian Revolution is that the anticipated revolutions in Europe did not transpire. Several attempts at revolution in Germany failed. The revolution in Hungary was reversed. The revolution in Italy never happened, although there were two years called the *Biennio Rosso*—the "two red years"—when the bourgeoisie could not rule, and when the Social Democrats declined to do so.

The main reason that the revolutions did not succeed in Germany and elsewhere was that there was no truly revolutionary party ready to play the same role that the Bolsheviks had played in Russia. But there is another side to this story, too. The Social Democrats, the historic parties of the working class in Europe at that time, had become the labor lieutenants of capital, what Lenin described as *bourgeois workers parties*. They became that current in the labor movement which stood against revolution and on the side of maintaining the bourgeois order—if necessary, by shedding blood, as happened in Germany when the Social Democrats in bloc with right-wing militarists suppressed the Spartakist uprising in 1919, following which its leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, were murdered.

The combination of the devastation of Russian society and the failure of the revolution to spread internationally led to what Trotsky later called the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state. By early 1924, those who spoke for the interests of the developing Soviet bureaucratic caste—for its conservatism, for its right to material privileges—seized control of the Bolshevik Party and thereby of the Soviet state. In the following decade, the party was destroyed by Stalin and turned into a mere bureaucratic apparatus, plain and simple.

Our latest *Spartacist* (No. 56, Spring 2001), our theoretical magazine, has two very good articles that people might read that pertain directly to this period. One is on the 1923 revolutionary crisis in Germany and why the revolution failed to happen, and the other is on the early struggles of the Left Opposition led by Trotsky around the same time. My favorite description of what happened to the Russian Revolution comes from Trotsky, from his monumental book *The Revolution Betrayed*, which analyzed the complexity of the Soviet Union after the working class was politically expropriated:

> "The proletarian character of the October revolution was determined hy the world situation and hy a special correlation of internal forces. But the classes themselves were formed in the barbarous circumstances of tzarism and backward capitalism, and were anything but made to order for the demands of a socialist revolution. The exact opposite is true. It is for the very reason that a proletariat still backward in many respects achieved in the space of a few months the unprecedented leap from a semifeudal monarchy to a socialist dictatorship, that the reaction in its ranks was inevitable. This reaction has developed in a series of consecutive waves. External conditions and events have vied with each other in nourishing it. Intervention followed intervention. The revolution got no direct help from the west. Instead of the expected prosperity of the country an ominous destitution reigned for long. Moreover, the outstanding representatives of the working class either died in the civil war, or rose a few steps higher and broke away from the masses. And thus after an unexampled tension of forces, hopes and illusions, there came a long period of weariness, decline and sheer disappointment in the results of the revolution. The ebb of the 'plebeian pride' made room for a flood of pusillanimity and careerism. The new commanding caste rose to its place upon this wave."

Yevgeni Khaldei

Red Army soldiers trample Nazi flag in Austria, 1945. Soviet victory over Hitler's Germany demonstrated power of collectivized economy.

Stalinist Russia and the Trotskyist Program

When Trotsky analyzed this society in *The Revolution Betrayed*, he recognized that those who ruled in the Soviet Union and the way they ruled had fundamentally changed since the early years of the revolution. But what was ruled over had not changed. Soviet society maintained the same property forms that existed in the immediate aftermath of the October Revolution. There was still nationalized production, there was the state monopoly of foreign trade, there was no capitalist class. Nothing basic had changed at the economic level. To be sure, the Bolshevik Party had been replaced by a bureaucratic caste, nationalist in its orientation. It believed in "socialism in one country," not anywhere else in the world, which was a promissory note to the imperialists that "if you let us alone, we'll leave you alone." Now, you can't have, in a Marxist sense, socialism in one country. It's absurd. Socialist production has to exist at *an even higher level* than the imperialist economy, which was international from its birth.

What position should the workers movement take toward the contradictory phenomenon of the Soviet Union under the Stalinist bureaucracy? Well, Trotsky came up with the "trade union analogy." He said: In a way, the Soviet Union is no different than a reformist trade union, led by bureaucratic betrayers but nevertheless representing a historic gain of the working class. And the position that any militant would take toward such a phenomenon is defense against the bosses on the one hand and an effort to remove the betrayers who lead the union on the other.

Similarly with the Soviet Union, Trotsky argued for a program of unconditional military defense against imperialism and capitalist restoration while seeking proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucratic betrayers, a program that we, uniquely on the planet, hold today for those societies that have expropriated capitalism. That is the basis on which the Fourth International was formed in 1938.

In the end, the Soviet Union was destroyed by a capitalist counterrevolution, which we hold to be a ***historic defeat*** for the world's working class. Our opponents on the left—the most prominent in Chicago being the International Socialist Organization (ISO)—hold differently. They hold that the existence of the Soviet Union was an obstacle to winning the working class to socialism and that its defeat would be a good thing. In other words, they sided with their own imperialists in their hostility toward the October Revolution, embodied (albeit in a degenerated form) in the Soviet Union. For them, as for the Social Democrats in World War I, capitalist democracy was superior to red revolution. Same thing, different context.

ICL Said: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!

The anti-Sovietism of the ISO goes back to its origins as a tendency, around the time of the Chinese Revolution of 1949. When U.S. forces invaded Korea in 1950 in an effort to overrun and reconquer North Korea—a move also aimed at the recent Chinese Revolution—the forerunners of the ISO refused to defend North Korea and China against U.S. imperialism. Many of the other assorted groups that call themselves Trotskyist—we do not call them Trotskyist but they would call themselves Trotskyists—were to demonstrate their own fervent anti-Sovietism at the time of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979.

In the late 1970s, a modernizing nationalist regime in Afghanistan, backed by the USSR, instituted some modest reforms in the direction of freeing women from enslavement and Islamic backwardness, like lowering the bride price, educating girls—really not all that radical steps toward social progress. As a result, the mullahs and tribal chiefs went into opposition to the regime. These *mujahedin*, "holy warriors," threw acid in the faces of unveiled women, murdered schoolteachers, did a variety of barbarous things. And these reactionaries were backed and financed by the CIA.

The Soviet bureaucracy, for its own particular reasons, intervened on the side of the Afghan reformers and sent in the Red Army after repeated requests by the Afghan government. We had no illusions in the motives of the Kremlin rulers. But we stood for the Red Army being there because what was involved was defense of the Soviet Union and a step toward social progress. A quarter of a million men out of a total Afghan population

continued on page 8

Basil Blackwell Inc.

Members of Trotskyist Left Opposition exiled to Siberia commemorate anniversary of October Revolution, 1928. Banner calls for struggle against growing capitalist-restorationist danger: "Turn the Fire to the Right—Against Kulak, Nepman and Bureaucrat."

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 7)

of some 20 million at that time were mullahs. This gives you a sense of the human weight of social reaction in that society. The only hope for social progress for that sort of hideous society lay in the military and economic presence of the Soviet Union there over an extended time. The result of the withdrawal of the Red Army in 1988-89 by the government of Mikhail Gorbachev is exactly what we see in Afghanistan today, a society which will not allow women medical care because that means you have to show yourself to a doctor, which won't allow them to go to school, etc.

So, we were very much for the Red Army presence, and the anti-Soviet fake left was very much against, condemning it as a terrible act of "Soviet imperialism." By these lights, Cuba, for example, was just another victim of "Soviet imperialism." The reality was that the Soviet Union sold Cuba oil at below world prices and purchased sugar from it at above world prices. Now, if this is imperialism, every country should be so blessed. In fact, it was the opposite of imperialism, which invests capital in order to extract resources and profits from impoverished countries. That doesn't mean the Soviet role in the deformed workers states it aided was without its chauvinist and other oppressive aspects. But generally speaking, these societies were able to exist because of the presence of the Soviet Union, and now their existence is threatened because of its absence.

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Right: Afghan *mujahedin* backed by CIA in war against Soviet Army shot schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read. Below: Kremlin's ignominious withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan in 1988-89 set stage for counterrevolutions in East Europe and USSR.

All those same groups I have just discussed were on the barricades with Boris Yeltsin in August 1991 when, with the open backing of American imperialism, he seized power from the decomposing Kremlin regime of Gorbachev. Understand that some of these groups had the official position that one should defend the Soviet Union. But they were intoxicated with the smell of bourgeois democracy in the air. It is not accidental that each of those groups also believes in taking the unions in this country and elsewhere to court. It is exactly the same question, just on a different level: the notion that the bourgeois government will make the trade unions "democratic" and otherwise nice for the workers. If the bourgeoisie were so beneficent, the working class wouldn't need trade unions. But these fake-left groups support such government intervention in the unions and all of them were cheerleaders for the overthrow of the October Revolution.

We had comrades in Moscow at this critical juncture. And we put out a statement, distributing it in the thousands, titled "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (*WV* No. 533, 30 August 1991). That statement began:

> "The working people of the Soviet Union, and indeed the workers of the world, have suffered an unparalleled disaster whose devastating consequences are now being played out. The ascendancy of Boris Yeltsin, who offers himself as Bush's man, coming off a botched coup by Mikhail Gorbachev's former aides, has unleashed a counterrevolutionary tide across the land of the October Revolution."

In a historic sense, Trotsky predicted what eventually happened in the Soviet Union in 1991-92. A portion of the bureaucracy became interested not just in maintaining its privileges but in having the power to transmit its privileges to future generations—in other words, being part not simply of a parasitic caste but of a capitalist class. Backed by the imperialists, a portion of the bureaucracy led by Yeltsin, who had until shortly before been a leading part of the ruling Communist Party, took over state power and launched the capitalist counterrevolution, while the rest of the vast bureaucratic apparatus melted away. The workers, having experienced decades of Stalinist betrayal, correctly saw the bureaucracy as both liars and thieves. Politically atomized, their consciousness eroded by decades of Stalinist betrayals and lacking a revolutionary internationalist party, the Soviet workers didn't rise in defense of the gains of the Octoher Revolution. The result was what we see today.

Global Immiseration in the Post-Soviet Period

Let's look at the impact now of the capitalist counterrevolution. First, in those societies in which it happened, what we see in every case is joblessness, the absence of health care previously present, the absence of educational opportunities previously present and a decline in life span—a fantastic erosion of human well-being. Of course, the bourgeois literati will tell you the streets of Moscow now sparkle, you can get whatever meal you want, but the population unfortunately is wallowing in filth. The former Soviet Union is essentially a big junkyard where people pick apart what was built under the workers state and try to sell it in the marketplace.

Before the overturn of capitalism, Russia and the countries of East Europe were very backward societies, and the only reason that they developed to the level they did was precisely because of the overthrow of capitalism. China was even more economically backward.

There has not been a counterrevolution in China. But nevertheless today you can see with the introduction of capitalist exploitation in each new area of society a corresponding erosion of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution for the masses. So now medical care must for the most part be purchased, as must education. Now there is massive unemployment in China, tens of millions. That didn't exist before. So these very backward societies, because of the power of a collectivized economy, were able to provide everyone with a job, everyone with a place to live, everyone with the right to education, everyone with the right to health care. Under capitalism, nobody has those rights.

Let's look at the world more generally, and not just the societies where the gains of social revolution have been overthrown. Why are youth on the streets today in Genoa, in Seattle and in various other places? Well, some have a peculiar fondness for trees. The trade-union tops, for their part, are mostly out there to press for one form or another of trade protectionism. We are opposed to this because it's a knife in the back of the international working class, directly pitting workers in one country against those in other countries. But most youth, I think, are out there because they see that the imperialists are savaging the world. And in this they are correct.

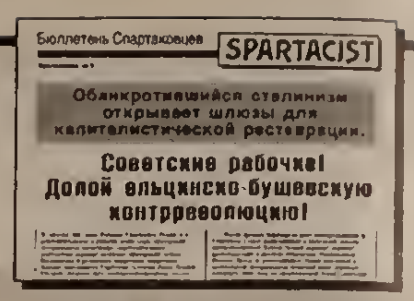
In the last two decades, the rate of growth outside of the imperialist countries has been 1 percent, and that was accrued during the ten good years that existed for places like South Korea and Indonesia, which are now going down the drain. You can be assured that who benefited during that period were the moneyed classes, while the masses continued to live in a cesspool.

Now, the youth on the street have the strange idea that this occurred because of some creation called multinationals, which are evidently a more evil form of exploitation than old-fashioned capitalism itself. In that they are mistaken. These are the same old imperialist policies that were seen before World War I: divide, conquer, destroy, savage, make money, get out of town. The youthful protesters tend to address their appeals—especially in the United States, especially in Seattle—to their own bourgeoisie to correct the situation, as though U.S. imperialism is going to make the world a better place for people to be in, contrary to anyone's experience in the last 30 years. The global economic summits where these protests happen are simply opportunities for the imperialists to meet together occasionally to discuss their differences—differences that can in a different context lead to war. It's simply a way of reaching interim understandings.

Everybody is upset that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are doing bad things—and truly they are. But these demonstrations wouldn't have occurred 20 years ago, when the Soviet Union existed. The IMF existed then, the World Bank existed then, but it didn't necessarily matter in and of itself what the imperialists decided, because there was a contending power on the planet that wasn't imperialist. If Third World countries didn't like the deal they got from the U.S., they sought a little Soviet aid and became allies of the Soviet Union for a period of time. They had a bargaining position, if you will. At the same time, the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy repeatedly sold out revolutionary struggles in these countries, while embracing the bourgeois-

ICL call "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" was distributed in tens of thousands throughout USSR. Below: ICL raises banner of Fourth International in Moscow's Red Square on Revolution Day, 7 November 1991.

Spartacist



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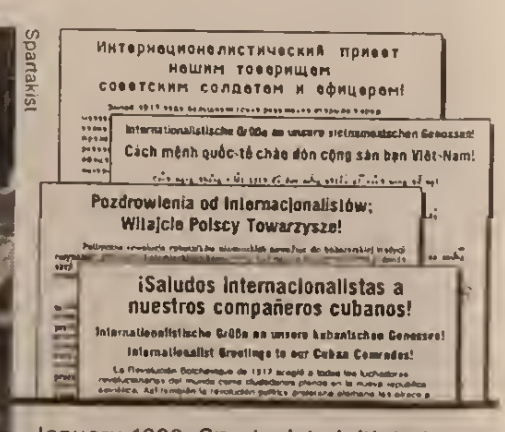


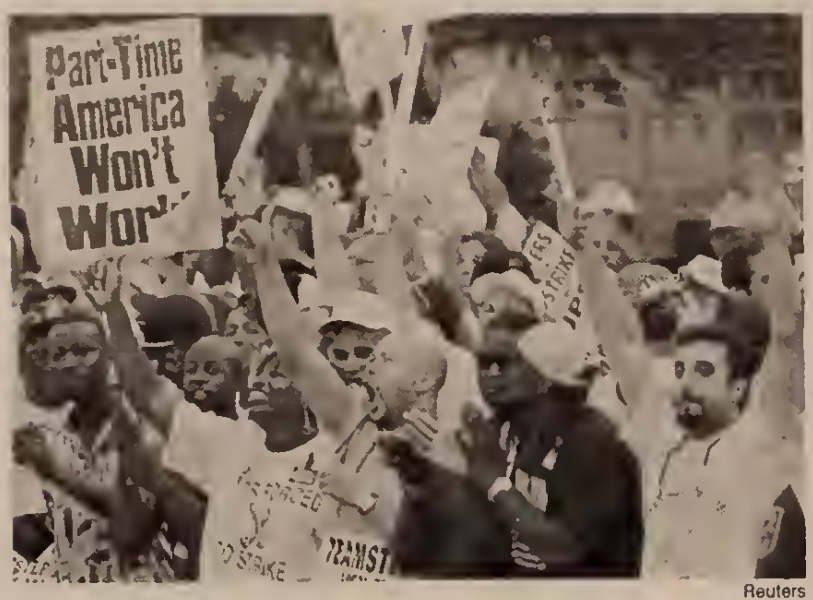
January 1990: Spartacists initiated 250,000-strong rally against Nazi desecration of Red Army memorial in East Berlin's Treptow Park. Statements of revolutionary solidarity issued by our comrades to Soviet soldiers, Vietnamese and Cuban workers in East Germany.

nationalist regimes as allies.

Look at the countries of Africa, where the overturn of the October Revolution has led to the intensification of imperialist bloodsucking, and with it increased starvation and bloodshed—tribe against tribe, country against country, everyhody out for some advantage in a battle for survival. This has occurred because the IMF and World Bank demanded payment on the money they had given previously as a sop to these African countries during the Cold War against the Soviet Union. The imperialists further destroyed these societies, already devastated by imperialism, by forcing them to focus on a single cash crop (monoculture) for export to the world market, while the masses starve.

The Struggle for Revolutionary Marxist Parties

The condition of the working class internationally is also quite different. The fall of the Soviet Union didn't put an end to the contradictions between labor and capital, contrary to the "death of communism" ideologues. There has actually been quite a bit of class struggle since then, especially in European societies but also in the Philippines and most recently in Argentina. But what is different is that much of the working class no longer sees its ultimate goal as socialism or communism, in some sense, and you see a suspicion of political parties that, especially in places like Italy, leads a layer of more militant workers to identify with anarchism or syndicalism.



Reuters

Teamsters rally in Georgia during 1997 UPS strike. Forging a revolutionary workers party is key to struggle for proletarian overthrow of capitalist rule.

What we see in Europe is that the workers' battles have, for the most part, been directed at what are called popular-front governments, that is, governments composed of (social-democratic or ex-Stalinist) bourgeois workers parties and outright bourgeois parties. The social gains of the European working class—health care, social security, a shorter workweek, etc.—came about in the aftermath of World War II. The reason they came about was because the Soviet Union existed and much of the working class was pro-Communist. So these programs were granted as a buyout to ward off the spectre of revolution. And now who is taking them away? The social democrats. The pseudo-Trotskyists also play a role in the labor movement in various countries, especially in France, and they, no less than the old social-democratic parties, support the various popular-front governments which are trying to destroy the previous gains of the working class.

A final difference is that the youth on the streets today wouldn't have called themselves anarchists 20 years ago. I'm referring to young radicals who have shed a political identification with capitalism and want to adopt a sense of opposition to that system. They might have called themselves Trotskyists, they might have called themselves Guevarists, they might have called themselves Maoists, but they wouldn't have called themselves anarchists.

The best of the anarchists and syndicalists of their day were won to Bolshevism after the October Revolution. In Spain, where anarchism retained influence, it was exposed as bankrupt as a revolutionary force during the Spanish Revolution in 1936-38. This was a revolution that Trotsky described as being much more powerful at the outset than the Russian Revolution itself, which began with the overthrow of the tsar. During the course of the Spanish Revolution, the anarchists, who deplore forming a working-class government because they don't believe in governments, joined the bourgeois (Popular Front) government. That bourgeois government proceeded to undo the initial expropriations which the revolutionary workers had undertaken. Trotsky aptly described the role of the anarchists in Spain as like an umbrella with holes in it—it worked when it didn't rain but was not much good when there was rain.

Anarchism has no solution to the problems of capitalist exploitation and is therefore sort of perforce consigned to a role, as it was in Spain, of pressuring the bourgeoisie. But notice that even the rather mild struggles that have happened in various cities as the anarchist youth follow the imperialist confabs around are denounced by the fake Trotskyists and those social-democratically inclined. They complain about what we admire in the anarchist youth. We admire their impulse and their outrage against injustice. Our disagreement is that they have nothing to propose, no answer to imperialist oppression. The social democrats, on the other hand—and here I mean groups like the ISO, the fake Trotskyists and the like—actually deplore the fact that these young radicals challenge the cops, the bourgeois order. The problem with even the most left-wing anarchists—the ones who aren't anti-communist liberals at heart—is they don't see that if you are going to threaten the existing order, you better have something to replace it—and that means a struggle for proletarian state power. Because if you don't replace it, they'll massacre you. And the ones who will eagerly massacre you are the ones who did it very eagerly in Germany in 1919, the sham socialists.

I wanted in this forum to point to the importance of the October Revolution and what the Soviet Union represented. But, as importantly, I also wanted to point to the role of consciousness—the subjective factor, the revolutionary party—as a necessary ingredient for socialist revolution, which alone can open the door to social progress on the planet. In the only society in which there was a proletarian revolution, there was such a party of working-class revolution, the Bolshevik Party. The erosion of the gains of the October Revolution was dependent, in large measure, on the absence of revolutionary parties, and as a result the failure of socialist revolution, in the advanced capitalist countries.

And that absence is what we seek to redress. The world has actually been awash in class struggle. There's no absence of working-class combativity. Even in the United States there have been several major strikes in the past years, notably UPS and General Motors. The battle that most impressed me in

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Passenger train demolished by U.S./NATO terror bombing of Serbia in 1999. Destruction of Soviet Union emboldened U.S. imperialists in their military adventures around the world.

terms of our program—the necessity of linking struggles against injustice and exploitation with the struggle for black freedom—was the one on the Charleston waterfront that occurred in January 2000.

This struggle occurred just subsequent to a large civil rights demonstration in South Carolina directed against the Confederate flag. The Charleston longshore union had played a role in that demonstration. We're not talking about radical revolutionaries; those in the leadership of these struggles are at best reformists. But nevertheless the state brought in hundreds of cops against these longshore workers fighting to defend their union against scab labor in Charleston, and the workers faced them down. This small example shows that our premises for socialist revolution in the United States are absolutely correct.

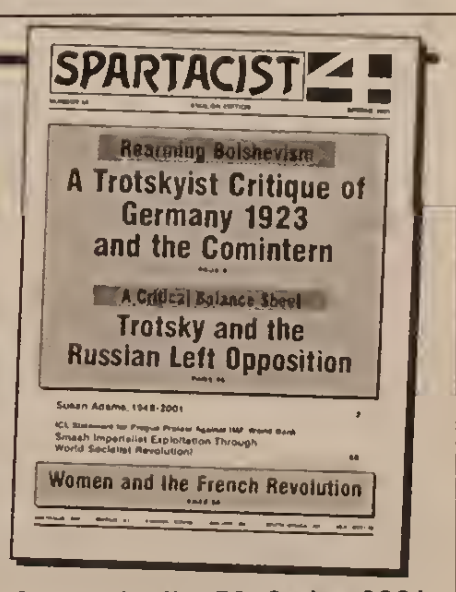
Now, I'll conclude with another story, about a loss. The International Communist League played a role in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) in 1989-90. When the Berlin Wall came down in late 1989, we decided that this posed both a threat and an opportunity. It was a threat to the existence of the working-class property forms in the East German deformed workers state, but at the same time an opportunity for our Trotskyist program of defense of those gains, for the political overthrow of the ruling Stalinist party that undermined them and for a socialist revolution in capitalist West Germany. And so we intervened quite heavily. We had a very small group in West Germany at the time, and we sent many of our comrades from elsewhere in the ICL over there to assist them in raising the Trotskyist program. But understand, we are still talking about a small number, many of whom couldn't speak German.

Nevertheless, we put out a daily newspaper, and we distributed hundreds of thousands of copies of that newspaper. Partly in response to our agitation, there were soldiers committees in the East German army. There were also workers committees in the factories. We were invited to both the barracks and the factories and spoke at both. When a war memorial to Soviet soldiers at Treptow Park in East Berlin was defaced by fascists, we said, everybody out! The working class has to get out and fight this! And the groundswell of popularity of that call, which was in reality nothing else but a call for the defense of the workers state in East Germany, was so strong that the ruling Stalinist party felt compelled to take over the demonstration. That was a mass demonstration—250,000 people or more. We spoke on the platform and denounced the Stalinists and warned against the sellout of the East German workers state to West German imperialism.

In the aftermath of Treptow, billions of deutschmarks flowed from the West to the East, as did Social Democrats and other cadres of counterrevolution. A few months later capitalist rule was restored in East Germany through reunification with the West German imperialist state. That set the stage for the overturn in the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev first made clear he would not stand for the existence of the East German workers state; and then when Yeltsin came out on the streets, Gorbachev had no impulse to defend his own base of power.

But if we lost in the German Democratic Republic, which we did, why am I bragging about it? If you look at what we had there, it is permissible to think that if we'd had a few more cadres, had gotten there a little earlier, had been a little more strategically placed, *we would have prevailed*. We awakened the working class and provided a banner to gather around, and did so with very limited forces. This again reaffirmed that if we are able to accrue the cadres to the program of revolutionary Marxism, the program of revolutionary Trotskyism, the working class will be more than able to throw out its reformist betrayers and unseat the imperialists at the centers of their power. And that is what the Spartacist League and the International Communist League are all about. ■

Spartacist pamphlet
$2 (64 pages)



***Spartacist* No. 56, Spring 2001**
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Ali...

(continued from page 5)

History when he died penniless at the age of 42. The advent of free agency and million-dollar salaries didn't alter this much. Just a few years ago, black basketball player Mahmoud Abdul Rauf was vilified for refusing to stand for the national anthem, in accordance with his religious beliefs, and ultimately driven out of the NBA.

The New York State Athletic Commission stripped Ali of the heavyweight crown and revoked his boxing license. In short order, every other boxing commission in the U.S. followed suit. Although he remained out on bail while he appealed his conviction, the government took away his passport, preventing Ali from boxing overseas as well. Unable to support his family, Ali's major source of income was the money he received for speaking at college campuses, where he encouraged student activists in protesting against the war.

With their cash cow dried up, the NOI turned its back on its most famous and popular member. The film shows Ali being suspended for a year by the NOI when he told Howard Cosell in an interview that he needed money. In an article titled "We Tell the World We're Not with Muhammad Ali" (*Muhammad Speaks*, 4 April 1969), Elijah Muhammad wrote: "Mr. Muhammad Ali shall not be recognized with us under the holy name Muhammad Ali. We call him Cassius Clay. We take away the name of Allah from him until he proves himself worthy of that name.... We, the Muslims, are not with Muhammad Ali in the desire to work in the sports world 'for the sake of a leetle money'."

A Decade of Social Struggle

Ali's refusal to join the U.S. military resonated not only with the growing movement against the Vietnam War but spoke for a generation of young black men. In the early years of the war, blacks (11 percent of the U.S. population) made up 31 percent of combat troops and 23 percent of fatalities.

As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, founder of the Soviet Red Army, pointed out, "An army is always a copy of the society it serves—with this difference, that it gives social relations a concentrated character, carrying both their positive and negative features to an extreme." Not surprisingly, black soldiers in Vietnam got shafted. They were singled out for front-line duty, forced to walk point on patrol—making them first in the line of fire—while positions in the rear were generally reserved for whites. Confederate flags were common in the rear areas, and there were even cross-burnings. As one GI recounted in the book *Bloods* (Random House, 1984), which contains

Boenzi/NY Times

17 October 1975: Ali at head of Trenton, New Jersey protest demanding freedom for frame-up victims Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis.

personal accounts by 20 black vets, edited by Randall Terry:

> "A few days after the assassination [of Martin Luther King], some of the white guys got a little sick and tired of seeing Dr. King's picture on the TV screen. Like a memorial. It really got to one guy. He said, 'I wish they'd take that n----r's picture off.' He was a fool to begin with, because there were three black guys sitting in the living room when he said it. And we commenced to give him a lesson in when to use that word and when you should not use that word. A physical lesson."

Vietnam was one of America's dirtiest colonial wars. American forces and their Vietnamese puppets killed, maimed and tortured millions of Indochinese men, women and children before they were driven out by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants in 1975. The Vietnamese National Liberation Front found resonance in its appeal to black soldiers. In the jungles of Vietnam was a sign reading, "U.S. Negro Armymen! You are committing the same ignominious crimes in South Vietnam that the KKK clique is perpetrating against your family at home."

A big reason that the U.S. Army lost on the battlefield was that the troops saw no reason to fight and die, and that was doubly true for black GIs. Toward the end, there was not just indiscipline but outright mutiny in the army. There were numerous instances of "fragging" of unpopular officers, who were usually killed by a fragmentation weapon, most often a hand grenade. Throughout all branches of the service, black soldiers organized "Black Power" groups and carried out militant protests against the war and racist discrimination. Often overlapping with this Black Power movement in the armed forces were integrated groups of GIs who published antiwar newsletters.

The war played a major role in radicalizing young black militants. At the same time that SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael was calling for "black power" in 1966, he denounced the "illegal and immoral war." When King, the NAACP's Roy Wilkins and the Urban League's Whitney Young pleaded with SNCC to call off an antiwar protest outside the wedding of President Johnson's daughter, SNCC denounced them as messengers for the White House. Seeking to maintain credibility among the black masses, King also spoke out against the war shortly before his assassination.

Returning from Vietnam, many of those black vets who became radicalized were, not surprisingly, particularly drawn to the Black Panther Party, which campaigned for black self-defense against racist victimization and cop terror. Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) was one of those who joined the Panthers. As a soldier, Geronimo was wounded three times, received two Purple Hearts, two Bronze Stars for valor, one Silver Star, a soldier's medal, an army commendation medal, three combat infantry badges and master paratrooper's wings. As a Panther leader, Geronimo was framed up and sent to prison for 27 years for a killing the government knew all along he could not have committed—because they had FBI tapes proving he was nowhere near the site of the murder.

At the same time, hundreds of thousands of students were marching against the war, driving army and CIA recruiters off campus. Yet the antiwar movement and the black movement remained separate rather than flowing together in a revolutionary tide. The New Left and reformist organizations never mobilized the black masses against the war but instead glorified separate sectoralist struggles—students, blacks, women, workers. This was the crisis of revolutionary leadership in the flesh.

The Communist Party, which had long since sold its political soul to embrace the Democratic Party, stood foursquare behind the King leadership of the civil rights movement. The once-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party was in the process of a rightward political degeneration—a signal reflection of which was its refusal to intervene into the civil rights struggles, instead adapting to black nationalism while simultaneously tailing the liberal reformism of King & Co. As a result, the "Black Power" radicals never found the bridge between their struggles and the program of workers power. The recruitment of a substantial layer of black communists would have had an enormous impact on the course of subsequent struggles.

Although our forces were small, the Spartacist tendency fought to intersect the growing militant wing of the civil rights movement. Against ***both*** the liberal pacifism of King and the growing tendencies toward nationalist separatism, we stood for revolutionary integrationism, a program of struggle against every manifestation of discrimination premised on the understanding that black freedom requires smashing the capitalist system. We advanced the call for a "Freedom Labor Party" as the axis to link the struggle against segregation to the power of labor, North and South. Fundamentally, we sought to bring to black militants the understanding that the working class, which is racially integrated at the point of production, is the only class with the historic interest and social power—derived from its role in production—to sweep away the system of exploitation and racist oppression.

To lead the struggle for black freedom and the emancipation of all of the working people from the chains of capitalist exploitation and oppression requires a revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat. As we wrote in our October 1967 leaflet "From Protest to Power": "With the widespread discontent over the war, the rising militancy and restiveness in the labor movement, and the explosiveness of the black ghettos, the prospect for initiating such a party is better now than at any time in the last twenty years."

But this anger and militancy were dissipated by the reformist misleaders of the antiwar movement who consciously suppressed revolutionary politics to keep the protests safe for the Democratic Party politicians they pandered to. Locked up in a popular-front coalition with "antiwar" Democrats, the "official" antiwar movement led by the reformist SWP made it a virtue to refuse to address

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Spartacus Youth Club Events

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Thursday, 6:30 p.m.
February 14:
The Exploitation of the Working Class as the Basis of Profits
Boston University
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725 Commonwealth Ave.
Information and readings:
(617) 666-9453

CHICAGO
Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.
February 19:
U.S. Imperialism—World's Biggest Terrorist!
University of Illinois at Chicago
104 Stevenson Hall,
701 South Morgan Street
Information and readings:
(312) 563-0441

LOS ANGELES
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.
February 16:
Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution
3806 Beverly Blvd., Suite 215
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
February 12:
U.S./UN/NATO Out of Aghanistan, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf, and the Near East!
Columbia University (116th and Broadway)
Hamilton Hall, Room 306
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO
Wednesday, 5:30 p.m.
February 20:
Anglo Chauvinism and Canadian Capitalism: Why Marxists Advocate Independence for Quebec
York University Student Ctr., Room 313
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
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Alternate Wednesdays, 6 p.m.
February 13: **For Class Struggle Against the Cuts—No Illusions in the Pro-Capitalist NDP! Students: Ally with Labor!**
UBC Student Union Building, Rm. 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
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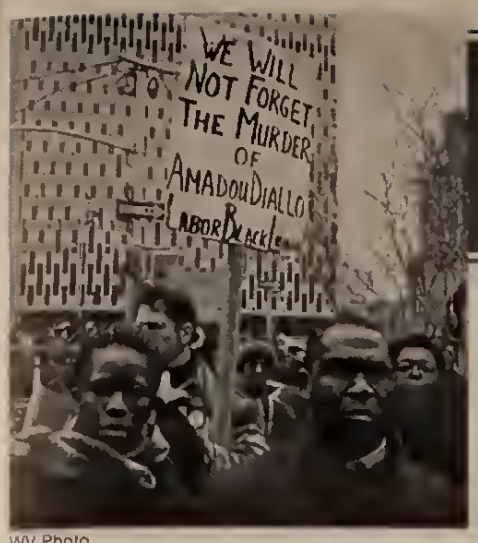

WV Photo

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The first Labor Block Leagues were formed os a result of the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong labor/black mobilizotion that stopped the Ku Klux Klon from morching in Woshington, D.C. in November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people in militant integrated struggle agoinst the brutol system of racist oppression thot is capitolist America. Initioted by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist Leogue, o multirocial revolutionory Marxist orgonizotion, the Labor Black Leagues ore port of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed agoinst the bosses and for socialism.

WV Photo

If You Stand For—

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabherding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting, keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops and prison guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Down with anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! For class-struggle, nonsectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge is $3/year unemployed; $10/year employed. For more information, contact:

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Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 2502, Church St. Station
New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND (510) 839-0851
Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604

black oppression, stressing the need for a "single issue" focus on the war!

The endless peace crawls were nothing more than a giant postcard to your Congressman, a pressure tactic aimed at shifting administration policy. The impoverished black masses would never be attracted by such reformist tactics. *To mobilize the ghetto requires o struggle for proletorian power*, a fight against black oppression and class exploitation at home as well as imperialist war abroad. The Panthers, who wrote off the working class and looked instead to mobilizing lumpen rage, had nothing to offer but heroic gestures while the cops and Feds murdered some of their leaders, and bought off the rest.

Stressing that what was posed in Vietnam was a social revolution, the Spartacist League raised the slogans of revolutionary proletarian internationalism, "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution! All Indochina must go Communist!" We called for labor strikes against the war, to mobilize the U.S. working class in *action*. The prospects for such action were not far off at the time, despite the efforts of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy under George Meany—a racist and rabid Cold Warrior—which did all it could to oppose any mobilization of labor power in the black freedom struggles of the 1960s and was among the staunchest supporters of the war.

The same National Guard unit that murdered four students at Kent State in 1970 had been called out to put down a Teamsters strike in Ohio. That same year, postal workers went out in the first major strike against the federal government in the history of the U.S. Open defiance was breaking out in the army: at Fort Hood in Texas, for instance, 43 black soldiers refused to go to Chicago to be used against antiwar demonstrators outside the 1968 Democratic Convention.

What was missing was a revolutionary party, with roots and authority in the working class and among the black masses, to have brought this all together in the fight for proletarian state power.

Imperialist War and Bourgeois Hypocrisy

In June 1970 the U.S. Supreme Court overturned Ali's conviction, and months later the boxing lords reinstated his license to fight. Rusty after his forced exile from the sport for three years, Ali suffered his first professional loss in March 1971, a 15-round decision in his effort to regain the championship from Joe Frazier in Madison Square Garden. A rematch was squelched when George Foreman took the championship from Frazier in 1972. Though few "experts" gave him a chance, in 1974 a 32-year-old Ali knocked Foreman out in the eighth round to recapture his crown. This was a fitting triumph for Ali.

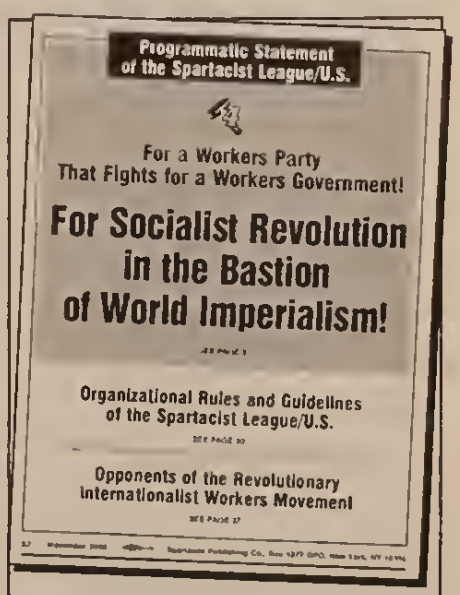
Foreman's career was propelled by winning the heavyweight gold medal at the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. Ten days before the games opened, hundreds of student protesters were slaughtered by Mexican troops and cops in the infamous Tlatelolco Massacre. The games themselves were marked by a boycott by Kareem Abdul-Jabbar (then still known as Lew Alcindor) and other prominent black athletes to protest racist oppression in the U.S. One of their demands called for Ali to be reinstated as the heavyweight champ. In solidarity with the protests, black sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos raised their gloved fists when receiving their gold and bronze medals for the 220-yard dash. They were immediately kicked off the team and banished from the Olympic Village. Foreman's response to the protests was to demonstratively wave an American flag after winning his gold medal.

Today, Muhammad Ali is no longer a pariah. Two years ago, he was named athlete of the century by *Sports Illustrated*. Last month, a star-studded extravaganza was held to celebrate his 60th birthday. But while the racist rulers may have temporarily forgiven his "transgressions" of the past, they have not been forgotten. New York's *Daily News* chose to "honor" Ali's birthday by reprinting 30-year-old drawings of what for them is the "highlight" of Ali's career—his loss to Joe Frazier.

The ruling class of this country mercilessly hounded Ali for his courageous opposition to its dirty, losing war in Vietnam. Today, they hypocritically seize the opportunity to parade Ali, seriously debilitated by Parkinson's disease, before the media to promote the virtues of their "war against terrorism" in Afghanistan and at home. But the movie *Ali* reminds audiences of why "the champ" was so revered by tens of millions of people around the world. In Brooklyn, overwhelmingly black audiences cheer as Ali declares: "I am not going ten thousand miles from here to help murder and kill and burn poor people simply to help continue the domination of white slave masters over the darker people." Here is a measure of the fragility of the American imperialists' "national unity" crusade, a cynical fraud aimed at furthering brutal exploitation and racial oppression at home and abroad. Our purpose is to take the sympathies of those who identify with the Ali who refused to serve the interests of American imperialism and translate them into the forging of a revolutionary proletarian party that will end the rule of the capitalist slave masters through workers socialist revolution.■

AP

Sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos raise "black power" salute at 1968 Mexico City Olympics in protest of racist oppression in U.S.



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Immigrants...

(continued from page 16)

always tried to wrap anti-working-class and anti-communist measures in anti-immigrant chauvinism. Their aim is to divide and weaken the working class and purge its most class-conscious component, especially in times of depression and war. The Smith Act is a perfect example. Ostensibly passed to suppress the American Hitlerites after the outbreak of World War II in Europe, it was first used to imprison leaders of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the militant Minneapolis Teamsters, to the cheers of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP). It was later used to go after the CP, which shows that even under capitalism, crime doesn't always pay.

Today, the Cliffites of the International Socialist Organization moan that the "Democrats Cave In to the Attack on Civil Liberties," as the headline of a 14 December article in *Socialist Worker* would have it. But it was Democratic president Clinton who militarized the border with Mexico in 1994 under "Operation Gatekeeper." Likewise, it was that Democratic administration that in 1996 signed into law the "Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act" and the "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" that:

- Gutted *habeas corpus* to speed up the state's machinery of death.
- Created a special court that uses secret evidence to jail and deport foreign-born so-called "subversives."
- Allows the deportation of foreign-born individuals based on membership in a group designated by the Secretary of State as "terrorist," even if the individual had only participated in the group's political or humanitarian activities—a revival of McCarran Act exclusions.

These laws set the stage for the present assault on civil liberties and immigrants. In 2000, 1.6 million Mexicans were thrown back trying to cross the border. Before 1996, there were fewer than 100 deaths a year of Latinos coming across the border, but with the reactionary Clinton-era legislation in place, the number reached 369 in 1999.

We stand opposed to all the bourgeoisie's anti-immigrant laws and regulations and demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants. We defend bilingual education against "English only" bigots and stand for full equality of all languages in all spheres of public life. Against the capitalists' attempts to use undocumented immigrant workers as a club against unions, we seek to mobilize the labor movement to fight deportations and Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) factory raids through class-struggle means and to organize the foreign-born into the unions with full rights and protections.

The crucial need for the labor movement and all the oppressed to defend immigrant rights was seen in 1982, when the race-terrorist Ku Klux Klan, with its preferred candidate Ronald Reagan in office, announced that they were going to march through the streets of the nation's capital, something they had not done since 1925. The Klan said they were going to target immigrants, but predominantly black Washington, D.C. and organized labor throughout the region understood that they, too, were the targets. They backed our initiative for a united front to stop the Klan based on mobilizing the social power of labor, and more than 5,000 unionists, leftists and black youth turned out to run these fascist murderers out of town. It was the power of the working class that was seen on the streets of Washington that day.

Sebastião Salgado

Militarization of Mexican border in 1990s has led to deaths of hundreds of desperate immigrants.

Defend Immigrant Workers, Labor's Advance Guard

As revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin wrote in "Capitalism and Workers' Immigration" (October 1913):

> "There can be no doubt that dire poverty alone compels people to abandon their native land, and that the capitalists exploit the immigrant workers in the most shameful manner. But only reactionaries can shut their eyes to the *progressive* significance of this modern migration of nations. Emancipation from the yoke of capital is impossible without the further development of capitalism, and without the class struggle that is based on it. And it is into this struggle that capitalism is drawing the masses of the working people of the *whole* world, breaking down the musty, fusty habits of local life, breaking down national barriers and prejudices, uniting workers from all countries in huge factories and mines in America, Germany, and so forth."

Lenin pointed out that the Russian immigrant who had gone through the 1905 Revolution brought with him advanced methods of class struggle like the mass strike. That may help explain the solidarity, militancy and tenacity of the 1912 Lawrence, Massachusetts textile workers, who did not speak English but understood the international language of the class struggle. Today the immigrant worker, who often brings with him the militant traditions of class war, is vital to reinvigorating the working class here, breaking down *its* supremely musty, fusty habits of local life, breaking down deeply ingrained national prejudices. Latinos from Mexico and Central America have turned "open shop" Los Angeles into a battleground of the class war. In addition, proletarian immigrants from throughout the reach of Wall Street's empire form a living link between the working class in their country of origin and the multiracial proletariat here in the belly of the imperialist beast.

Cameron & Kahn

IWW leader Big Bill Haywood (center) with immigrant women strikers during 1912 Lawrence textile strike. Revolutionary syndicalist IWW fought to organize immigrant workers spurned by chauvinist AFL leadership.

But our task is not easy. Near the end of his life, Friedrich Engels noted in a December 1893 letter to the German American Marxist Friedrich Sorge that among the obstacles to forming a mass workers party in America was:

> "immigration, which divides the workers into two groups: the native-born and the foreigners, and the latter in turn into (1) the Irish, (2) the Germans, (3) the many small groups, each of which understands only itself: Czechs, Poles, Italians, Scandinavians, etc. And then the Negroes. To form a single party out of these requires quite unusually powerful incentives. Often there is a sudden violent *élan*, but the bourgeois need only wait passively, and the dissimilar elements of the working class fall apart again."

"It Was Not in Ireland You Learned This Cruelty"

So we have our work cut out for us. In that spirit let me begin by discussing the Irish immigration. Between 1845, when the potato blight began, until 1855, one million people in Ireland died from starvation and related illnesses. Of the one and a half million who emigrated to the U.S., 20 percent died in mid passage or shortly after disembarking. From 1815 to 1920, five and a half million people would flee Ireland for the U.S. As one of their ballads proclaimed:

> "I would not live in Ireland now, for she's a fallen land,
> "And the tyrant's heel is on her neck, with her reeking bloodstained hand.
> "There's not a foot of Irish ground, but's trodden down by slaves.
> "Who die unwept, and then are flung, like dogs, into their graves."

Frederick Douglass, the freed slave and articulate abolitionist, knew the plight of the Irish well, because he toured their country in the 1840s. In a February 1846 letter to William Lloyd Garrison, Douglass wrote:

> "I spent nearly six weeks in Dublin, and the scenes I there witnessed were such as to make me 'blush, and hang my head to think myself a man'....
> "I see much here to remind me of my former condition, and I confess I should be ashamed to lift up my voice against American slavery, but that I know the cause of humanity is one the world over."
>
> —*Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass* (1950), Vol. 1

Many in Ireland identified themselves as the "slaves" of the British, and in 1842 thousands signed petitions to their countrymen in America declaring: "Irishmen and Irishwomen! Treat the colored people as your equals, as brethren." But white supremacy proved to be a formidable barrier to that message of solidarity. Faced with economic hardship and prejudice in America, the Irish vented their rage on black people, with whom they were forced into direct competition for jobs. In 1830, the majority of servants in New York City were black; 20 years later they were Irish women.

As Ronald Takaki writes about the Irish immigrants in *A Different Mirror* (1993): "Targets of nativist hatred toward them as outsiders or foreigners, they sought to become insiders, or Americans, by claiming their membership as whites. A powerful way to transform their own identity from 'Irish' to 'American' was to attack blacks." The noted Irish nationalist Daniel O'Connell declared to his countrymen here: "It was not in Ireland you learned this cruelty."

Another route for Irish men to become "white" in the U.S. was military service in the war against Mexico for conquest of what became the Southwest of the U.S. In 1830, the Mexican government outlawed slavery. This affected what later became the state of Texas, where a number of Anglo settlers were raising cotton with slave labor. By 1835, the Anglo population outnumbered the Mexican 20,000 to 4,000. In 1836, some of these Anglos rebelled against Mexican rule and raised the flag of the so-called "Lone Star Republic" over a converted mission south of San Antonio, the Alamo. In 1845, the U.S. annexed this ersatz republic and declared that Texas began at the Rio Grande. President James Polk sent American troops and ships to occupy the mouth of the river and blockade its waters, provoking war with Mexico. There ensued a campaign of such unrestrained brutality that even the commanding officer, General Winfield Scott, admitted that his troops "committed atrocities to make Heaven weep and every American of Christian morals blush for his country. Murder, robbery and rape of mothers and daughters in the presence of tied-up males of the families have been common all along the Rio Grande."

Frederick Douglass thundered against this war of pillage and plunder for slavers and plutocrats in the pages of the abolitionist newspaper *North Star*:

> "The loss of thousands of her own men, and the slaughter of tens of thousands of the sons and daughters of Mexico, have rather given edge than dullness to our appetite for fiery conflict and plunder.

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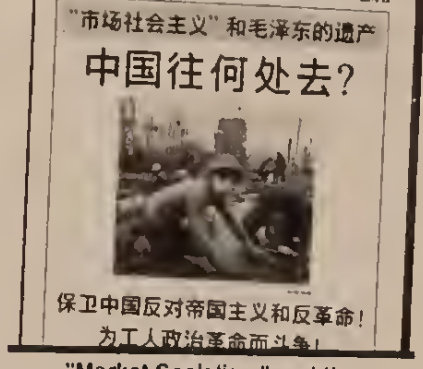

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> The civilization of the age, the voice of the world, the sacredness of human life, the tremendous expense, the dangers, hardships, and the deep disgrace which must forever attach to our inhuman course, seem to oppose no availing check to the mad spirit of proud ambition, blood, and carnage, let loose in the land."
> —*Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, Vol. I

Even before the Mexican-American War, Polk declared in a message to Congress his designs on California, whose harbors "would afford shelter for our navy...and would in a short period become the marts of an extensive and profitable commerce with China, and other countries of the East" (cited in Takaki, *A Different Mirror*). As the war got underway, John C. Frémont, then a lieutenant in the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, fomented with a handful of soldiers the so-called "Bear Flag Revolt." The Mexican governor was seized and California declared an "independent republic." The war ended in early 1848 with Scott occupying Mexico City, forcing the government to cede Texas, California, New Mexico, Nevada and parts of Colorado, Arizona and Utah, altogether one-half of Mexico's territory. Mexicans who remained under their new masters were promised American citizenship, but in fact, like Palestinians today, they were treated as foreigners in their own land. This conquest also accelerated the formation of a Mexican American working class, as they picked cotton, built railroads and carried out of the bowels of the earth 200-pound packs of ore strapped to their backs.

It is a bitter irony that Mexicans, hunted down like dogs by the INS when not struck down by hunger and want, are branded as "illegal aliens" when they traverse this border drenched by a river of blood, mainly their own. In fact, they are only reclaiming a bit of their birthright. Our program promises that the successful workers revolution here will make restitution to Mexico, including in land, for the rape and pillage that marked this inglorious chapter in American history and that was to presage its sanguinary imperialist future.

German Red '48ers and the American Civil War

While the U.S. was engrossed in a war of aggrandizement against Mexico, Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto* hit the streets just as a revolutionary wave swept Europe. Among the one million Germans who came here between 1844 and 1854, several thousand were participants in the failed 1848-49 Revolution. The "Red '48ers" brought not only their democratic and socialist ideals, but invaluable military experience as well (see "The 'Red '48ers' and the Fight for Black Freedom," *WV* No. 734, 21 April 2000). Here are two examples.

August Willich, a captain in the Prussian Army and a sympathizer of Karl Marx's Communist League, participated in the 1848-49 Revolution as leader of the Köln (Cologne) insurrection and later led a workers' legion together with Engels in the Rhineland. In the American Civil War, he took command of the 9th Ohio Regiment as well as the 32nd Indiana Regiment (the first German regiment formed). He led the charge up Missionary Ridge in Tennessee that relieved the Union armies at Cumberland and opened the road to Sherman's march to the sea.

Joseph Weydemeyer in 1842 joined a circle of fellow Prussian officers around the *Rheinische Post* that Marx edited. Kicked out of the army because of his revolutionary views, by 1847 he was an organizer for the Communist League. Forced to flee Germany in 1851, he eventually emigrated to the U.S. During the Civil War, he was a colonel in the 40th Missouri Regiment, one of 500 German officers that helped lead the Union Army to victory in the last great bourgeois democratic revolution.

Below: Brutally exploited Chinese workers were key to building transcontinental railroad. Right: Drawing of anti-Chinese riot in Denver, 1880, part of wave of chauvinist anti-immigrant reaction.

Denver Public Library

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

Chinese Immigration and Chauvinist Reaction

The period of Radical Reconstruction that followed the North's victory over the Southern slavocracy, won in good measure by the emancipation and arming of the black slaves, was the most egalitarian decade in American history. This period also opened up unparalleled capitalist development, signified by the building of the transcontinental railroad. The challenge was enormous: 1,800 miles across arid plains and desert and the rugged granite walls of the Sierra Nevada and Rocky Mountains. The Union Pacific began laying track westward from Omaha, Nebraska. The Central Pacific had the much more arduous task of laying track eastward from Sacramento, California.

The Central Pacific suffered from an acute labor shortage, so they decided to recruit Chinese immigrants. Asian and especially Chinese immigration really began in the decade before the Civil War. In 1852, 20,000 people came from China alone. Driving this immigration were China's devastating defeat in the Opium War by the British—let nothing stand in the way of these imperial drug pushers!—and great social upheavals like the Taiping Rebellion. This rebellion, akin to the 16th-century peasant wars in Germany, promoted the equality of the sexes, abolished footbinding and appointed women as administrators and officers in the Taiping army. It also tried to abolish private ownership of land and distribute it to the tiller. The rebellion's defeat left 30 million dead and the country's economy in a state of collapse.

At first, the Chinese came to work the gold mines. But as that dried up, they were recruited for rail construction. They received just $26-$35 a month for a 12-hour day with a six-day workweek and had to provide their own food and tents. White workers received about $35 a month and were furnished with food and shelter.

Twelve thousand of the Central Pacific Railroad's 13,500 employees were Chinese immigrants. Our article "Chinese Immigrant Workers in Racist America" (*WV* No. 719, 17 September 1999) relates the hazards they faced and the casualties they suffered. In June 1867, 5,000 of them struck for $45 a month and the eight-hour day. The rail barons would grant higher wages but not shorter hours. They cut off provisions and starved the striking Chinese workers back to work.

The completion of the transcontinental railroad set off an industrial boom in San Francisco. The Chinese population there increased from 2,700 in 1860 to 12,000 a decade later. In San Francisco's four key industries—shoemaking, woolens, tobacco products and garment—Chinese made up half the workforce. California passed the first Chinese exclusion law in 1862, called "An Act to Protect Free White Labor Against Competition with Chinese Coolie Labor, and to Discourage the Immigration of the Chinese into the State of California." And that was only the title.

At the same time, some of the democratic gains of the Civil War were extended to Chinese immigrants by the 1870 Civil Rights Act. Asian immigrants and black people were made legal persons who could sue, testify in court, etc. But 1870 was also a depression year. White workers in the Bay Area went from store to store threatening a boycott if Chinese workers were not fired. In that year, Congress passed a new Naturalization Act which further barred Chinese immigrants from gaining United States citizenship and prohibited their wives from entering the U.S

Racist "Labor Lieutenants of Capital"

The year 1877 saw the Great Railroad Strike, the first national strike in American history. But when an 8,000-strong support rally assembled in the streets of San Francisco, the "Anti-Coolie Club" turned it into an anti-Chinese pogrom. In Oakland, an anti-Chinese bigot formed a Workingman's Party of California that proposed to "rid the country of cheap Chinese labor...by all means in our power." On Thanksgiving Day 1877, this party led a march of over 7,000, including representatives from nine unions. The following year, the party won the mayoral elections in both Oakland and Sacramento before going into decline and losing most of its supporters to the Democrats. In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, shutting the door to Chinese laborers (but not merchants) for ten years.

In his 1988 *Reconstruction, America's Unfinished Revolution*, Eric Foner writes: "In California, where indentured Chinese immigrants by 1870 constituted a quarter of the wage labor force, the agitation for their exclusion, more than any other issue, shaped the labor movement's development." The Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, admitted blacks and eventually women, but excluded Chinese and campaigned to prevent further immigration. In February 1886, mobs led by the Knights rounded up Seattle's Chinese-born workers and herded them to a waiting steamer. Knights of Labor chief Terence Powderly raised the slogan: "Bar John Chinaman to Eternity!" and went on

Americana Image Gallery

All-German artillery unit of Union Army. Tens of thousands of German soldiers joined fight against Confederate slavocracy in U.S. Civil War.

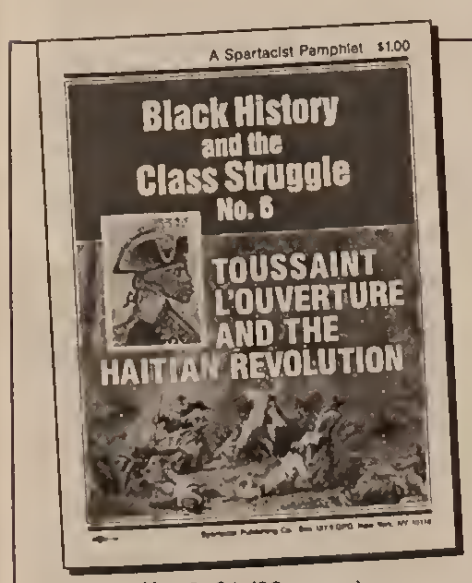
to serve a term as U.S. Commissioner-General of Immigration, including during the 1898 Spanish-American War, the U.S.' first imperialist war.

Then there was Samuel Gompers, who founded the American Federation of Labor (AFL) on a narrow craft basis. In 1902, Gompers co-authored an article titled, "Some Reasons for Chinese Exclusion. Meat vs. Rice. American Manhood Against Asiatic Coolieism. Which Shall Survive?"

While Chinese immigration was being restricted, 180,000 Japanese immigrated to the U.S. mainland and 200,000 to Hawaii between 1885, when Japan first legalized emigration, and 1924, when new U.S. laws would drastically curtail Asian immigration. Immigrant workers turned the California desert into orchards and vegetable gardens. In 1903, the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association (JMLA) was established. Composed of 800 Japanese and 400 Mexican agricultural workers, the union struck the Western Agricultural Contracting Company in Oxnard, California on March 18 of that year, protesting the company's hiring through contractors, payment in goods rather than money and threats of a wage cut. A hard-fought strike produced a compromise agreement.

However, the union faced an obstacle *within* the labor movement, the Gompers bureaucracy. When the JMLA and another Japanese union applied to

continued on page 14



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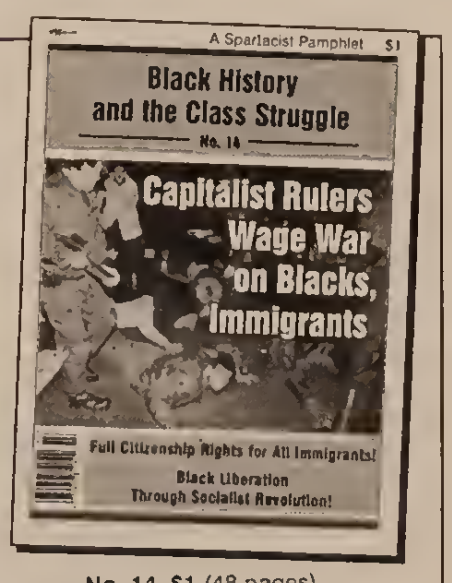

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Immigrants...

(continued from page 13)

the AFL for charters, Gompers wrote to J.M. Lizarras, the Mexican secretary of the JMLA: "Your union will under no circumstance accept membership of any Chinese or Japanese." No wonder the American socialist Daniel De Leon called these miserable misleaders the "labor lieutenants of capital"! Lizarras fired back the mandate from the union: "We will refuse any other kind of charter, except one which will wipe out race prejudice and recognize our fellow workers as being as good as ourselves" (cited in Takaki, *A Different Mirror*). But without the support of the rest of labor, this early experiment in multiracial unionism could not survive.

Brown Brothers

Garment workers striking for eight-hour day in 1913 carry signs in Yiddish, Italian and Russian.

IWW Wobblies vs. "Jingo-Socialism"

In the "Panic of 1893," with the failure of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and the collapse of 500 banks and 15,000 businesses, millions of workers were thrown into the ranks of the unemployed, while those still working were increasingly restless. Economic crisis spurred on U.S. imperialism's drive for colonies, markets and spheres of influence. Victory in the Spanish-American War, dubbed that "splendid little war" by cheerleaders for the American empire, gave the U.S. Guam, Cuba and Puerto Rico. The subsequent suppression of the Philippine independence struggle at the beginning of the 20th century also gave the U.S. control of these strategic islands. While Admiral Dewey pursued the "Open Door" policy for American pillage of China, "Progressive" president Teddy Roosevelt bolted the door to Chinese immigration by making the Chinese Exclusion Act permanent.

Japan's surprise military victory over Russia in 1905 cast a deep shadow over U.S. imperialism's appetite to turn the Pacific into an American lake, evoking "yellow peril" hysteria from ruling circles here, typified by a *San Francisco Chronicle* front-page headline: "The Japanese Invasion, the Problem of the Hour." San Francisco labor leaders contributed to that chauvinist campaign by forming the Asiatic Exclusion League that year.

Walking south through Chinatown in Oakland today you come upon Jack London Square, named after the so-called socialist and author of *The Iron Heel*, a fictionalized account about the masses fighting against the capitalist oligarchy in America. But London was also an open racist who railed against the "yellow peril." Typical of the American Socialist Party's attitude toward Asian immigrants was a letter it sent to the Second International and published in the party's main theoretical magazine, *International Socialist Review* (June 1910):

> "We advocate the unconditional exclusion of Chinese, Japanese, Corcans and Hindus, not as races, per se, not as peoples with definite physiological characteristics—hut for the evident reasons that these peoples occupy definite portions of the earth which are so far behind the general modem development of industry, psychologically as well as economically, that they constitute...an obstacle and menace to the progress...of our working class population."
>
> —"The Socialist Congress and the Immigration Question," quoted in Jennifer Jung Hee Choi, *The Rhetoric of Inclusion: The I.W.W. and Asian Workers* (1999)

No wonder that Lenin wrote in late 1915 to the Socialist Propaganda League, composed mainly of left-wing Lettish immigrants who went on to become a cornerstone of the early American Communist Party:

> "In our struggle for true internationalism & against 'jingo-socialism' we always quote in our press the example of the opportunist leaders of the S.P. in America, who are in favor of restrictions of the immigration of Chinese and Japanese workers (especially after the Congress of Stuttgart, 1907, & *against* the decisions of Stuttgart). We think that one can not be internationalist & be at the same time in favor of such restrictions. And we assert that Socialists in America, especially English Socialists, belonging to the ruling, and *oppressing* nation, who are not against any restrictions of immigration, against the possession of colonies (Hawaii) and for the entire freedom of colonies, that such Socialists are in reality jingoes."

The proud exception to this record of chauvinism in the early labor movement was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)—better known as the Wobblies—which was founded in 1905, the year of the first Russian Revolution, as a class-struggle organization whose preamble boldly stated the simple truth so often betrayed: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." The IWW declared:

> "The Industrial Workers of the World is an international movement.... We realize workers have no country.... In our organization, the Caucasian, the Malay, the Mongolian and the Negro, are all on the same footing.... An injury to them is an injury to us."
>
> —*Industrial Solidarity* (13 September 1913), cited in *The Rhetoric of Inclusion: The I.W.W. and Asian Workers*

In 1912, the IWW responded to a call for help from some 23,000 striking textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts in what became known as the "Bread and Roses" strike. The strikers were mainly women and almost all foreign-born, from 28 different nationalities speaking 45 different languages.

With the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, many of the best IWW fighters saw in living struggle the need for a working-class vanguard party to achieve state power and went on to help found the Communist Party here. Our own movement, founded by such Wobbly class-war veterans as James P. Cannon and Arne Swabeck, can rightfully lay claim to its honorable legacy.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Mobilizing...

(continued from page 3)

and Local 10, a heavily black union; in other words, this demo breaks with the capitalists' divide and rule scheme, replacing it with common class struggle and solidarity.

The other legislation we're fighting against is this Port, Maritime and Rail Security Act. The history of this bill pretty much exposes the fact that its purpose is to attack black and Latino workers. Originally this act was drafted as part of the "war on drugs," months before September 11. After the World Trade Center attack, Congress gave it the twist of supposedly protecting American transportation, railroad and ships from the terrorists. The title changed to better hide its true intentions, but its essence remains the same. This act calls for "background checks" on all waterfront workers, meaning any felony, even a minor drug charge, in the past ten years could get any worker fired, without a hearing—just like the government is deporting immigrants without a hearing. The waterfront unions are heavily black and Latino; most blacks and Latinos live in the ghettos and barrios, which are under the brutal occupation of the police. This, coupled with the "racial profiling" that pervades the American judicial system, means that it's very likely that many dockworkers have had to deal with the police in their lives. Furthermore, this act would take the power of hiring out of the union's hands, making it way easier for labor leaders and militant workers to be fired if they cause any "trouble" for the bosses.

One SYC member recounted a distribution of the "call to action" on the docks, where it has not taken any effort to convince workers that their very livelihoods are being attacked by the Maritime and Patriot acts. The SYC comrade reported:

> "Just from selling *Workers Vanguard* at the longshore union hall in San Francisco, for an hour, I sold to five people who realized that if this act passed they would lose their jobs, because they had been in prison in the last ten years. After I explained to them what these bills are about, these guys got really mad and took stacks of demo flyers to pass out in their union hall. Some have even signed up to work with us so that they could help build for this fight. It is not a coincidence that it is the most oppressed elements of the working class who are in a position to see through the lies of the bourgeoisie. In America, because of its history of slavery and immigration, these elements are immigrants and blacks. These are not just abstract slogans, for them this is the difference between eating and going hungry, for themselves and their families."

Port truckers, who have been especially targeted by the Maritime Security Act, have also responded to this demo with great enthusiasm. In Oakland we have met Latino, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Iranian and black drivers who, while at first unaware of its impact, all became very interested in defeating this viciously anti-immigrant, anti-black legislation. Although we have been passing out leaflets in Spanish, Chinese and Arabic, there are requests for more info in other languages, such as Farsi (Persian). Very importantly, this demo is already breaking workers away from the anti-immigrant chauvinism of the union bureaucracy, which treats immigrants as dangerous competition for jobs, rather than as class brothers and sisters. A longshoreman we met at one of our sales was outraged that the heavily immigrant port truckers aren't unionized, while black truckers would greet our calls for the defense of immigrants with "right on" and "good work," expressing their solidarity.

Mobilizing the working class independently, for its own interests, is the only way to fight these reactionary attacks. Students alone can only be heard as loud as they can yell, and this is the truth. We as students have no social power; if we really try to change something by just being militant, the government will just jail us or kill us, as happened with the anarchist youth protesting the G-8 summit in Italy last year. What the proletariat, the key workers that keep society running, has that no other class has is the ability to shut everything down. An SYC comrade speaking at the School of the Arts explained: "Workers create all the wealth of society with their hands; any given creation that we use to survive has gone through hundreds of different working hands. For example, the steel from the desks we're sitting at was dug from the earth by workers, smelted in plants by workers, put onto ships by workers, sailed around the world and unloaded by workers, made into desk legs by workers and delivered to SOTA by workers. The only thing the capitalist owning class had to do with the whole process of these desk legs was taking all the profit. The workers can bring the capitalists to their knees—the same capitalists who wrote the Maritime and Patriot acts, the same capitalists that are trying to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal, the same capitalists who feast on the labor of the working class as parasites."

Most importantly, it is only through organized labor action such as this demonstration that we can challenge bourgeois rule. These anti-immigrant, anti-black, anti-labor laws can only pass if the ruling class feels its power is unopposed. We can strike a blow against the government, the bosses, the state and all its repressive apparatus by demonstrating that the working class is not going to take it anymore. The capitalists don't have a prayer against the power of labor, acting in the interest of all the oppressed. Those who labor should rule! Down with the anti-immigrant witchhunt! No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act!■

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Support the February 9 Oakland Demonstration!

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Enron...

(continued from page 1)

politicos were supposedly ills endemic only to Asian societies.

Enron used about every trick in the book, from dummy corporations to reporting profits not yet realized and hiding its debt obligations. And so did many another company in the '90s. In large part, this speculative orgy was facilitated by killing a number of the remaining New Deal measures instituted during the Great Depression to mitigate corporate/banking capers. Although these measures did nothing to change the system of capitalist exploitation, they did provide some obstacles to unfettered looting. It was also hoped that they would smooth out the downward slides in the trade cycle, i.e., anti-depression recipes named after the economist John Maynard Keynes.

Today, such calls as are being raised for new reforms and regulations don't go much further than easing some of the conditions under which workers are bound to their companies' 401(k) pension plans. It is minimal justice that those who have toiled for years should, upon retirement, live no worse off than when they worked. Under capitalism, however, such reform is no less a pipe dream than that of full employment. The anarchy of capitalism, demonstrated by the Enron collapse, derives from the fact that this system is based on the social organization of labor for production while the means of production are owned by individual capitalists who can dispose of the profits of such production as they will.

In the final analysis, no reform can prevent the capitalists from cutting their losses through increasing working-class misery. In the 1938 Transitional Program, written at the time of the New Deal reforms, Leon Trotsky explained:

> "Liberal capitalism, based upon competition and free trade, has completely receded into the past. Its successor, monopolistic capitalism, not only does not mitigate the anarchy of the market but on the contrary imparts to it a particularly convulsive character."

Trotsky characterized efforts to regulate the capitalist system as vain attempts "to drain the ocean of anarchy with spoonfuls of bureaucratic 'planning'."

The administration of Bush Jr., an integral part of the Enron "family," is now seen to be liars and cover-up artists by 59 percent of Americans surveyed. Bush & Co. now plead for the right to keep secret their consultations with industry. This is more than a little amusing. It was the Republicans who trumpeted the "right" of the American people to know each and every detail of Bill Clinton's sexual indiscretions—activities harmful to no one—and who tried to impeach him for concealing them. However, secret "consultations" designed to further fatten the bosses and screw America's working people are painted by Bush and Vice President Cheney as a defense of the government's need for "unvarnished advice."

Such secrets are only in the service of hiding the wheelings and dealings of the capitalist lords of commerce and industry. Trotsky put it succinctly in the Transitional Program: "In reality, the trusts keep no secrets from one another. The business secrets of the present epoch are part of a persistent plot of monopoly capitalism against the interests of society. Projects for limiting the autocracy of 'economic royalists' will continue to be pathetic farces as long as private owners of the social means of production can hide from producers and consumers the machinations of exploitation, robbery, and fraud."

Boom-Bust Cycle of Capitalist Misery

Debacles like Enron are and always have been a recurrent feature of capitalism. Just over a decade ago, it was the savings and loan bailout. Almost invariably, there has been government collaboration with the scoundrels—from robber baron Jay Gould's efforts to corner the U.S. gold supply in 1869 to the Teapot Dome scandal of the mid-1920s. Teapot Dome was a naval oil reserve in Wyoming which was leased with other government oil reserves in California on the sly by then Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall to oil barons Harry Sinclair and Edward Doheny. For these services, Fall received $400,000 in "gifts" and "loans," hardly chicken feed in today's dollars. Fall eventually got a year in jail and a $100,000 fine, Sinclair spent a brief time in jail for contempt of court and President Warren Harding, who had pardoned Socialist Eugene V. Debs (who had been imprisoned for opposing World War I), got a "had name."

Joseph Keppler's 1889 cartoon "Bosses of the Senate."

Similarly, a few heads may yet roll in the Enron debacle. While Kenneth Lay refuses even to appear before a Congressional investigation, his wife Linda Lay tearfully pleads that they have already suffered enough and have been left destitute. In reality, this corporate version of Tammy Faye Bakker still has in her portfolio at least 18 properties in Texas and Colorado, only two of which are up for sale, and $10 million in non-Enron stock.

Scandals like Enron and Teapot Dome generally occur around the peak of boom periods of intense profit-gouging and, come the bust, are followed by periods of "reform." Then comes another upturn, and the reforms of yesterday are ignored or cast aside. The greater the surge, the more caution is thrown to the wind. Capital chases the highest rates of profit realization, and collusion in the pursuit of these becomes rampant. Hallucinatory visions of unending wealth and well-being proliferate until the glut of investment can no longer realize increased profit. Enron imbibed the heady brew distilled in the "ain't we got fun" era of the 1990s, when the hottest items were stocks that multiplied in value well beyond any real increase in productivity. Fictitious earnings and, thus, stock values are the current norm for American enterprises.

The impact of the Enron bankruptcy on the lives of ordinary Americans is not yet fully measured. State or municipal workers in Florida, New York and around the country have seen their retirement funds plunge by hundreds of millions of dollars because of heavy Enron investments. Projects to build power plants, pipelines and transmission lines are on hold while plans to develop natural gas deposits are being cut back dramatically, posing the possibility that all Americans will be faced with the astronomical energy costs that beset Californians early last year. And banks like J.P. Morgan Chase & Co. and Citigroup are facing billions of dollars in losses because of partnerships with Enron.

With millions jobless and government surpluses depleted by obscene tax breaks for the wealthy, even the Bush administration has had to give some lip service to reforms. Bush, who is now considered eloquent despite a vocabulary seemingly constricted to the words "good" and "evil," used his State of the Union address to talk of the need for "jobs" and safeguards for 401(k) and pension plans, the latter without mentioning Enron. The next day, Bush announced huge cuts in what job training programs exist, including one in Houston that is currently retraining over a thousand former Enron workers. All of this is a codicil to the "war on terror" which, Bush intoned, "may not be finished on our watch, yet it must and it will be waged on our watch."

The Enron collapse has inspired the out-of-power Democrats to act as something of an opposition and propose reforms, albeit timidly as they fear being labeled "unpatriotic" by the Republicans. The AFL-CIO tops are currently pushing for a return to "guaranteed" monthly benefits upon retirement. At the same time, they beg the bosses' government to "save American jobs" by protecting from foreign competition the very industries that have dumped union members on the street.

What is necessary to end for all time this cycle of misery is not scotch-tape reforms but the mobilization of the working class in defense of the oppressed, fighting tooth and nail against every manifestation of capitalist exploitation and injustice and intransigently opposing American imperialism in all its efforts to maintain and expand its world dominance. Only by storming the walls of the capitalist order—smashing the state that maintains the rule of the profit-glutted bosses and replacing it with a workers state—can the proletariat proceed to establish a planned, collectivized economy that will provide the resources to fuel world socialist revolution and organize an egalitarian, classless society internationally.

It is not possible to begin on this road unless workers are broken from the bourgeoisie's "national unity" war drive and from the trade-union tops who fully endorse every foreign venture of U.S. imperialism. This requires the forging of a revolutionary proletarian party to win workers to the understanding that labor shares no interest with its capitalist exploiters, that imperialism's wars are in the service of maintaining and expanding exploitation and oppression at home and abroad. It is the sole purpose of the International Communist League, standing in the tradition of the Bolshevik Party that led the world's first successful proletarian revolution, to forge the world party of socialist revolution necessary to lead the working class to its destiny as the gravediggers of capitalism.■

Detroit...

(continued from page 2)

local "homeland security coordinator" and allocate $250,000 to fight "terrorism." The approximately 30,000 Arabs and Arab Americans in this city of 97,000 can only view this as a threat, and you hear "homeland security" being talked about even in local restaurants.

At Wayne State University in Detroit, one Arab student told us he had been in an Iraqi restaurant when it was attacked, with a rock thrown through a window. We heard from several people that Arabs that they know are "disappearing," either snatched up by the government or disappearing for their own safety. However, there hasn't been much in the way of protest activity on campus. We heard there had been a protest in defense of immigrant rights in the wake of September 11, and a white woman told us she and others wore a *hijab* (Islamic headscarf) for a day in solidarity with Arabs.

Several black students noted, sometimes sympathetically and sometimes not so sympathetically, that Arabs are now getting a taste of what blacks get every day. One told us: "America is America. It was racist before September 11, it's racist after. They want us to believe that we're united, but America is America." Another black student said that the government went overboard in its racial profiling, but that's to be expected. A third said that the attacks on civil liberties are wrong and racist, but added that Arabs seem surprised that it has come back on them. We got into an argument with a black nationalist who has been involved in a boycott of Arab-owned gas stations because one Arab owner shot a black person in 1999. This boycott was organized by Rev. Horace Sheffield III, of Sharpton's National Action Network.

When we did a sale outside the Ford River Rouge plant, we found a lot of interest among both black and Arab workers in our article on Palestine ("Defend the Palestinian People!" *WV* No. 771, 28 December 2001). We sold 47 copies of *Workers Vanguard* and eight of the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* There was some anger at the projected layoffs, especially since the Dearborn Assembly Plant is working ten-hour days. There was widespread recognition that the attacks on civil liberties will be used against black people, but the workers we talked to were more equivocal regarding the war against Afghanistan, and a couple even said they were in favor of the government targeting immigrants. Everybody said that they hadn't noted any harassment of Arabs in the plant, but they also said that the union leadership wasn't doing anything to help Arab workers. "The union just sits by and watches," one black worker said.

One thing about Detroit as distinct from other areas of the country is that, probably because of the nature of industrial production in the area, workers are more conscious of their power. The bourgeoisie recognizes that labor is a player, too. Newspapers in Detroit prominently address labor issues in a way that they don't in other cities. An article in the black press that we saw talked favorably about the Industrial Workers of the World and Big Bill Haywood, something we'd never see in Chicago.

At Rouge, one black worker talked bitterly about how his father and grandfather had worked for the company before him and "this country still won't give us our freedom." But, he noted, he has the power to shut down the whole plant with the push of a button, and all the bosses in the place wouldn't be able to get it started again.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

For a Workers Party That Fights for All the Exploited and Oppressed!

Immigrants and the Class Struggle

The following presentation was given by comrade Reuben Samuels last month to a meeting of members and sympathizers of the Bay Area Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club as part of mobilizing for the February 9 Oakland protest against the anti-immigrant witchhunt and the new "anti-terror" laws.

PART ONE

Draconian police-state legislation has been rammed through Congress or simply decreed by the president promoting the illusion that it is intended for a specific, small section of the population: immigrants and foreign students from Muslim countries. But it targets all of us. The Maritime Security Act, aimed in the first instance at black and Latino longshoremen and largely immigrant port truckers, targets all dock workers. As the bourgeoisie drives to squeeze out greater profits in the midst of the worldwide recession, the buildup of police-state powers serves to intimidate and suppress, i.e., terrorize, the whole working class.

In 1790, the founding fathers of this slave-based republic passed the first naturalization law for "whites only," thereby excluding the black people and Native American Indians already here, not to mention the immigrants to come. In this racist country built upon the bedrock of black oppression, anti-immigrant chauvinism is a deadly danger to black people as well. But for decades, black Democratic politicos and pseudo-nationalist community hustlers have assisted the capitalist ruling class in pitting one sector against the other, fomenting chauvinism against Latino, Korean and Arab immigrants in the fight for scarce jobs and government programs.

How this plays out was seen in 1994, when almost half of black and Asian American voters voted for California's Proposition 187 denying health care, social services and education to undocumented immigrants. Two years later, Prop. 209 passed, targeting women as well as blacks and minorities by gutting affirmative action on college campuses and in government programs. In 1998, Prop. 227, the "English only" attack on bilingual education and immigrants, passed. Meanwhile, liberals push the "people of color" myth, as if a light-skinned Cuban *gusano* counterrevolutionary has anything in common with a Salvadoran refugee from the death squads in his country; or as if the eloquent fighter against racist injustice Mumia Abu-Jamal has anything to do with black reactionary Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas, who wants him dead.

WV Photo

80,000 march in Los Angeles against anti-immigrant Prop. 187, October 1994. Immigrant workers have brought militant traditions to labor struggles in U.S.

Clinton White House Set the Stage

From the Espionage and Sedition Acts of World War I to the 1940 Smith Act (or Alien Registration Act) and the Cold War's Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act, the capitalist class has

continued on page 12

All Out February 9!

Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labor

Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!

No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act!

Initiated by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee

Frank Ogawa Plaza, Oakland, California, 2 p.m.

Rain location: HERE Local 2850, 548 20th Street (between Telegraph and San Pablo)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 775 22 February 2002

Oakland Labor-Centered Mobilization Defies "National Unity"

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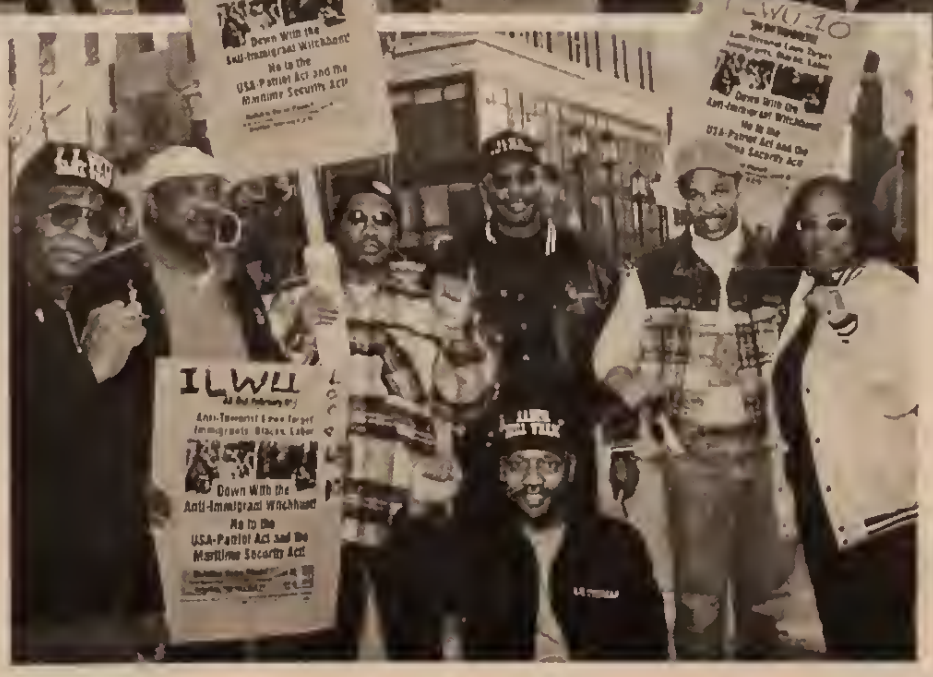

WV Photos

February 9: Bay Area longshoremen were at core of labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrant rights.

OAKLAND—For the first time anywhere, on February 9 organized labor was mobilized here to flex its muscle in defense of its immigrant brothers and sisters targeted under the U.S. rulers' "war on terrorism." Some 300 unionists, immigrants, blacks and youth rallied in downtown Oakland in opposition to the USA-Patriot Act, the Maritime Security Act and the anti-immigrant witchhunt. At the core of this demonstration were over 30 dock workers from International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10, including members of the drill team. They joined transit workers from Bay Area Rapid Transit, water utility workers from the East Bay Municipal Utility District, printers, federal park workers from San Francisco's Presidio, day laborers, Asian and Near Eastern immigrants, college and high school students, and the revolutionary Marxists of the Spartacist League to declare that the U.S. working class will fight to defend all the oppressed against their common capitalist class enemy.

In initiating and building this united-front protest, the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee sought above all to win workers to the need to tear through the straitjacket of "national unity" promoted by the U.S. capitalist rulers and break down the poisonous racial and ethnic divisions among the oppressed that they promote. Marching through downtown Oakland, past the headquarters of the shipping employers' Pacific Maritime Association and the Federal Building housing the government enforcers of the capitalist attacks, the multiracial, working-class protesters chanted: "National unity is a lie—Bosses profit, workers die!" and "Immigrant rights, black rights: Same struggle, same fight—Workers of the world unite!" Banners of the SF Day Labor Program; AFSCME Local 444; National Parks and Public Employees, Laborers International Local 1141 and the Spartacist League joined those of the PDC and LBL on the march.

For many black longshoremen, acting in defense of immigrants—including the unorganized port truckers—represented a conscious break with widespread sentiment that immigrants and blacks are competitors, not allies—a lie cultivated by the capitalist rulers and their labor lieutenants in the trade-union bureaucracy. At the rally, they joined forces with the Filipino Workers Association and with the largely Latino immigrant workers of the SF Day Labor Program, whose spokesman Eduardo Palomo declared: "We are here to resist the Patriot Act, the law that is going to harm all the workers of this

continued on page 8

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ICL Sections Mobilize Against Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Labor Attacks....3

Mexico

The IG, the Unions and the State

Defense of the trade unions against the capitalist state is elementary for Marxists. As the following article by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, translated from *Espartaco* No. 16 (Fall-Winter 2001), demonstrates, the centrist Internationalist Group (IG) rejects that elementary duty by denying that the corporatist CTM union federation is even a working-class organization because it is linked to the bourgeois Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Underlining the opportunism motivating the IG's spurious claim, which is aimed at pandering to the "independent" union bureaucrats who are close to the equally bourgeois Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), is its very different attitude toward corporatist unions in other countries.

ESPARTACO

In a January 2002 article on Argentina, the IG accepts as bona fide workers organizations the Peronist unions, whose corporatist pedigrees are no less clear than that of the Mexican CTM, even while acknowledging that "all the main leaders are part of the [bourgeois] 'Justicialist' movement founded by General Perón." Likewise in Algeria, where it has other fish to fry, the IG treats the UGTA, despite its links to the military regime, as a real trade-union federation (see "Algeria Rocked by Mass Protests," *WV* No. 761, 6 July 2001). The IG provides crystalline evidence of Trotsky's observation that centrist opportunism, defined by differing pressures on various national terrains, is inherently nationalist.

* * *

Last April, the Suprema Corte de Justicia (SCJN—Supreme Court) ruled that articles 395 and 413 of the Federal Labor Law (LFT) are unconstitutional. The articles establish that a collective contract may include the so-called exclusion clause [*cláusula de exclusión*], which obligates the boss to hire only union members and to discharge any person who resigns or is expelled by the union. We are opposed to this attack on the so-called "closed shop." As we said: "A union's right to demand that all workers at a particular shop be union members is an important tool in labor's arsenal against the bosses who seek to divide the working class and weaken their organizations by hiring non-union labor" ("Mexico: Protest Cop Killing of Worker on May Day," *WV* No. 758, 11 May 2001).

Around the world, the bourgeoisies are in the midst of an offensive against the gains of labor won in the course of decades of struggle. Under the union-busting slogan of the "right to work," the closed shop has been one of their principal targets. Thus, in the United States the imperialist bourgeoisie has moved a large part of its industry to the historically "open shop" South, with the complicity of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. In Australia, there is an offensive directed in particular against the "closed shop" of construction workers.

It should be basic for any organization that calls itself revolutionary to clearly and sharply oppose the union-busting attacks by [Mexican president Vicente] Fox and his courts. Nevertheless, the Internationalist Group (IG), a group of ex-Trotskyist renegades that deserted from our party five years ago, has joined the anti-union offensive. They recently published (still only in English) a polemic against us, titled "ICL Supports Anti-Union Exclusion Clause in Mexico" (*Internotionolist*, Summer 2001). It is clear from the title of their article that the IG believes and fosters the lie that the state is opposed to the exclusion clause because it is "anti-working-class." The IG says: "We oppose both the corporatist labor laws and the recent Supreme Court action." But after reading their article, one is left asking oneself how it is that the IG "is opposed" to the Supreme Court's decision (especially if, as they claim, the exclusion clause is "anti-communist" and "anti-union"). Throughout their entire leaflet they do nothing except make arguments against the exclusion clause. If the IG were honest, they would openly support the SCJN ruling.

The central purpose of the LFT, which went into effect in the 1930s, was to legitimize intervention of the bourgeois state into workers' struggles, giving a "legal" framework for the maintenance of the regime of capitalist exploitation. Toward this end, the nationalist bourgeoisie was also obliged to make concessions. So that while the LFT established the right to strike, the right to unionize, etc., it also subjected workers' struggles to mandatory arbitration, giving the state the "authority" to decide when a strike "exists" and when it does not; it tied the unions to the bourgeois state, demanding their membership lists as a condition to "be recognized," etc. We Spartacists oppose, as a question of principle, the interference of the bourgeois state in the unions and in the struggles of the working class.

Today, even the meager concessions to the proletariat codified in the LFT represent an obstacle to the appetites for even greater exploitation on the part of the Mexican bourgeoisie and imperialism. It is for this reason that the PAN (National Action Party) government, with the PRD and PRI behind it, is leading an anti-union offensive, under the fig leaf of "democracy" and the "ending of the Mafias." The PRI-affiliated unions have been a particularly easy target under this fig leaf. Far from wanting to "democratize" the unions, the bourgeois state is seeking to weaken the workers organizations and to smash their struggles, as well as to get rid of even the right to strike and the eight-hour day.

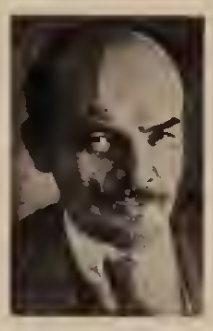
Justifying their opposition to the exclusion clause, the IG shrieks: "During the last six decades, the exclusion clause has almost never been used to prevent the bosses from 'hiring nonunion labor'," and "has been repeatedly used to fire reds and militant workers." In fact, since the 1930s, the principal unions of the country, PRI-affiliated as well as "independent," have included the exclusion clause in their collective contracts, and those seeking to become workers have to join the union first to apply for a job. The exclusion clause, indeed, has been used repeatedly by the bureaucracies, especially the pro-bourgeois gangsters of the [PRI-affiliated] CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers), to eliminate all those who are perceived as being an opposition. But the IG fosters the stupidity that, upon eliminating union control over hiring, the bosses will fire fewer communists and union militants than the bureaucrats.

We Spartacists do not recognize a class difference between the CTM-affiliated unions and other unions. Ultimately, a union with a right-wing leadership is better than no union at all. The fundamental premise which guides our fight against the bureaucracy is the complete political independence of the proletariat from the class enemy and its state. The IG, on the other hand, maintains that the unions affiliated to the PRI are not working-class organizations: "Corporatist 'unionism'...represents the *class enemy*" (*El Internacionalista/Edición México*, May 2001). According to the IG, the only unions are the affiliates of the [newly formed "independent" labor confederation] UNT (National Union of Workers) or the so-called "independents" such as the SME (Mexican Union of Electrical Workers); in other words, *those*

continued on page 13

Mexican troops mobilized to break 1989 CTM oil workers strike protesting arrest of union head. IG claims CTM is not workers organization.

TROTSKY



LENIN

The Bolshevik Revolution and Black Liberation

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was a beocon to workers and oppressed peoples around the world, not least black people in the U.S. It had o direct impact on the struggle for black freedom, os Lenin ond Trotsky's Comuunist International fought to make Americon Coumunists understand the centrality of the fight against block oppression to sociolist revolution in the U.S. Jamaican-born poet Claude McKoy, writing after a visit to Soviet Russia, where he oddressed the Communist International's Fourth Congress in 1922, underlined the significonce of the October Revolution for American blacks in an essoy published in the NAACP's Crisis *magazine.*

When the Russian workers overturned their infamous government in 1917, one of the first acts of the new Premier, Lenin, was a proclamation greeting all the oppressed peoples throughout the world, exhorting them to organize and unite against the common international oppressor—Private Capitalism. Later on in Moscow, Lenin himself grappled with the question of the American Negroes and spoke on the subject before the Second Congress of the Third International. He consulted with John Reed, the American journalist, and dwelt on the urgent necessity of propaganda and organizational work among the Negroes of the South. The subject was not allowed to drop. When Sen Katayama of Japan, the veteran revolutionist, went from the United States to Russia in 1921 he placed the American Negro problem first upon his full agenda. And ever since he has been working unceasingly and unselfishly to promote the cause of the exploited American Negro among the Soviet councils of Russia.

With the mammoth country securely under their control, and despite the great energy and thought that are being poured into the revival of the national industry, the vanguard of the Russian workers and the national minorities, now set free from imperial oppression, are thinking seriously about the fate of the oppressed classes, the suppressed national and racial minorities in the rest of Europe, Asia, Africa and America. They feel themselves kin in spirit to these people. They want to help make them free. And not the least of the oppressed that fill the thoughts of the new Russia are the Negroes of America and Africa....

Just as Negroes are barred from the American Navy and the higher ranks of the Army, so were the Jews and the sons of the peasantry and proletariat discriminated against in the Russian Empire. It is needless repetition of the obvious to say that Soviet Russia does not tolerate such discriminations, for the actual government of the country is now in the hands of the combined national minorities, the peasantry and the proletarian.

—Claude McKay, "Soviet Russia and the Negro," *Crisis* (December 1923)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is 19 February.

No. 775 **22 February 2002**

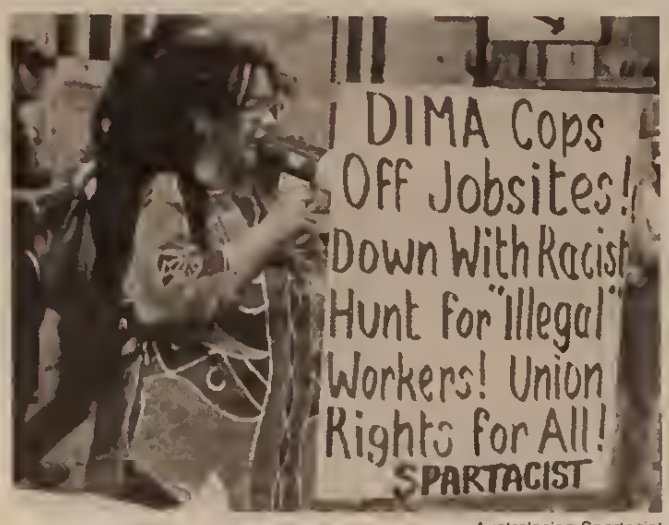
Rallying International Support for Bay Area Protest

ICL Sections Mobilize Against Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Labor Attacks

Since September 11, capitalist governments around the world have seized upon the U.S.-led "war on terrorism" to bolster the repressive apparatus of the state against workers and the oppressed. Everywhere, they aim their fire in particular at immigrant workers, who are set up as scapegoats for the unemployment that is an inevitable consequence of capitalism's economic crises. The February 9 united-front mobilization in Oakland against the anti-immigrant witchhunt and the USA-Patriot Act and Maritime Security Act demonstrated to besieged immigrants and class-conscious militants in the U.S. and internationally both the necessity and possibility of implementing the perspective that the International Communist League fights for: mobilizing labor's power in defense of immigrants. This exemplary action in the U.S. was also a powerful refutation of the anti-Americanism that is pushed by a range of fake leftists in West Europe and elsewhere in order to amnesty their "own" capitalist ruling classes.

A statement of solidarity from the French SUD PTT postal union local at the Créteil parcel sorting facility testified to the international significance of the Oakland mobilization:

> "After the recent slaughters in Iraq, Serbia and Afghanistan, imperialism is now trying to establish its hegemony, just as they want to crush the working class whose social power they fear.
> "The aim of these vicious laws is to divide the working class by fomenting racist poison, and to weaken the working class by setting up as a target its already doubly oppressed component.
> "We will popularize as much as we can, with our limited means, your exemplary initiative, which shows us the way to follow, including in France where black and Maghrebin workers are violently subjected to the reinforced Vigipirate plan, to police and army repression, at any time and everywhere. The reinforced Vigipirate plan was put into place by those lackeys of the French bourgeoisie, the social-democratic government, just after September 11 and with the complicity of the overwhelming majority of the French left and trade-union bureaucracy. Be assured, comrades, of our friendship and our solidarity.
> "DOWN WITH THE RACIST LAWS IN THE U.S., IN FRANCE AND EVERYWHERE ELSE! LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF WORKERS!"



Australasian Spartacist

AAP

February 2: SL/A contingent at Sydney antiwar demonstration protests attacks on immigrants, publicizes Bay Area mobilization. Asylum-seekers imprisoned in Australian concentration camps.

The Créteil postal union was among more than 50 labor organizations and union officials to endorse the February 9 action. These ranged from International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10 in the Bay Area to the SITUAM campus workers in Mexico City and the Metro Toronto Region of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. Also lending its support was the strategic National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, where Thabo Mbeki's African National Congress government is waging a war on black immigrants from Mozambique and other neighboring countries. The protest was also endorsed by a score of immigrant and minority rights groups.

From New York to Paris, the mobilization struck a chord among Palestinians and others of Near Eastern descent, who have been particularly targeted for state harassment, detention and worse in the U.S. and Europe. In Germany, a racist dragnet first aimed at Arab students has been extended to Turkish and Kurdish immigrants as well as black people. In France, even second- and third-generation residents of North African (Maghrebin) origin are deemed "immigrants" and subjected to vicious police rampages. As the government intensifies its longstanding "Vigipirate" campaign, plainclothes and uniformed cops routinely stop people on the streets in working-class and minority neighborhoods and check their papers, and *sans-papiers* (undocumented immigrants) are increasingly being deported.

In Ireland, where the bourgeoisie fell

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Prometheus Research Library Memorial Book Fund

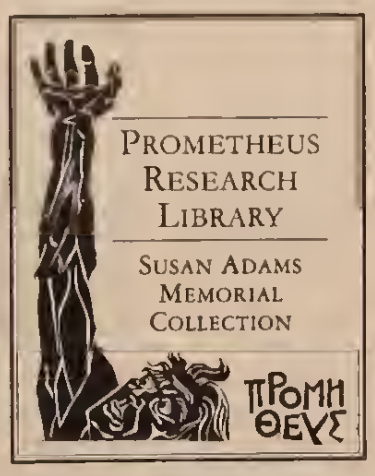
In Honor of Susan Adams

1948–2001

February 6 marked one year since the death of our comrade Susan Adams after a two-year struggle with cancer. In her 30 years as a communist cadre, Susan served on many of the battle fronts of our international party, from the Bay Area and Detroit branches of the Spartacist League/U.S. and our central office in New York to Paris and Moscow. When she returned to the U.S. to work in the central party administration after nearly 20 years of overseas assignments, she focused particularly on training and educating a new layer of youth recruits in New York and nationally. She also devoted much of her waning energy to preparing her public presentation on "Women and the French Revolution," which was published shortly after her death in *WV* No. 752 (16 February 2001) and subsequently in the *Women and Revolution* pages of English, French, Spanish and German editions of *Spartacist*.

The Prometheus Research Library, central reference archive of the SL/U.S., has honored Susan by creating a special collection as a tribute to her lifelong commitment to Marxist education and the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution. This special memorial collection of archival and current materials of the Marxist and workers movement related to the woman question, particularly its international aspects, will enable our comrades and visiting researchers to pursue further study in this area of great importance to Marxists.

There is hardly a section of the International Communist League or an area of our work that did not benefit directly from Susan's exceptional talents as a



Spartacist

teacher and trainer of a new generation of proletarian leaders. In 1976, she became the representative of our International Secretariat in Europe. Until 1992, Susan was the principal leader of the Ligue Trotskyste de France. Determined to implant the Cannonist understanding of party building and Bolshevik norms of functioning which were largely alien to European cadre, she worked closely with often inexperienced leaderships in the European sections, getting them to seize on opportunities for building the party, to carry through regroupments with leftward-moving elements of opponent organizations and to combat the incessant pressures of French parochialism, British Labourism, resurgent German nationalism and so on.

When the incipient proletarian political revolution erupted in East Germany in the fall of 1989, Susan threw herself into guiding and pushing forward our Trotskyist intervention. Three years later, she accepted the difficult assignment of heading up our small ICL station in Moscow, taking up the work of our comrade Martha Phillips who had been murdered at her post there in February 1992. Our Moscow group fought to reimplant Bolshevism in the face of the devastation of capitalist counterrevolution and of the retrograde Stalinist-derived chauvinists of the "red-brown" coalition. A prime achievement of our Moscow Station was the publication of Trotsky's *The Third International After Lenin* in Russian and its distribution.

Throughout her years as a communist, Susan had an intense commitment to the study of history and culture, which she put to particular use as a member of the Editorial Board of *Women and Revolution*. We salute the memory of our comrade, whose critical-mindedness, integrity and revolutionary determination serve as an inspiration to us all as we go forward to realize the task to which she dedicated her life, the reforging of a Trotskyist Fourth International and the achievement of communism worldwide.

Those who wish to contribute to the book fund set up by the PRL in Susan's memory may make checks payable to Spartacist, earmarked "Susan Adams Memorial Fund." Mail to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Young Spartacus

From Korea Through the Vietnam War

The U.S. Left and the "American Century"

Dan McCoy/Rainbow

Part Two: The Civil Rights Movement and Its Contradictions

We print below the second part of an educational on the American left given over two days by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour to a gathering of Spartacus Youth Club members and youth from throughout the International Communist League in New York last summer.

At the very moment that a mass exodus from the Communist Party was underway in late 1956-early '57, the black community of Montgomery, Alabama—at one time the capital of the old Confederacy—was concluding a successful boycott of the city's racially segregated bus line. The leading spokesman for this action was a then little-known local Baptist minister, Martin Luther King Jr. Over the next decade, the civil rights movement would massively disrupt and polarize American society and would give rise to a new generation of young leftist radicals, black and white.

When I was arrested in the 1964 World's Fair protest and taken to Rikers Island, in the same group as me was a young black veteran of the Southern civil rights movement. He commented that the food in Rikers was terrible. It really was. By contrast, he said the food at the Parchman State Prison Farm in Mississippi was pretty good because the inmates grew it themselves. Here was a 19- or 20-year-old black activist with the demeanor of a professional revolutionary. He was making small talk about the quality of the food in the various prisons he had been in.

Some years ago, a British comrade commented that the 1960s was the only period in modern history when the American left influenced the European left. The usual direction of influence is the reverse. I had never thought about that before, and I pondered why. Why did the American left in the 1960s appear to be something radically new, dynamic and attractive to European leftists?

The answer, I believe, lies in the historically anomalous and unique character of the civil rights movement, which in turn lies in the historically anomalous and unique character of the American South. The United States in the 1950s was the only advanced capitalist country in the world that had a major region which was *not* bourgeois democratic. The political and legal superstructure of the American South, though not its socio-economic base, was a lot closer to South Africa (to which it was commonly compared) than to the American North. It would not be an exaggeration to describe the Deep South in the early '50s as a racist totalitarian police state as far as blacks were concerned.

Thus the civil rights movement was a mass, trans-class bourgeois-democratic movement in an advanced bourgeois-democratic capitalist country. In his famous and controversial speech at the 1963 March on Washington, the young black civil rights leader John Lewis called for completing "the unfinished revolution of 1776." He wasn't just saying it for rhetorical effect. That was how he thought. In the early 1960s in the U.S., one could be in a subjective sense a bourgeois-democratic revolutionary.

Unlike every other bourgeois-democratic movement in history, the civil rights movement was not directed at the central government of the country. It was directed at the governments of a region of the country. Civil rights leaders looked to and called on the central government to bring bourgeois democracy to the South, although those were not the terms they used. In effect, King and also John Lewis were demanding the Northern bourgeoisie refight the Civil War by using the military power of the federal government to secure democratic rights for blacks in the South. A sympathetic history of the young Southern civil rights militants organized in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), written in the mid '60s, was aptly titled *The New Abolitionists*.

The emergence of a mass movement of blacks in the South that not only protested but also defied racist legality posed a problem for the Northern bourgeoisie which controlled the federal government, first under the Republican presidency of Dwight Eisenhower, then under the Democratic Kennedy/Johnson White House. The Northern bourgeoisie could go along with the suppression of the civil rights movement by the Southern state authorities and local governments in an attempt to restore the racist police-state conditions of the early '50s. Alternatively, the Northern bourgeoisie, utilizing the federal government, could favor policies that would introduce to the South the same bourgeois-democratic norms as in the rest of the country: ending legalized racial segregation, giving blacks the right to vote, integrating the upper echelon of the black petty bourgeoisie into the state apparatus— from local sheriff's departments to state legislatures to the U.S. Congress. The dominant sections of the Northern bourgeoisie opted for the latter course. Why?

First, legalized white supremacy in the South had become a serious embarrassment, even a weakness, for American imperialism in the Cold War with the Sino-Soviet states, especially in the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia. When Martin Luther King became a nationally known figure following the Montgomery bus boycott, he received a letter of congratulations from the mainstream Republican Clare Boothe Luce, who was then serving as U.S ambassador to Italy. She wrote: "No day passed but the Italian communists pointed to events in our South to prove that American democracy was a 'capitalistic myth.'... Our enemies abroad have profited greatly from the efforts of these Americans who would deny their own Constitution" (quoted in Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963* [1988]).

While legalized white supremacy in the South was clearly strengthening the Communist cause abroad, it could also potentially strengthen Communism or, more generally, left-wing radicalism in the U.S. itself. One of the very few Communists ever elected to public office as an official representative of the American CP was black: Ben Davis, who was elected New York City councilman from Harlem in the 1940s. In their own way, the American ruling class recognized the explosive potential of "black and red," and repression was *not* always the best way of keeping blacks and reds apart.

Important sections of the American ruling class were worried that if the Southern regimes succeeded in suppressing King and the Baptist preachers, more extremist and radical black leaders would come to the fore. There might even develop a large-scale race war in the South. Of course, the blacks would lose; they would be massacred. But this would severely disrupt the American bourgeois order. Consider black soldiers at a military base in Alabama 20 or 30 miles away from where the Alabama National Guard was besieging a black community or black college. These black soldiers might defy their officers, take their weapons and shoot it out with the National Guard. Eisenhower, who was a former general, and the Pentagon generals could envision this as a worst-case scenario if the situation in the South got totally out of hand. In short, by the late 1950s, legalized white supremacy in the South had become a disruptive factor in the American bourgeois order.

Ebony

1960s protest. Mass civil rights movement in the South sought end to legalized racial segregation.

John Herman Williams

Robert F. Williams (center) organized armed self-defense of black people in Monroe, North Carolina.

At the same time, the Northern bourgeoisie was not going to re-fight the Civil War. They would use the federal government to pressure but not to compel their Southern class brethren to grant democratic rights to blacks. Furthermore, the Northern liberal bourgeoisie was concentrated in the Democratic Party, whose national dominance since the 1930s was based on their alliance with the Southern white-supremacist Dixiecrats. Northern liberal Democrats tried to preserve this alliance with the Dixiecrats, though in the end it broke apart under the pressure of the civil rights movement.

Thus the Eisenhower and Kennedy/Johnson administrations engaged in a continual series of compromises between the civil rights movement and the Southern state and local authorities. On the one hand, Northern bourgeois public opinion encouraged an entire generation of young liberal idealists—black and white—to involve themselves in the civil rights movement. When in 1960 black students in North Carolina sat in at segregated lunch counters, Eisenhower was asked to comment on this at a press conference. He replied that he was "deeply sympathetic with the efforts of any group to enjoy the rights...guaranteed by the Constitution." King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was generously funded by the Taconic Foundation (financed by the Mellon family), the Field Foundation and the Ford Foundation, the top echelon of American capital.

AP

Supporters of Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party engage in protest to unseat white-supremacist state delegates at 1964 Democratic Party National Convention in Atlantic City.

At the same time, the Northern liberal establishment, as it was called, sought to restrain the most militant elements of the civil rights movement. And both the Eisenhower and Kennedy/Johnson administrations usually did very little to prevent the violent suppression of civil rights activists by the Southern authorities and sometimes collaborated in that suppression.

Radicalization of Civil Rights Militants

As a result, young civil rights militants became increasingly frustrated, then disillusioned with and finally hostile toward the Northern liberal establishment. One of the few good books on the American left in this period is Clayborne Carson's *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (1981). It traces the evolution of the main body of young black activists from the mainstream liberalism of King to "revolutionary" black nationalism.

For example, one of the earliest SNCC projects was a voter registration drive in rural Mississippi. The leading black local involved in this campaign was shot and killed by a prominent white politician who was then acquitted by an all-white jury after claiming self-defense. The head of the SNCC project, Robert Moses, located a black eyewitness who agreed to testify that it was murder and not self-defense. Moses turned the name of this witness over to agents of the U.S. Justice Department who, as was their usual practice, turned it over to the local sheriff's department. Predictably, the black eyewitness was severely beaten by a deputy sheriff and was later shot and killed. In 1968, Moses exiled himself to Africa, bitterly hostile toward white American liberals.

For most SNCC militants, the decisive act of betrayal at the hands of their white liberal "allies" came at the 1964 Democratic Party convention. SNCC had organized the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which claimed to be the legitimate representative of the national Democratic Party in the state. The MFDP delegation demanded that it be seated at the convention in place of the official white-supremacist delegation. Of course, Lyndon Johnson was not going to exclude the Mississippi Dixiecrats from the convention. That would be tantamount to self-destruction of the Democratic Party in the South.

Instead, Johnson offered a typical compromise. In addition to the official white-supremacist delegates from the state, the MFDP would get two at-large delegates, and the rest of its representatives would have honorary, non-voting seats. All of the big guns of Northern liberalism—Hubert Humphrey, the recognized leader of the Democratic Party liberal wing, United Auto Workers head Walter Reuther—were brought to bear on the SNCC/MFDP people to accept this compromise. They refused. Afterward, Stokely Carmichael stated that "black people in Mississippi and throughout this country could not rely on their so-called allies. Many labor, liberal and civil rights leaders deserted the MFDP because of closer ties to the national Democratic party" (quoted in Carson, *In Struggle*). Two years later, SNCC, with Carmichael as its chairman, would openly break with Democratic Party liberalism under the deliberately inflammatory slogan of "Black Power."

The question of "nonviolence" was a major issue defining the right-left divisions in the civil rights movement. The right wing, represented by King, maintained that nonviolence was a principle. The center-left, represented by most SNCC militants, held nonviolent resistance to be an appropriate tactic. The far left, represented by Robert F. Williams in Monroe, North Carolina, rejected nonviolence in favor of armed self-defense.

From today's vantage point, it's far from obvious why nonviolence was such an important defining question. As the radical black nationalist H. Rap Brown later put it, "Violence is as American as cherry pie." Christian pacifism, as espoused by King, has never been a significant part of American political culture. The large majority of black supporters of the SCLC and the vast majority of members and supporters of SNCC were not Christian pacifists. Very few of the tens of thousands of young men who participated in the civil rights movement refused to be drafted by claiming to be conscientious objectors.

Why then did the leadership of the civil rights movement claim to be committed to nonviolence and the Northern liberal establishment insist that they better be committed to nonviolence? This was not primarily a practical or tactical question. Armed self-defense, as practiced by Williams in North Carolina and later by the Deacons for Defense in Louisiana, was effective only against extralegal racist terrorist groups like the Klan. It was not effective against the police and military forces of the Southern states. When the FBI and the North Carolina authorities decided to get Williams, they got him. They had a lot more firepower than he did. There was no possibility and no one thought there was any possibility of a successful black armed insurrection against the Southern white-supremacist governments.

UPI

Liberal civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. and NAACP head Roy Wilkins, here with Robert Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, were beholden to racist Democratic Party.

The real importance of the question lay on a different political plane. As was often the case in those days, Malcolm X went to the crux of the matter when he denounced King and the SCLC:

> "The greatest miracle Christianity has achieved in America is that the black man in white Christian hands has not grown violent. It *is* a miracle that 22 million have not ***risen up*** against their oppressors —in which they would have been justified by all moral criteria, and even by the democratic tradition!"
>
> —*The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965)

The basic question was whether black people had the moral and democratic right to overthrow the white racist government which oppressed them. Nonviolence versus armed self-defense was the way in which the question of reform versus revolution was posed in the civil rights movement.

Our Tendency's Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism

To assert that black people have a moral and democratic right to overthrow the oppressive racist system and government does not, of course, give them the capacity to do so. That's where the revolutionary Marxist program, strategy and leadership come into play.

There are very few historical conjunctures in which a small Marxist propaganda group with a couple hundred members can within a few years transform itself into a workers party leading a significant section of the proletariat. I believe the American South in the early 1960s offered such a rare historical opportunity. In this sense, the rightward degeneration of the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the 1950s was a negative factor that may have altered the entire future course of American and, therefore, world history.

Had the SWP remained a revolutionary party and concentrated its forces, especially its young members and cadre, in the Southern civil rights movement, I believe it could have won to Trotskyism a large fraction of those young black radicals who eventually became black nationalists. Had there been 50 black veteran SNCC militants won to Trotskyism and the perspective of revolutionary integrationism in the mid '60s, they would have had the capacity and the acquired political authority to organize and lead significant sections of the black working class in the South.

By the time what became the Spartacist League was formed in 1964, having been expelled from the SWP, we were too little and too late. We did intervene in the Southern civil rights movement. But we lacked the numbers and, more importantly, the acquired political authority to decisively influence the internal factional struggles in SNCC.

Between 1964 and 1966, SNCC experienced a prolonged political identity crisis. It had broken with mainstream liberalism but had not yet locked onto black separatism. In fact, it was common among SNCC activists to call themselves revolutionaries. In late 1964, SNCC held what it called a retreat in Waveland, Mississippi to discuss its future program and strategy. There were 37 different position papers presented on everything from the woman question to the role of whites in the movement. But there was no respected veteran SNCC cadre at Waveland to present the perspective of revolutionary integrationism in opposition to both bourgeois-democratic radicalism and black nationalism.

Our strategic perspective—first expressed as an opposition in the SWP, then as an independent tendency—was to transform the left wing of the civil rights movement into a ***revolutionary workers party*** capable of organizing and leading much of the black working class and impoverished petty bourgeoisie in the South. We encapsulated this perspective in the call for a "Freedom Labor Party."

Here it's important to understand that black working people in the South in this period were deeply alienated from the American bourgeois order. The dominant Democratic and smaller Republican parties were exclusively white. The large

continued on page 6

Black History Month Forums

Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Immigrants, Blacks, Labor

No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act!
Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!

Includes Report on February 9th Mobilization

Thursday, February 21, 6:30 p.m.
Tearoom, YWCA of Oakland
1515 Webster Street, Oakland

Tuesday, February 26, 6:30 p.m.
West Oakland Library, Room 103B
1801 Adeline Street, Oakland

BAY AREA For more information: (510) 839-0851

Anti-Terror Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labor

Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!

Saturday, February 23, 4 p.m.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church
3300 Wilshire Blvd.

LOS ANGELES For more information: (213) 380-8239

New Left...

(continued from page 5)

majority of black workers (as well as white workers) in the South were not unionized. This meant that black workers were not subject to the direct political and organizational influence of the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy that had its own liberal black anti-Communist cadre.

Redbaiting was not effective among Southern blacks because the white racist power structure had always identified integration and black rights with communism. Here the experience of Robert F. Williams is instructive. In the mid 1950s, Williams organized an NAACP chapter in Monroe, North Carolina that was unique in the South because it consisted of working-class types rather than the usual "teachers and preachers."

Williams visited Castro's Cuba in 1960 and came back an enthusiastic supporter of the revolutionary government. He did not become a communist, but he might just as well have. He was redbaited as well as violence-baited by the entire black liberal establishment. He was directly attacked by the head of the national NAACP, Roy Wilkins, and by Jackie Robinson, the first black Major League baseball player. Despite these attacks, Williams' working-class base in Monroe remained loyal to him. To get rid of him, the FBI had to go after him on trumped-up kidnapping charges.

While a Freedom Labor Party would have initially been predominantly black, it would, I believe, have attracted small pockets of militant, class-conscious white workers who were willing to work with reds. For example, the coal miners in Hazard, Kentucky. In 1964—this is shortly before I joined the Spartacist tendency—I was involved in the defense of seven coal miners in Hazard who were being prosecuted by the federal government for conspiracy to dynamite a railroad bridge during a strike.

In order to build student support for the case, we organized a conference/rally in Hazard. Some 75 to 100 students carpooled in and stayed in the homes of the miners and their sympathizers, sleeping on the floor. I stayed in the home of one of the indicted miners, named Clayton Turner. He and his wife had around a dozen kids and a big sprawling house. Also staying there was a mainstream liberal, and we got into what was a common argument at the time. He defended King's policy of nonviolent resistance, while I argued for armed self-defense. I wasn't aware of it, but Clayton must have overheard some of this conversation. As I was about to leave, Clayton said, "I have nothing against communists. Communists helped build this union."

Now, there were relatively few white workers like Clayton Turner in the South —or in the North, for that matter. But there were a lot of black workers like him. The problem was that to build a party with a lot of black Clayton Turners and a few white Clayton Turners you had to have a cadre of revolutionary Marxist black intellectuals who had gained their authority in the civil rights movement. And the young black radicals who could have formed such a cadre were moving in the direction of black nationalism.

The Impact of the Cuban Revolution

Before considering that development, I want to discuss the impact of the Cuban Revolution on the American left in the early 1960s. The Cuban Revolution coincided with the civil rights movement and reinforced its most radical leftward-moving tendencies. SNCC was formed in the spring of 1960 about the same time that Castro nationalized the American oil refineries in Cuba because they refused to process Soviet crude oil. A few months later, all American capitalist investment in Cuba was nationalized, as well as the property of the Cuban bourgeoisie. The following year, to avoid arrest by the FBI, Robert F. Williams fled to Cuba. From Havana, he broadcast into the South a radio program called "Radio Free Dixie." The former SNCC leader James Forman wrote in his memoirs, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*: "In the fall of 1962 I had read Che Guevara's book on guerrilla warfare and drew some lessons from it for our work. I saw SNCC establishing bases throughout the South, bases that would grow into larger units."

Mario Garcia Joya

Havana youth literacy brigades in 1961. Nationalization of American holdings in Cuba, marking the creation of a deformed workers state, meant a great improvement in the condition of black people in Cuba.

In its own way, the Cuban Revolution was just as historically anomalous and unique as the American civil rights movement. To begin with, Cuba was the only country ever to become Communist—in our terms, a deformed workers state—that was not geographically adjacent to the Soviet Union or adjacent to another deformed workers state. Not only was Cuba in the very backyard of American imperialism, but it was an extreme and blatant example of an American semi-colony.

Cuba in the 1950s was ruled by the exceptionally brutal right-wing military dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, which was openly backed by Washington. Its main export product, sugar, was controlled by United Fruit. The casinos and brothels of Havana were owned by the Mafia. The Cuban telephone company was owned by the American conglomerate ITT, which once gave Batista a solid gold telephone as a token of their esteem.

Unlike Mao Zedong and Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro was not a Communist—or in our terms, a Stalinist—when he led a revolution and came to power. He was a left-liberal petty-bourgeois nationalist. When Castro launched his guerrilla insurgency against Batista in 1956, he was associated with the Ortodoxo Party, one of Cuba's two main bourgeois parties. Only after he had come to power was Castro driven to expropriate the bourgeoisie and ally Cuba with the Soviet Union, as a consequence of an escalating conflict with U.S. imperialism.

When Castro's rebel army overthrew Batista in 1959, this revolution was widely and strongly supported among all sections of American liberalism. For militant young left-liberals like myself, Castro was a hero, a real warrior, a tough guy—not like that turn-the-other-cheek wimp Martin Luther King. Of course, when Castro declared himself a Communist and allied Cuba with the Soviet Union, most American liberals denounced him for "betraying" the revolution.

However, a small but vocal and influential current of left-liberal intellectuals—represented by the sociologist C. Wright Mills and writer Norman Mailer—continued to support Castro's Cuba against the American government on democratic principles, centrally the right of national self-determination. Basically, Mills argued that Castro was forced to nationalize the Cuban economy and ally with the Soviet Union in order to prevent the U.S. ruling class from reconquering Cuba and restoring the colonial-type conditions of the Batista era.

Among the older generation of American liberal intellectuals, support for Castro's Cuba was very much a minority current. But among young liberal activists, including civil rights militants, support for the Cuban Revolution was much more widespread. The particular and peculiar nature of the Cuban Revolution led a significant number of young American radicals to support certain Communist states and movements by identifying these primarily with national liberation rather than with socialism as such and not at all with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There was another important way in which the Cuban Revolution influenced the American New Left. Castro and Che Guevara, the chief ideologue of the Cuban Revolution, were the New Leftists of the world Communist movement. Even after the Cuban leadership declared itself "Marxist-Leninist," they interpreted this tradition in a very different way than the Soviet leadership. Castro and especially Guevara openly challenged basic premises of Soviet Stalinist doctrine.

First, they maintained that in Latin America it was *not* the urban industrial proletariat that was the social vanguard of the revolution. Castro and Guevara called on Latin American leftists to take the Cuban road, to abandon the cities in favor of peasant-based guerrilla warfare.

Furthermore, Guevara challenged the identification of socialism with economic growth and development. For Guevara, "building socialism" did *not* mean, as the Soviet leaders contended, surpassing the advanced capitalist countries in economic production and productivity. For Guevara, "building socialism" was primarily a ***subjective*** process. It meant overcoming individual material self-interest so people would identify with and work for the common good. In the gospel according to Che, "Yea, though a socialist country may be poor in material wealth it will yet be rich in spiritual wealth." Or in Guevara's own words:

> "I am not interested in dry economic socialism. We are fighting against poverty, but we are also fighting against alienation. One of the fundamental objectives of Marxism is to remove interest, the factor of individual interest, and gain from men's psychological motivations. Marx was preoccupied both with economic factors and with their repercussions on the spirit. If communism isn't interested in this, too, it may be a method of distributing goods, but it will never be a revolutionary way of life."
>
> —quoted in Bertram Silverman, Introduction to *Man and Socialism in Cuba: The Great Debate* (1971)

To some of you, it may seem completely off the wall to compare Che Guevara with Martin Luther King. However, each in their own way, Guevara and King both advocated radical social change primarily through a change in the prevailing ***moral attitudes and values*** rather than by a change in economic institutions. Many young American liberal idealists who admired and supported King in the early '60s became Stalinist idealists who admired Guevara in the late '60s. Guevara's anti-Marxist and utopian version of communism as universal altruism was far more compatible with the underlying moralistic and idealist outlook of young American radicals than the mechanistic pseudo-Marxism of official Soviet Stalinism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Charlie Brooks

26 December 1980 – 14 February 2002

On Thursday, February 14, a close friend and sympathizer of the Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League/U.S., Charles "Charlie" Brooks, 21, died quietly in Richmond, Virginia from complications resulting from treatment for leukemia. His family and girlfriend Amy were at his side.

Young Spartacus

Charlie became politically active around the Republican National Convention protests in Philadelphia, motivated by his desire to fight for a democratic society. His experiences there and his further discussions with comrades made him realize that his abstract idea of democracy was an impossibility under capitalism and that a genuinely egalitarian society could only be achieved through workers socialist revolution.

In January 2001, Charlie drove all the way to Gary, Indiana through heavy snow with a group of friends to participate in a Partisan Defense Committee-initiated anti-Klan mobilization, which concretized for him the essential leadership role of a Leninist party. This June he traveled to Charleston, South Carolina to work with us in the fight to free the Charleston Five longshoremen who faced incarceration for defending their union against a brutal police attack. Charlie regularly intervened in SYC classes at Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) and helped man our campus lit tables, effectively defending our politics. Expressing solidarity with our program, he also discussed his intention to move to New York City to join the SYC.

Charlie was an art student at VCU, focusing on photography and film, and his thirst for understanding the world allowed him to discuss Einstein with as much ease as he discussed Eisenstein. Many who knew Charlie will remember his sharp wit and irreverent sense of humor. With a wisecrack or a quip, from which even his friends were not safe, he could zing his target or make an incisive political point.

Even after Charlie began debilitating medical treatment, he continued to read and discuss politics and up until his last return to the hospital was requesting material on the Russian Revolution and on the Jewish question. He will be greatly missed by Amy, his family, friends and comrades.

Mobilizing Youth for February 9

"Rally Behind the Workers"

The young communists of the SYC canvassed much of the Bay Area to help build the February 9 Oakland mobilization in defense of immigrant and labor rights. Our efforts brought out contingents from Laney College in Oakland and the School of the Arts in San Francisco and youth from such schools as Berkeley High, UC Santa Cruz, UC Berkeley and San Francisco State. One Latino student from Laney visited our office to discuss further the Marxist politics animating the call for the demonstration. He offered to help organize a sign-making session on his campus, indignantly commenting that racism directed against him and other Latinos, along with the lack of available jobs, is forcing many Latinos to go "back to their countries."

The SYC also intersected the outrage felt by many workers at the anti-immigrant attacks carried out by the bosses and their government. One example was the experience of two SYCers building for the demo outside a National Association of Letter Carriers local hall. Invited inside, our comrades were loudly applauded when they spoke of the central role of organized labor in the fight for immigrant rights. For many young protesters, this demo marked the first time they had marched alongside workers in social protest. One demonstrator remarked, "Unions? I didn't think much of them but today I realized they are cool.... These longshore workers here are really powerful!"

The racially and socially integrated character of the demonstration was striking to many present. As an SYCer remarked, "Crossing those racial barriers put up by the capitalists was part of the political call for the demonstration. It was seen in the presence of lots of workers, longshoremen, day laborers and students brought out in defense of immigrant rights." One demonstrator from the University of California at Santa Cruz was impressed by the sight of hundreds of blacks and Latinos together in downtown Oakland chanting socialist slogans.

The SYC talked with many of the protesters, seeking to broaden their healthy opposition to the anti-immigrant witchhunt into an understanding that the entire capitalist system must be overthrown to end racism and imperialist war. Black youth were particularly receptive to the call to join us in the fight to build a revolutionary workers party that would take up this struggle against racist American capitalism. Inspired by the demo, one black high school student said, "It's not the size of the demo that matters, it's the fact that there are so many longshoremen here, and they have power. They'll go back and talk to their co-workers about this." Immediately after the demonstration, he announced he wanted to fight for a classless society, and joined the SYC on the spot!

When the protest march stopped in front of the Federal Building, SYC member Mike R. delivered a rousing speech, which we are printing below in excerpted form.

* * *

We stand for the independent mobilization of the working class. A few of you are probably thinking, "Why does this kid keep talking about the working class if he is a student?" Students have no role in production, we have no social power. Any student who wants to fight to change the world needs to rally behind the workers because—isolated from those who actually have the power to sweep away capitalism—we have nothing but our voices. The generation of leftist youth today has grown up without having lived through any mass social struggle. To all of the youth here today: watch carefully because you will learn today more than you will ever learn going to rallies at your school campus or by reading a sociology textbook. The capitalists *cannot* abolish the class struggle because the farther they go to increase their profits, the more intensely they exploit and oppress the proletariat. The working class is inevitably drawn into this historic battle. Our task is to win radical youth to the side of the working class in this battle.

This strategy is counterposed to the reformist view that the government can be reformed by pressuring Democratic Party politicians like Kriss Worthington and Barbara Lee. This government is *not* our government, and the Democrats are *not* our friends. Organizations like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) claim that this is "Bush's war." But this is the *Democrats'* war, too.

Another popular slogan in the antiwar movement is "No to War." What is wrong with organizing around the call "No to War" or "War Is Not the Answer"? These calls for an alternative to war are calls for the imperialists to pursue a different policy to achieve their aims. Imperialism is a *system*, not a policy. Simply saying "no" does not present any alternative.

The SYC doesn't just say "no." When the anti-immigrant witchhunt came to San Francisco State University last year, we were there to fight it. The campus administration handed over confidential information on foreign students to the FBI and INS bloodhounds, so we initiated a united-front protest raising the demands: Down with the SFSU collaboration with the FBI anti-immigrant witchhunt! Defend immigrant rights! By the way, the ISO not only refused to endorse this protest, but they actively boycotted it by setting up a large table and display on the other side of campus. You might want to ask some of them why they call us sectarian when they wouldn't defend immigrant rights when it mattered.

In contrast, we actively *oppose* U.S. imperialism. We called for a united-front protest against the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) at UC Berkeley last spring. ROTC recruits college students to be the next generation of officers who send ghettoized black and Latino youth off to die in wars to fill the coffers of Wall Street bankers. We raised the demand: ROTC off campus! The SYC says: U.S. bloody hands off the world! If you are a youth looking for a way to end the worldwide degradation, insanity and suffering caused by imperialism, to put a stop to racism and class exploitation for good, you are looking for the Spartacus Youth Club. Join us!■

Young Spartacus

SYC rallied support for February 9 mobilization in Oakland's Chinatown and other immigrant neighborhoods.

UIC Speakout Demands Jamal's Freedom

Chicago
31 January 2002

Dear *Young Spartacus*,

The December 18 statement of the Partisan Defense Committee published in *WV* No. 771, "Jamal Death Sentence Reversed—Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Mumia Now!" inspired the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club to organize a united-front protest at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) on January 17, under the slogans "Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

We made Mumia's cause known all over campus, announcing the demonstration at classes, addressing meetings of student groups and distributing hundreds of leaflets. We found a resonance among many students, including regular readers of *Workers Vanguard* who eagerly stepped forward to help distribute flyers. Students were animated into action when we explained that this case wasn't just an isolated injustice. As our statement noted, "Mumia's only 'crime' is that he is an outspoken champion of the oppressed and exploited.... His case lays bare the nature of the state—cops, courts, and military—as an instrument of repression for the capitalists against the workers and oppressed, and the nature of the death penalty as legal lynching and a legacy of slavery."

Our demonstration also found support elsewhere on campus and in the city, with the Chicago Chapter of Refuse & Resist! (who additionally spoke at the protest), the Chicago Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and two UIC professors among the endorsers. Acting on the call to mobilize labor behind the cause of black rights, we obtained the endorsement of the union steward for SEIU Local 73, which organizes the campus workers at UIC.

Overall, about 25 people joined our spirited protest, holding signs, distributing flyers and listening to speeches. One black student commented on the racist garbage prevalent on campus, including from an educational system that tells black students *they* are the problem, not this disgusting racist system of capitalist exploitation. This was particularly relevant as only days before, a massive tuition hike (10 percent) was proposed at UIC. Our emcee stated, "The SYC protests this tuition hike as a reactionary move designed to bar the working class and minorities from receiving the benefits of an education." He then led a chant: "Education for all, education for free! Labor/black power is the key!"

The International Socialist Organization pointedly refused to endorse our call because our insistence on holding a principled united front meant that we wouldn't drop debate over political differences. Meanwhile, their Campaign to End the Death Penalty was busy building a rally disgustingly titled "The Illinois Death Penalty: Too Flawed to Fix" with Jesse Jackson, Sr. as the keynote speaker. This exposes their real appetite—unity with the Democrats, yes; unity with the Communists, no!

Particularly now, the fight to free Jamal is a vital part of the struggle against the new wave of "anti-terror" state repression, and this demonstration, in a small way, was a blow against the bosses' racist "national unity" campaign.

Chicago Spartacus Youth Club

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON
Thursday, 6:30 p.m.
February 28: **The Struggle for Black Liberation**
Boston University
College of Arts and Sciences, Rm. 315
725 Commonwealth Ave.
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO
Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.
March 5: **We are the Party of the Russian Revolution!**
University of Illinois at Chicago
104 Stevenson Hall,
701 South Morgan Street
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
spartacist@iname.com

LOS ANGELES
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.
March 2: **Labor, Latinos, and the Fight for Immigrant Rights**
3806 Beverly Blvd., Suite 215
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
February 26: **Trotskyists Hailed the Red Army In Aghanistan! For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**
Columbia University (116th and Broadway)
Hamilton Hall, Room 306
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO
Wednesday, 5.30 p.m.
March 6: **The Family and Women's Oppression**
York University Student Ctr., Room 313
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER
Alternate Wednesdays, 6 p.m.
February 27: **Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**
UBC Student Union Building, Rm. 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
tllt@look.ca

Mobilization...

(continued from page 1)

nation.... We want all the workers in all parts of this nation to come out to protest this law." In mobilizing for the rally, *Workers Vanguard* supporters sought to win workers to the understanding that in defending immigrants, they were defending the whole working class.

This was no abstraction but flesh and blood reality to longshoremen threatened with losing their hard-won union jobs under the background checks mandated by the Maritime Security Act, a law pending in Congress aimed at purging the waterfront of blacks, Latinos and other immigrants and at undermining union power. The political impact of this mobilization spread far beyond those who came to the rally, raising the class consciousness also of the hundreds who took stacks of leaflets to distribute, and the thousands reached through discussion, leaflets and copies of *Workers Vanguard*.

The protest was built in distributions to key workforces: longshore dispatch, port truckers, bus barns and BART yards, postal facilities, municipal utilities, industries with heavily immigrant workforces organized by ILWU Local 6 and the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union, in Chinatown and other immigrant neighborhoods, campuses and high schools. The campaign intersected struggles from Santa Clara—where the husband of Alia Atawneh, a Palestinian woman fired in an act of anti-immigrant persecution by Macy's, endorsed the rally—to Salt Lake City, where hundreds of immigrant airport workers were fired. Solidarity greetings from one of the lawyers representing these workers were read to the protest.

The seriousness of longshoremen at the rally, which Local 10 endorsed, was underscored by the fact that a number of lower-seniority B-men had foregone a trip to L.A. to pick up a weekend's work, a real sacrifice during a slow month at the Port of Oakland. At the end of the protest, several longshoremen made a point of taking home the mobilization placards on which they had written the name of their union. Discussions afterward at a celebration in a local bar and restaurant grappled with key questions: which way forward for workers, why we need a revolutionary workers party to get rid of capitalism and how to build it, why unions in themselves are not enough. One youth joined the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club at the party, and a number of workers expressed interest in joining the LBL.

Many longshoremen take a great deal of pride in their union, particularly in the gains that were won for black workers. At the same time, several longshoremen asked us why it took communists to fight to mobilize the social power of labor in defense of immigrant rights and in defense of the unions. To mobilize the multiracial proletariat in defense of immigrants, black people and all the oppressed requires a conscious struggle against the million and one ways the capitalist exploiters, aided and abetted by their labor lackeys, foster the racial and ethnic antagonisms that divide the proletariat and undermine its fighting strength. At bottom this is a question of program and perspective. The worldview of the labor tops—even those of the most "progressive" stamp—is defined by what is possible or "practical" under capitalism, a system which is predicated on the exploitation of labor. We communists pursue another road, one based not only on improving present conditions but fighting to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery.

This rally was held during Black History Month to underscore both the common interests of black and immigrant workers and the need for the labor movement to take up the fight against racial oppression. In a speech for the Labor Black League that was translated into Spanish, Adwoa Oni declared:

> "The frenzied anti-Arab and anti-immigrant witchhunt is a deadly danger to all racial and ethnic minorities. This is especially true for the black population, whose forcible segregation at the bottom of this society is rooted in the history of chattel slavery and the defeat of Radical Reconstruction. Black oppression is the very foundation of this racist capitalist system—but also its Achilles' heel. It's time to finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state!"

Death row political prisoner, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal sent his endorsement, and a statement of support was read out at the rally. Speaking for the PDC, the legal and social defense organization associated with the SL, Steve Bull called for "mass protests centered on the social power of the labor movement to demand Jamal's immediate release." Also endorsing was Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), the former Black Panther who spent 27 years in prison on a similar government frame-up before mass protest brought about his release. Speaking at the rally, former Panther Kiilu Nyasha brought attention to the plight of Haitian immigrants as well as that of Hugo Pinell and Ruchell Cinque Magee, political prisoners who have spent well over three decades in the prisons of the U.S. capitalist system of racist injustice.

This united-front action intersected contradictions within the labor bureaucracy and exposed how this conservative layer resting atop the workers organizations acts as the key internal obstacle to mobilizing workers power. From the time the new "anti-terror" legislation was introduced in September, ILWU International officials, instead of opposing the MSA, proposed that the capitalists make the ILWU a partner in the "national security" war, including against other sections of dock workers who are heavily immigrant. The Teamsters and East Coast International Longshore Association tops likewise refused to oppose the MSA. It was the ILWU tops who pointed to the port truckers to be targeted by the bill. As the call for the demonstration pointed out: "It is not the job of the workers to enforce the laws, 'security' or otherwise, that will be used against them: cops and security guards have no place in the union movement!"

In Local 10, however, with its heavily black membership, there was a lot of pressure from the ranks to do something to oppose this attack. Secretary-Treasurer Clarence Thomas helped build and spoke at the rally. Also present were both business agents, Trent Willis and Jack Heyman, who put the motion at a

WV Photo

Oakland mobilization struck a chord among immigrants (clockwise from left): Chinese-language *Singtao Daily* and *World Journal*, local Japanese community daily, Spanish-language biweekly.

"We endorse and will help build a united front labor/black demonstration with the following demands: 'Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labor—No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act!' and 'Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!'."

Initiated by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee

Endorsers of the February 9, 2002 Mobilization

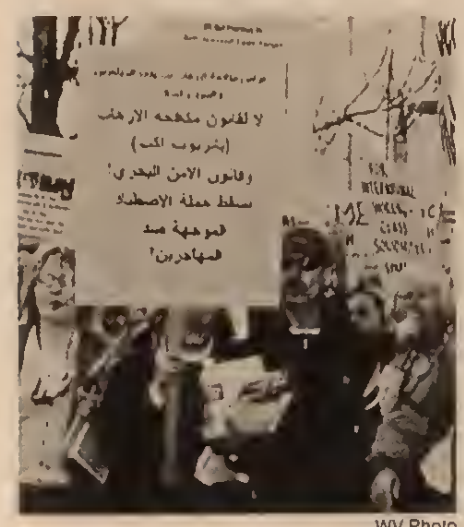
Mumia Abu-Jamal, Revolutionary Journalist, Death Row, PA
Larry Adams, Local President, Mail Handlers Local 300,* New York, NY
African Students Union, Hunter College,* New York, NY
AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Al-Awda/Palestine Right To Return Coalition - NY/NJ Committee
Robert Allen, Ethnic Studies, University of California Berkeley*
Amalgamated Transit Union Black Caucus
Asociacion Tepeyac de New York, New York, NY
Association das Palestiniens en France
Marcellus Barnes, President, Amalgamated Transit Union Black Caucus
Jan Bartlett, Producer, Radio 3CR Melbourne,* Australia
Willie Lee Bell, retired Recording Secretary, IAM&AW Local 739 and 1584,* Oakland, CA
Berkeley Stop the War Coalition, Berkeley, CA
Berlin Afrikanisches ImmigrantInnen Projekt, Berlin, Germany
Wanda J. Black, President/Bus. Agent, Local 241, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union AFL-CIO*
Canadian Arab Federation, Toronto, Canada
Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Metro Toronto Region
CARECEN, Central American Resource Center, San Francisco, CA
Caribbean Students Union, New York, NY
Daniel Carreno, Section Syndicale SUD PTT CRETEIL PFC, France
Laroy Collier, President, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Comité de Lucha Conciencia y Libertad-CGH, Mexico City, Mexico
Coordination Nationele des Sans Papiers, Paris, France
Patricia Osorio Córdova, Sindicato Independiente Nacional de Trabajadores del Colegio de Bachilleres (SINTCB),* Mexico City, Mexico
Michael Crahan, President, LIUNA Local 1141,* San Francisco, CA
Day-Mer, Turkish/Kurdish Community Centre, London, England
Saikou A. Diallo, President, Amadou Diallo Educational Humanitarian & Charitable Foundation,* Maspath, NY
Ron Dicks, V.P. for Political & Legislative Action, International Federation of Professional & Technical Engineers Local 21,* San Francisco, CA
Filipino Workers Association, Richmond, CA
Freedom Socialist Party
GEW, Landesverband Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany
Nicholas Harrigan, Love & Rage,* Sydney, Australia
Leon Harris, Interim Secretary-Treasurer, International Longshore and Warehouse Union, Local 6, Oakland, CA
John Holmes, Delegate, Representative Assembly, Typographical Sector, Northern California Media Workers Union #39521, CWA*
Mustapha Houamed, Secretary, Student Committee for Peace in Palestine, St. Denis University, Paris, France
Paul Howes, Organising & Research Assistant, Labor Council of New South Wales,* Sydney, Australia
Hekim Huslen, Chicago Chapter President, Palestine Aid Society,* Chicago, IL
International Federation of Iraqi Refugees (Sydney) Inc., Sydney, Australia
International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 6, Oakland, CA
International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, San Francisco, CA
Internationalist Group
Geronimo ji Jaga
Justice Action, Sydney, Australia
Kaws.El.Karama (newspaper), Tunis, Tunisia
Zak Khanfar, Santa Clara, CA
Randell Kim, previous 2nd Vice President, AFSCME Local 444
Fidan Kucuktepe, Kurdish, Turkish Human Rights Committee, Melbourne, Australia
Kurdish, Turkish Human Rights Committee, Melbourne, Australia
La Raza Centro Legal, San Francisco, CA
Labor Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, CA
Labor Council for Latin American Advancement - SF (LCLAA), San Francisco, CA
Latino Workers Center, New York, NY
Adam Lincoln, Industrial Workers of the World,* Sydney, Australia
Patricia Loya, Executive Director, Centro Legal de la Raza,* Oakland, CA
LTS-Contracorriente, Mexico City, Mexico
Stephen Lysaght, President, East Bay Area Local, American Postal Workers Union,* Walnut Creek, CA
Petricia Macarthy-Schaefer, Advisor, Berlin Afrikanisches ImmigrantInnen Projekt, Berlin, Germany

WV Photos

Labor contingents at February 9 protest included AFSCME East Bay water utility workers (opposite page), SF immigrant workers and Laborers International parks workers at Presidio.

Local 10 meeting that the union endorse the mobilization. In his speech, Thomas noted, "There are people here today that don't necessarily share the same political views" but "we're all here to stand together against the issue of the USA-Patriot Act and the Port Maritime Security Act." All those at the rally were able to compare openly Thomas' views with those of the Spartacist League speaker, Brian Manning, as they presented two different perspectives on which way forward for the working class—class collaboration vs. class independence from the capitalists and their state.

Thomas upheld as a model the "legacy of Harry Bridges," under which in the 1930s "longshoremen refused to load and unload cargo in the form of scrap iron that was destined for Japan." Far from an act of international working-class solidarity, this boycott was rather very much in line with U.S. imperialism's battle with their Japanese capitalist competitors over which of these gangs of robbers would dominate the Pacific. The pre-World War II longshore action is an example of the same poison promoted today by the labor tops that pits workers of different countries against each other. This protectionism, premised on defending American capitalism, is part and parcel of the union bureaucracy's support for the capitalist Democratic Party.



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Arabic sign proclaims: "Anti-Terror Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks and Labor." Mobilizing leaflets were issued in English, Spanish, Arabic and Chinese.

In contrast was the powerful example of Japanese dock workers described in greetings read to the rally from the Spartacist Group of Japan: "To protest Japanese imperialism's cooperation in the U.S.-led war in Afghanistan, dock workers near Nagasaki showed some of their potential power by refusing to load Japanese warships bound for the Indian Ocean." ILWU members also greatly appreciated meeting a young German worker who read greetings to the rally from the Spartakist-Jugend, youth group of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League.

This joint action by immigrant, black and white workers here in the U.S. against the bloodthirsty U.S. imperialist rulers struck a chord internationally. Reflecting the international character of the world market and common interests of the working class of all nations, greetings to the rally brought attention to the struggles of immigrant workers from Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and Basothans in South Africa to North Africans, Turks and Kurds in Europe, from Koreans in Japan to Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants in Australia. A solidarity statement to the rally by Pedro Wasiejko, secretary of international relations for the Central de los Trabajadores Argentinos union in Buenos Aires, declared that in the "profound political and economic crisis" of that country, "the social disciplinarians of today are basically two: unemployment on one side and judicial prosecution of social struggles on the other."

Other messages of support came from the National Federation of Undocumented Workers of France (Coordination Nationale des Sans-Papiers de France), Australia Asia Worker Links and the Brescia branch of the Italian FIOM (Federation of Metal Workers and Employees), which has been very actively involved in defense of Pakistani, North African and Senegalese immigrants in Italy. Statements were sent by sections of the ICL not only in Japan but Mexico, South Africa, France, Britain, Ireland, Germany, Italy, Canada and Australia.

The Oakland demonstration repudiated in action the equation of the working class in the U.S. with the racist, imperialist U.S. state—an equation pushed both by the U.S. ruling class and those who killed thousands of working people in the attack on the World Trade Center, as well as nationalists of all stripes, and widely believed by people throughout the world. The statement by the Grupo Espartaquista de México in particular had a strong impact when read out near the end of the demonstration. Noting that Mexican immigrant workers in the U.S. create "a broad human bridge between the working class of the two countries," it went on:

> "It is of great importance for workers and the oppressed in Mexico to see American workers, blacks, immigrants and youth fighting against the repressive and racist measures of the U.S. imperialist rulers. Down with the lie of national unity!
>
> "A fundamental part of our fight to forge a revolutionary and internationalist workers party in Mexico is to expose the lie of nationalism, an ideology that seeks to deceive the workers, tying them to their own exploiters.... The true allies of the Mexican workers are not their brutal exploiters. Their true allies are you: the American workers fighting for their rights and those of all the oppressed. For joint class struggle against capitalist rulers in Mexico and the U.S.!"

While the demonstration helped workers to concretely see the need for and be part of joint struggle with immigrant workers, radical-minded students who came from as far away as Santa Cruz and Los Angeles were impressed to see the presence of workers who represent the only force that can defeat the imperialist rulers of the U.S. and put an end to racism, exploitation and war. Students who drove up from the University of California at Santa Cruz were joined by a contingent of high school students from San Francisco's School of the Arts; among others were students from Berkeley High, UC Berkeley, San Francisco State and Oakland's Laney College.

In contrast to other recent protest demonstrations, this rally was a mobilization of the working class and the oppressed *independent of the capitalists*, their parties and their state. It was built despite the boycott by most of the rest of the left, who claim to fight for an end to war and for solidarity with immigrants but who will not breach the bourgeoisie's "national unity" campaign, instead placing their hopes in allying with the liberal Democratic wing of the class enemy. The International Socialist Organization flatly refused to endorse the protest, falsely counterposing a rally at the San Francisco Marriott for largely immigrant hotel workers. The Bolshevik Tendency attended but would not endorse the demonstration; the Socialist Workers Organization and Freedom Socialist Party endorsed but did not attend.

This demonstration illustrated on a small scale what a revolutionary workers party would do. The task ahead of us is to forge such a party, in political struggle against the pro-capitalist misleaders of the working class, which will mobilize all the oppressed in a united struggle for workers power. Those who labor must rule. Join us! ■

It Took $$$ to Mobilize in Defense of Immigrant Rights

Building the successful February 9 labor/black/immigrant mobilization in Oakland cost a lot of money for posters, thousands of flyers and other demonstration expenses. Show your support for this crucial labor-centered protest! Send donations to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099. Please earmark checks "Immigrant Defense Demonstration."

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Speeches at Bay Area Mobilization

"Black Rights, Immigrant Rights Go Forward Hand in Hand"

We print below in excerpted form a selection of speeches from the February 9 rally. In addition, the crowd also heard from Eduardo Palomo of the SF Day Labor Program; John Holmes of the Typographical Sector, Northern California Media Workers Union No. 39521; Kiilu Nyasha, producer/programmer of "Connecting the Dots" (KPOO 89.5FM) and Mike R. of the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club.

WV Photo

SL speaker Brian Manning, rally chairman Jeff Higgins of Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense.

Charles Minster

Steward and San Francisco Labor Council delegate, National Park and Public Employees, LIUNA Local 1141

I bring you apologies from my president, who couldn't be here but who has endorsed this demonstration. He's a Vietnam veteran and is very concerned about the erosion of our civil liberties since 9/11. We as a union at the Presidio are under attack by the government, which is trying to privatize that park; if they're successful there, they'll try and privatize the parks around the country. As it's come out in the paper recently, they're going to try and privatize Amtrak. We know what this privatization means if we look around the world at what's been happening. In Argentina the water supply was privatized and Enron became the owner of the water supply of Buenos Aires. They milked it, they threw the workers they could on the street, and took the money and ran.

We're here today to defend the immigrant population against the attacks of this government. It's always the case when there's an economic decline—"let's kick the immigrants around." That's the way this government gets the average working stiff not to look above at those who are stealing from him left and right, but to try to kick that person that's below him. I would let anybody in the labor movement know this: Unless we as an organization, the AFL-CIO, defend the immigrants in this country, we won't have a damn chance of organizing anybody in this country because today the immigrant population makes up a good percentage of the workforce and especially of the unorganized workforce. In the private sector over 90 percent of the workforce is unorganized. Every one of us who's a trade unionist should be an organizer to defend the immigrant population and win them to our side.

Adwoa Oni

Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense

The Labor Black League for Social Defense stands for mobilizing the multiracial working class, leading all the oppressed, in a united struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black League is part of the revolutionary movement of the workers against the bosses and for socialism.

To line up the population behind their war-crazed ambitions abroad, both capitalist parties, the twin parties of capital, the Democrats and Republicans, are fanning the flames of patriotic bigotry through jingoistic "united we stand" anti-immigrant campaigns. They are fostering the false notion that the ruling class has common interests with the workers even as living standards plunge and the ranks of the unemployed grow. This racist lie means accepting second-class status for black people and denial of citizenship rights for the foreign born. This assault has particularly targeted immigrants of Near Eastern origin. The racial profiling of Arabs and Muslims is promoted by Attorney General John Ashcroft, a lover of the Confederate flag, the bloody flag of slavery and racist terror.

Many black people buy into the capitalist rulers' campaign to pit American-born workers against immigrants. The racist white ruling class promotes the revolting lie among black people that poor immigrants are the reason why blacks continue to be forcibly segregated at the bottom of this society. This lie is aided and abetted by black demagogues like Louis Farrakhan. He denounces the small Arab and Asian ghetto shopkeepers as "bloodsuckers," thereby diverting black people away from a united struggle with immigrants for equality.

At the same time immigrants are taught to despise black people by swallowing wholesale the racist filth spread by the ruling class that the black masses remain at the bottom because they lack a "work ethic." Immigrant workers must grasp that the fight against black oppression is central to any struggle to defend democratic rights in America. Black rights, immigrant rights go forward hand in hand and our struggles advance the cause of emancipation of the whole working class.

Our program of revolutionary integrationism means, as Karl Marx put it, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." This emancipation is only possible in a socialist egalitarian society based on the fullest integration of black people. We, the workers—black, white, Hispanic and Asian—create the wealth of society. Those who labor must rule!

American workers must rise up from their knees, fight for their own interests with no regard to the interests or property rights of the capitalist exploiters. The main obstacle to such independent political action by the working class is political loyalty to the Democratic Party. So black Bay Area Congresswoman Barbara Lee cast the sole vote against giving Bush a blank check for war powers. But her vote also served to foster the illusion that the racist Democratic Party, the party of Jim Crow, the party of massive prison construction and wholesale welfare destruction,.can be "pressured" to serve the interests of workers, blacks and immigrants. Black Democrats like Lee are positioning themselves to contain and head off increasing discontent as economic recession and racist repression devastate the working class. But as Malcolm X once said, a vote for the Democrats is a vote for the Dixiecrats.

The Labor Black League stands for the building of a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed. It is time to fight or starve! For a world without racial oppression, without imperialist war, join the Labor Black League for Social Defense and fight for a socialist future!

Guillermo Ponce de Leon

Filipino Workers Association

Warm revolutionary greetings to all!

The Filipino Workers Association is supporting the struggle of the immigrants for the protection of their rights. These are called the basic human rights. We are also demanding justice for the baggage screeners at the airport. I read in the papers that about 800 baggage screeners lost their jobs because of the citizenship requirement, even if they are technically competent.

Twice in about the last two or three weeks, we held demonstrations in front of the Philippine consulate in San Francisco, at 447 Sutter Street, where we decried the situation of the Filipino workers plus, of course, do you know that U.S. troops now have been introduced in the Philippines? The scenario is a repeat performance of Vietnam. You know, they sent in troops—right now, advisers, trainers, et cetera, and then later on we know that the number of troops will increase, and so they'll no longer just be operating as advisers but as regular units, maybe battalion strength or even regimental strength or even division strength. So, the thing is, many would get killed, and among those who would die will be American youth that were being sent to fight against the New People's Army and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. It's sad, but we have to do something now to wake up the American public.

There was a Filipino who wrote a letter to the editor, to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and he said he saw the demonstration in front of the Philippine consulate on Sutter Street and they were airing the same "tired anti-imperialist slogans." Now this gentleman is an idiot, actually, because the reason why there are so many immigrants in the United States, the reason why we are here, is because of imperialism; that's the reason. Because imperialism impedes the industrialization of our country, and year to year the backward agricultural sector keeps on supplying labor which cannot be absorbed by industry. So what will they do now? What will the citizens of the Philippines do? They will go abroad to pursue survival; they'll go to Saudi Arabia, they'll go to Kuwait, they'll go to Canada, they'll go to the United States, and so on. So that's the reason why we are here. And therefore, instead of saying it's a "tired slogan of anti-imperialism" we should in fact shout "Down with U.S. imperialism!"

Steve Bull

Partisan Defense Committee

(speaking immediately following the statement by Mumia Abu-Jamal)

You have just heard the words of a powerful spokesman for all the oppressed—a man who as a young Black Panther walked these very streets in Oakland when he worked on the Panther newspaper, honing his skills as a journalist.

Jamal continues to speak out so eloquently—unbroken and unbowed—from his death row cell. We must not let them bury Jamal alive. Workers, minorities and all the opponents of racist capitalist

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repression must mobilize mass protests centered on the social power of the labor movement to demand Jamal's immediate release.

There are those who still persist in calling for a new trial for Jamal—an innocent man, sent to death row for his political views in a racist frame-up to once again be dragged before the very forces that railroaded him in the first place! I ask you today: Can we expect justice from a state that assaults and arrests striking workers and labels them terrorists, as was done to the Charleston Five? [roars of "No!"] Can we expect justice from a state that rounds up immigrants and deports them? Hell no! Jamal should be freed!

We place no confidence in the capitalist courts. Rather we look to the power represented here today of the working people and the oppressed engaged in social struggle. That is what has kept the executioner at bay—mass protest in this country and internationally, especially by trade unions representing millions of workers worldwide. Jamal's freedom and the fight for black liberation are inextricably linked to the fight for the emancipation of labor as a whole.

WV Photo

Bay Area mobilization bringing together trade unionists, blacks, immigrants, youth illustrated role of a revolutionary workers party as tribune of the people.

Steve De Caprio

October 22nd Coalitian Against Palice Brutality and Repression

I'm with the October 22nd Coalition Against Police Brutality and Repression. We stand here united against the USA-Patriot Act. We have documented 5,000 people killed by the U.S. police in a span of 12 years; that's 5,000 people dead and counting.

The October 22nd Coalition looks at the USA-Patriot Act as a green light for more brutality and more repression when we're already in the midst of an epidemic of police violence. This epidemic did not stop on September 11th and it did not start on September 11th. This is just giving a green light for more: more killings, more repression and now sweeps of immigrants. We stand united against this repression and against this brutality with all of you here today, and thank you for having this event, and I really appreciate the people who organized it.

WV Photos

Labor Black League speaker Adwoa Oni at rally podium, with Alma Gomez, who translated into Spanish. Right: ILWU Local 10 Secretary-Treasurer Clarence Thomas.

Clarence Thomas

Secretary-Treasurer, ILWU Local 10

Good afternoon, brothers and sisters. I'm glad that I didn't hear any snickers when my name was called. That happens on many occasions, and I always respond in this fashion: The judge and I had nothing to do with selecting our names, but we've had a hell of a lot to do with our reputations, and I'm proud of mine.

The first thing I'd like to say today is that this is an important occasion. Let's not worry about how many people are here today. The important thing is that there are people here today that don't necessarily share the same political views, who don't have the same political agendas, because this is a united-front effort. We're all here to stand together against the issue of the USA-Patriot Act and the Port Maritime Security Act. So let's give a round of applause for us being here today. [applause]

This Port Maritime Security Act is a terrible thing. It reminds me of what longshoremen endured during the 1950s when the Magnuson Act was in effect. And what that did was target people who worked on the waterfront for their political views. If you were a Communist, on the left, or were a person who spoke out against the government during the McCarthy era, you were forbidden from working military cargo. Before that law was subsequently overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court, thousands of dockworkers' lives were disrupted, and many of them had to leave the waterfront. So this is nothing new for longshoremen, and many of our young members who are here today need to understand that.

We are the union that refused to load ships destined for South Africa. When Nelson Mandela came to the Bay Area after his release, he acknowledged the work of the ILWU. During the legacy of Harry Bridges, one of the founders of this great union, longshoremen refused to unload and load cargo in the form of scrap iron that was destined for Japan. We have a long history of speaking out on issues of economic and social justice, and we know that the government does not like that, the employer does not like that.

So we see this as another move, with these background checks, to undermine the authority and the power of unions, because this is what it does: when people who may have committed, let's say, an indiscretion—"youthful indiscretion" is what Bush described his run-ins with the law; he said it was "youthful indiscretions." Well, that also applies to us, too. Many of our people have committed youthful indiscretions. But more importantly, racial profiling has targeted blacks, people of color, and our union is one of the most diverse unions in the country. So we see the background checks as a means of determining who can and cannot work on the waterfront. And that is wrong.

In 1934 a historic strike was engaged by our union that shut down the entire city of San Francisco. One of the principles of that strike had to do with our having our own union hall, because the employer and the bosses were determining who could work. Here we are again, brothers and sisters, with these background checks determining who can and cannot work. And that is wrong. We *must* come together, I don't care how long it takes, to get that message across.

What I would like to do right now is to lead you in a chant. And it goes like this: To heck with background checks! An injury to one is an injury to all!

Brian Manning

Spartacist League/U.S.

We're showing that we have some power today, that these attacks on immigrants and workers will not go unanswered—and believe me, people are watching this all over the world. This is the first effort to mobilize the power of the working class independently, against "national unity" here in the belly of the American imperialist beast.

The liberals and reformists assert that the system can be more humane, more just, if only there were a few cosmetic changes. But capitalism cares for nothing but profit, and there's millions of starving broken bodies, millions of corpses, from Argentina to Iraq to Afghanistan, to prove it.

The attacks on immigrants and the working class that we are addressing at the rally today cannot be separated from the broader aims of the ruling class. The American colossus, waving the criminal destruction of the World Trade Center on 9/11 like a bloody shirt, lashed out at Afghanistan to assert its unchallenged supremacy as the world's nuclear cowboy. Now the American imperialists are plotting their next moves in an open-ended "war on terrorism"—be it attacks on Iraq, Iran or North Korea. We defended Iraq and then Afghanistan when they were attacked by the imperialist war machine, and we will do so again.

The imperialists are able to go unchecked only because of the destruction of the Soviet workers state. In Afghanistan, when the Soviets intervened against the woman-hating *mujahedin* in 1979, we said: Hail Red Army! For once, the Stalinist bureaucracy was unequivocally on the side of social progress, offering the possibility of extending the social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution to the downtrodden and impoverished Afghan peoples, particularly the brutally enslaved women. When the Soviets withdrew in 1989, it was a colossal betrayal which opened the door to capitalist counterrevolution throughout Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Now that the Taliban is in the sights of the ruling class, the fake lefts, groups like the ISO and Socialist Action, rail against them. But when the U.S. was arming the anti-Soviet *mujahedin*, they echoed the imperialists and lined up against the Soviet Union. The RCP, the parent group of the October 22nd Coalition, even recently bragged that Maoists were fighting alongside the *mujahedin* against the Soviets! Not surprisingly, the same scoundrels applauded the destruction of the USSR, which we defended till the bitter end, despite its Stalinist degeneration.

So the bourgeoisie is screaming for blood, but also the agents of the ruling class within the working class—the trade-union bureaucrats—are doing the same. AFL-CIO head John Sweeney says that "no sacrifice is too great" for workers to make in the U.S. capitalists' reactionary "war on terror." The labor bureaucracy is the top layer of the unions which long ago separated itself from its working-class base and which sees through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. It conciliates bourgeois authority, both political and juridical, and that's where the poison is. So the ILWU International won't oppose the Maritime Security Act but are trying to blunt it. But you can't modify the weapon that the bosses want to use to beat down the workers.

The ILWU International is offering longshoremen to police the docks while pointing to the port truckers to be targeted by the MSA. This is poison, like protectionism is poison, like the anti-Japanese chauvinism during World War II—a war between many imperialist powers to divide up the world—was protectionist poison. Now, it is not the job of the workers to enforce the laws, "security" or otherwise, that will be used against them. Cops and security guards have no place in the union movement.

The trade-union bureaucrats are the agents of the capitalists, and you can see that in particular by the role of the trade-union bureaucrats tying the working class to the Democratic Party. You cannot have a government that serves two masters. The workers and the capitalists have irreconcilable interests: the capitalists want to extract as much profit as possible, drive down wages, etc. The capitalists have a state to help them do this—the cops, the courts, the prisons—and then they try to scam you and say this is democracy. Well, it isn't a democracy, it's a ball and chain, and the trade-union misleaders telling you to vote for the lesser evil, they're the chain tying you to the ball. A class-struggle leadership in the trade unions must be forged, a leadership that knows who our friends are and who our enemies are. We need a workers party to fight for a workers government.

In fighting every injustice and every oppression, we in the Spartacist League have the aim of making the working class as a whole conscious of its historic tasks: bringing down this whole system of greed, exploitation and war that is capitalism. It's necessary to fight, and in the process forge a party of professional revolutionaries that acts as a tribune of the people—addressing questions like the oppression of women, the right to abortion; a party that fights against anti-gay bigotry; a party that recognizes the centrality of the fight against black oppression in the fight for socialist revolution. Join us in this fight!■

ICL Sections...

(continued from page 3)

over itself to support the U.S. bombing of Afghanistan despite its professed "neutrality," the "war on terrorism" has likewise meant increased racist terror. As the Dublin Spartacist Group, section of the ICL, stated in its greetings to the February 9 demonstration, "The subsequent upsurge of anti-immigrant racism resulted two weeks ago in the murder of a Chinese student by a racist gang. Hundreds of Irish and Chinese people took to the streets to protest this murder. We distributed a leaflet which told who was really responsible: 'Capitalist State's Anti-Immigrant Crusade Fuels Racist Murder of Chinese Student.'... We have told workers, youth and others about this Bay Area demonstration as an example of what is necessary in response to racist terror: mobilisations of the social power of the integrated working class."

AFP

Spartakist

Paris, February 9: Undocumented immigrants demonstrate to demand legal papers (left). Hundreds protest racist cop killing of Achidi John in Hamburg, Germany.

For Class Unity with Mexican Workers!

Any fight to defend immigrant rights in the U.S. must address the plight of workers from Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America who make up a large proportion of immigrant workers here. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, "legal" and "illegal," and oppose NAFTA (and its extension to the rest of the hemisphere under the FTAA), which has meant the "free trade" rape of Mexico by U.S. imperialism. But the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO leadership condemns NAFTA from the standpoint of chauvinist protectionism, targeting Mexican workers for rabid denunciation.

Breaking the chains forged by the labor tops that shackle the proletariat in the U.S. to its "own" ruling class is central to a revolutionary perspective throughout the hemisphere. Across the border, our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México fight to break the proletariat there from the nationalism that binds it to the Mexican bourgeoisie. In its greetings to the demonstration, the GEM stressed that "the fight of workers for a just society in Mexico cannot be completed without solidarity in struggle with their class brothers on the other side of the border."

Among the endorsements garnered for the protest by the GEM was that of some 600 striking chemical workers in Michoacán, members of the CTM union federation. It is a measure of the potential for joint class struggle that these striking workers reached across the border in solidarity with a demonstration in the U.S. It also flies in the face of the line peddled by the centrist International-ist Group (IG), which claims that the corporatist CTM—whose bureaucracy is tied to the former ruling party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party—is in no way a workers organization. The IG writes off the CTM in order to pander to the phony "anti-imperialist" posture of the "left" bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution, which has the support of the bureaucrats of the "independent" unions, deemed by the IG to be the only "real" unions in Mexico.

Elsewhere in Latin America, a team of ICL comrades publicized the labor-centered mobilization in Argentina, which has been shaken by mass protests against the harsh austerity measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund and enforced by the Argentine rulers, who are beholden to imperialist patronage. In his greetings to the demonstration, the secretary of international relations of the CTA union federation declared:

> "The social disciplinarians of today are basically two: unemployment on one side and judicial prosecution of social struggles on the other. The most illustrative case of the latter is that of Emilio Ali, a young man condemned to five and a half years in prison for pleading for food at a supermarket at the head of a line of unemployed people.
>
> "From Argentina, the Central de los Trabajadores Argentinos sends out its solidarity and support to your struggle for civil rights and on the road toward constructing a world of greater justice and solidarity."

We say: *Down with NAFTA and the FTAA! For socialist revolution throughout the Americas!*

Anti-Immigrant Terror in "Fortress Europe"

No less than in the U.S., the need for the organized workers movement to mobilize in defense of immigrant workers is posed pointblank throughout racist "Fortress Europe." From the Labour Party in Britain to the Socialist Party in France and the Social Democrats (SPD) in Germany, the social democrats currently administer capitalist states in much of West Europe, enforcing the racist repression that in turn feeds the growth of the far right and fascists.

The German city of Hamburg has been targeted as a hotbed of "Islamic terrorism"—a "city of sleepers"—by the SPD capitalist government and the media. On December 9, Achidi John was killed while in police custody, a victim of the sadistic use of induced vomiting, a means of torture meted out to immigrants by the government in its "war on drugs." Some 140 mostly immigrant students have been subjected to computerized "racial profiling" (*Rasterfahndung*) and hauled in for police "interrogation." Among those victimized was Abdelwahab Osman K.-M., a German researcher of Sudanese origin, whose apartment was ransacked by police while he was on vacation and whose name was dragged through the mud for weeks in the bourgeois press. An international arrest warrant was issued against him only to be lifted for lack of proof. Our comrades of the Hamburg Spartakist Youth organized a protest at his university, demanding "Hands Off Abdelwahab! Down With the *Rasterfahndung*!" and issued a leaflet raising the call, "For Student/Immigrant/Worker Mobilizations Against Racist State Terror."

Our comrades not only pointed to the role of the ruling Social Democrats in perpetrating anti-immigrant outrages but also exposed illusions in the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), which is peddled as an alternative to the SPD by much of the fake left. The PDS is the social-democratic heir of the Stalinist bureaucracy that sold out the East German deformed workers state to West German imperialism. The counterrevolutionary reunification of Germany in 1990 brought in its wake mass unemployment, rising fascist terror and the devastation of the East, while encouraging attacks on the living standards of the working class throughout Germany.

As the Spartakist Youth leaflet explained, the PDS' treachery "paved the way for 12 years of massive attacks on the workers and for the deployment of the Bundeswehr [German army] all over the world. Since then the PDS has been lusting to participate for German imperialism in the government." Now the PDS, which continues to have the support of many workers in the East, has joined the SPD in a coalition government in Berlin, the more effectively to administer anti-working-class austerity and to enforce it by unleashing more cops on the streets.

In a chilling demonstration that the "war on terror" is aimed against the workers movement as a whole, on February 2 the SPD government in Munich deployed hundreds of cops to surround the DGB trade-union hall as an anti-NATO meeting was taking place inside. It was only the mobilization of workers who came out to the meeting site upon hearing of this massive police provocation that persuaded the cops to stand down and let the anti-NATO protesters leave the building unmolested. One unionist remarked that not since Hitler had a union building been surrounded by cops. But the force behind the police provocation was not Hitlerite Nazis but the SPD, whose base is in fact the unionized workers of Germany. Moreover, many of the cops who surrounded the hall are, grotesquely, members of the DGB union federation! The Spartakist Workers Party and Spartakist Youth demand: Cops out of the unions!

In the tow of the West European social-democratic governments is the bulk of the reformist and centrist left, who invariably call for a vote to these class traitors in the name of "fighting the right." In France, this means support to the Socialist-led popular-front government that presides over Vigipirate state terror. The reformist Lutte Ouvrière (LO) strikes a left posture by opposing a vote to the popular front in the upcoming presidential elections. But its deafening silence on Vigipirate amounts to a tacit embrace of this anti-immigrant state repression, which is a central mechanism for tying the working class to the capitalist rulers against a feared, loathed and invented "enemy within." The reformist and centrist groups who support the popular front likewise serve to bind workers in France to their "own" rulers by peddling anti-American nationalism.

In their greetings to the February 9 demonstration, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) noted:

> "Your demonstration also gives us the chance to fight against anti-American chauvinism which is spread far and wide by the bourgeoisie here. Even parties which claim to be socialist push this chauvinism, pretending that all the world's problems come from the U.S. We seek to demonstrate to French workers that their best ally against capitalism is the international working class. Your mobilization in the United States allows us to introduce workers to internationalism in action."

In France, as throughout West Europe, a strong component of workers of immigrant origin are integrated in the working class in strategic sectors of industry. This underlines the critical importance of the defense of immigrants in advancing the cause of the revolutionary unity of the proletariat.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The Bay Area mobilization in defense of immigrants had particular resonance in Australia, where John Howard's right-wing Liberal government, backed by the Australian Labor Party (ALP) tops, is waging a barbaric campaign against refugees, many of them Afghans, Iraqis and Iranians. This has provoked desperate protests in refugee detention camps, with hundreds threatening suicide or going on hunger strikes, some even stitching their lips together with fence wire and torn blankets. It has also sharply polarized Australian society, as demonstrations erupt in cities around the country against the brutal incarceration of asylum-seekers and thousands

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Mexico...

(continued from page 2)

that are politically close to the bourgeois-natianalist PRD. This position has no purpose other than to relieve the IG of having to defend the CTM unions from the bosses' offensive and to prettify the pro-PRD bureaucracy. Defense of the unions is concrete: the IG has not written a single word about one of the most important union struggles in recent years, the strike of 45,000 CTM-organized sugar workers that was declared "nonexistent" by the government in December 2000. The IG has also declared it "nonexistent" in their minds. They said not one word in this respect because it would be in contradiction to their mythology about the nature of the CTM.

The development of the unions, as Leon Trotsky explained, is characterized by their ever-closer connection to the state. In Mexico this took the form of corporatism: the organization of society within social "corporations" or "sectors." Mexican corporatism was consummated with the integration of the CTM into Lázaro Cárdenas' PRM (Party of the Mexican Revolution) in 1938. This is not exclusive to Mexico; in Argentina, trade unions have been linked to the Peronist bourgeois party for decades, and yet today they feel pressured to lead general strikes. The CTM bureaucracy has a well-deserved reputation for using the most brutal methods to discipline the working class. But Marxists do not choose to our liking either the arena of our work or the conditions of our activity. The class antagonisms which are inherent to capitalism are such that they will burst out independently of the particular superstructure of the capitalist regime. Essentially, the point is to struggle to win the advanced layer of the working class to the struggle for socialism.

In the same article cited above, the IG presents its "analysis" of corporatism:

> "...in the key struggle that consolidated the corporatist nature of the CTM, the imposition of a leader, Jesús Díaz de León (known as '*el charro*' [the cowboy]), by the right-wing PRI government of Miguel Alemán on the combative railroad workers in 1948-49, the former union leaders including the dissident Stalinist Valentín Campa were arrested and then expelled from the rail union under the exclusion clause, leading to their firing by the railroads."

The IG doesn't even mention the entry of the CTM into the PRM of Cárdenas in 1938; instead, it is clear that for them the event that *transformed the class nature* of the overwhelming majority of the unions back then...was the expulsion of the Stalinist Valentín Campa! The so-called "*charrazo*" marked the end of the "democratic" pretensions of the bureaucracies, but to maintain that it made any qualitative, class difference is simply ridiculous. *All of them*—Stalinists, Lombardists, Fidelists [after the late CTM head Fidel Velázquez]—were in agreement about one thing in those years: the working class should be subordinated to the PRM-PRI. The only difference was over which clique should lead this "historic alliance." The PCM (Communist Party of Mexico), embodied in the Campa union leadership, was one of the principal instigators of the CTM's entry into the Cárdenist PRM. Lombardo Toledano, the first secretary general of the CTM, was a Stalinist lackey and a direct agent of Stalin's GPU; he licked the boots of each and every one of the presidents of the PRM-PRI until his death and was complicit in the assassination of Trotsky in 1940. The IG rails against the gangsterism of the post-war CTM bureaucrats, but they prefer to close their eyes to the murderous Stalinist/Lombardist violence directed against Trotsky!

The IG maintains that the PRM was a "popular front," and that today there is a "popular front" around the PRD [led by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas]. For Marxists, the "popular front" is an alliance between the mass reformist workers parties and bourgeois parties that is used to govern a capitalist state. In Mexico, a mass workers party has never existed. The PRM co-opted the working class by means of concessions and the ideological battering ram of bourgeois nationalism, subordinating them to an iron bureaucracy (see "Mexico: NAFTA's Man Targets Labor," *WV* No. 748, 15 December 2000).

The PRM-PRI was *never* anything more than a bourgeois party, as is today its pathetic heir, the PRD. The mythical "popular fronts" that the IG invents around the two Cárdenases is nothing but an attempt to mask the bourgeois class nature of their respective parties. The real position of the IG, which is concealed in order to hold on to their "Marxist" credentials, is that under the hegemony of Lázaro Cárdenas, the CTM was a "legitimate" workers federation and the PRM was not a mere bourgeois party, but rather a "popular front"—but everything came down when "*El Tata*" [Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' father] left power. The IG's "analysis" of corporatism is nothing but a smokescreen to hide its attraction toward the nationalist politics of Cárdenas Sr., which today draws them like fleas toward the blanket of Junior.

Union-Busting Centrist Demagogy

Incapable of giving effective political arguments to defend their positions, the IG is reduced to demagogically falsifying ours. In *El Internacionalista/Edición México* (May 2001) they accuse us: "***What they are saying is that there is no qualitative difference between the thugs of the corporatist centers and the workers of the Duro, Kuk Dong and Covarra-factories***" [emphasis in original]. Contrary to this lying cynicism, every reader of our press knows that we are for a relentless political struggle for a revolutionary leadership in the unions that will replace *all* pro-bourgeois leaderships—CTM as well as "independents"—that will make the unions a bulwark in the revolutionary struggle for women's liberation and workers revolution, combatting the bourgeois macho ideology that permeates the working class.

The IG has the gall to exclaim: "Our position is simple: bourgeois state out of union activities!" These are the words of the group that dragged the Brazilian union of municipal workers of Volta Redonda through the bourgeois courts, in a bureaucratic struggle to hold on to the leadership of this union that was infested with cops, in 1996-97. The IG's Brazilian comrades turned over the union's bank statements, account books, statutes and minutes of union meetings to the bourgeois courts as "evidence"! (See "IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* No. 671, 11 July 1997.) This is the real nature of the IG's posture of "opposing" state intervention into the unions and the corporatist laws. The Internationalist Group is a fraud.■

---

announce their willingness to shelter escaped refugees. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Australia have intervened in meetings and protests to fight for union/minority action to defend refugees and immigrants, arguing in a 10 February leaflet:

> "The racist ruling class won't be swayed by the servile appeals to their 'morals' pushed by the Laborite left and liberals. The capitalists' only 'moral' calculus is their bottom line. To carry out huge job massacres and shredding of health care, education and welfare unopposed, the capitalists whip up racism to divide the working class, going after the most vulnerable first, so as to paralyse workers' ability to struggle. But the working class, with its strategic immigrant component, makes the wheels of profit turn. A political strike combining defence of immigrants with opposition to union-busting attacks would be a major step in the fight to push back the bosses' union-busting and divisive racist schemes. Asylum now and full citizenship rights for refugees and all immigrants! Close the concentration camps! No deportations!"

When Labor competed with the Liberals in racist tirades against desperate refugees during last November's election campaign, it provoked outrage among immigrant workers, who make up a large part of the membership of many unions. Reflecting such anger at the base, the Laborite trade-union tops have set up "Labor for Refugees," which avows opposition to mandatory detention. This is a significant break in the climate of racist reaction. But the union tops, and reformist groups like the International Socialist Organisation (ISO), seek to steer opposition to the government's attacks right back into support to the ALP, which bears direct responsibility for the anti-immigrant and anti-union policies. Hailing Labor leader Simon Crean's call for detained children to be released to foster care as a "massive boost to every refugee," the ISO simply enthuses over Labor for Refugees, whose aim is to pressure the ALP into a more "compassionate" policy, as a "terrific breakthrough" (Australian *Socialist Worker*, 1 February).

With refugees drowning on the high seas or thrown into concentration camps while striking workers are baited as "terrorists," immigrant and also white Australian-born workers are looking for a position from which to fight in defense of the oppressed and the labor movement as a whole. Our aim is to direct the evident anger and discontent at the base, including through actions like the Bay Area mobilization, to show that working people and oppressed minorities need a revolutionary workers party, not a "Labor" party that supports capitalist rule.

In contrast to the reformists and centrists whose program is defined by pressuring the social democrats for reforms of the existing system, our purpose is to win workers to the understanding that they must sweep away the entire capitalist system, to forge through education and struggle the vanguard party of the proletariat needed to achieve that goal. Our defense of immigrant rights is a vital part of our revolutionary internationalist program. This was underlined in the LTF greetings to the Oakland mobilization:

> "While the bourgeoisie attacks immigrants, we must remember the key role immigrant workers have played in the class struggle, such as during the Paris Commune of 1871. It was a Hungarian worker, Leo Frankel, minister of labor and trade, who wrote the decree for the expropriation of the factories during the Commune. The Commune also declared:
>
> "'Loudly proclaiming its internationalist aspirations—because the cause of the producers is the same everywhere and because the enemy is the same everywhere, regardless of one's nationality (regardless of one's national dress)—Paris has proclaimed the principle of admitting foreigners to the Commune; Paris has even elected a foreign worker (a member of the International) to its Executive committee....'
>
> "We celebrate the memory of the Paris Commune and we fight for new October Revolutions. Your demonstration in Oakland, modest but exemplary, shows the way forward for all workers."■

Mumia...

(continued from page 16)

for her testimony, Veronica Jones testified at the trial that the cops had offered her a similar deal: "They were trying to get me to say something that the other girl said...and they told us we can work the area if we tell them." Not only was White allowed to work the area, but she did so *with police protection*.

Unlike White, Jones refused to finger Mumia, but the cops did strong-arm her into retracting her initial statement that she had seen two men flee the scene of the shooting. When Jones appeared at a 1996 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearing to tell the truth about what she'd seen, the D.A. vindictively had her dragged from the witness stand and arrested on a two-year-old bench warrant for allegedly passing bad checks. At a subsequent hearing in 1997, Pamela Jenkins, another prostitute, testified that White had said "she was in fear for her life from the police," who "were trying to get her to say something about the shooting." Now Williams' affidavit confirms: "Lucky was worried the police would kill her if she didn't say what they wanted.... She tried to run away after the shooting, but the cops grabbed her and wouldn't let her go. They took her in the car first and told her that she saw Mumia shoot Officer Faulkner."

Police coercion and prosecution lies are endemic to this capitalist frame-up system. So is racist jury-rigging. Last week, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a stay of execution for Thomas Miller-El, a black death row inmate in Texas, based on the claim that there had been only one black juror because blacks were unconstitutionally excluded from his jury. In Jamal's case, Yohn explicitly rejected the very same claim (while "permitting" it to be appealed to a higher court), despite the fact that there were only two black people on the jury that convicted Jamal and the prosecutor had used eleven of his 14 peremptory challenges to exclude blacks.

This only serves to underline that, despite his unquestionable innocence, Mumia cannot expect justice from the capitalist courts. Mumia is not only another black man ensnared in this racist system. He is an outspoken advocate for the oppressed, a MOVE supporter, an eloquent journalist and fighter who was in the cross hairs of the Philly cops and FBI from the time he was a teenage spokesman for the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s. The forces of "law and order" want to see Jamal dead because they see in him the spectre of black revolution. Even if they don't succeed in overturning Yohn's reversal of the death sentence, Mumia still faces a life sentence, a living death in his prison hell. ***Don't let them bury Mumia alive!*** What's needed is a massive struggle centered on the social power of the multiracial working class to demand: Free Mumia Now!■

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Immigrants...

(continued from page 16)

Du Bois, who stood for black equality and was a founder of the NAACP, wrote in 1929: "Colored America has been silent on the immigration quota controversy for two reasons: ***First, the stopping of the importing of cheap white labor on any terms has been the economic salvation of American black labor***" [emphasis in the original]. And black immigrants, he said, were to blame for "frustrating our efforts and misunderstanding our ideals."

A. Philip Randolph, a social democrat and founder of the all-black sleeping-car porters union, stated in reference to a restrictive immigration law under discussion in the early '20s: "Instead of reducing immigration to 2 percent of the 1890 quota, we favor reducing it to nothing.... We favor shutting out the Germans from Germany, the Italians from Italy...the Hindus from India, the Chinese from China, and even the Negroes from the West Indies. This country is suffering from immigrant indigestion."

But this anti-immigrant chauvinism was literally playing with fire. The Ku Klux Klan had revived in 1915. In addition to blacks, it targeted immigrants, especially Catholics and Jews. By 1925, at its peak, somewhere between three and five million Americans had joined the "Invisible Empire." When Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans called for a march in Washington, D.C. (the site of the Klan's new national headquarters) that year, 40,000 robed and hooded Klansmen paraded down Pennsylvania Avenue.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court, Congress, the White House and state legislatures were moving in complete consonance with the race-terrorists. The California Alien Land Laws of 1913, 1920 and 1923 barred those not eligible for citizenship, i.e., all Asian immigrants, from owning or leasing land. In decisions reminiscent of apartheid South Africa, the Supreme Court in 1922 and 1923 further narrowed the definition of who could become citizens under the "whites only" Naturalization Act of 1790. In the *Ozawa* case, it ruled that the category "white person" excluded Japanese and hence all East Asians. In *U.S. v. Thind*, it ruled that although Asian Indians may be considered "Caucasians," such is not a "white person," for "these are words of common speech and not of scientific origin."

In 1929, the Indian writer and Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore visited the West Coast but broke off his tour because of racial prejudice. He commented: "Jesus could not get into America because, first of all, He would not have the necessary money, and secondly, He would be an Asiatic."

The Immigration Act of 1924 barred entry to any "alien ineligible to citizenship," thereby excluding almost all immigration from Asia. The 1924 law also cut off immigration from East and Southern Europe. The new anti-immigrant measures dovetailed with an escalation in state repression against leftists and labor radicals in the years after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. It was among the largely pro-socialist workers of South European and East European descent where the impact of the Russian Revolution was most immediately felt in the U.S.

James Earl Wood photos

Filipino and Mexican farm workers in California in early '30s waged bitter organizing battles, striking in defiance of bosses' threats to deport any immigrant worker who "joins the striking 'workers' union'."

The Palmer raids, carried out in the first week of January 1920 under the "progressive" Democratic administration of Woodrow Wilson, resulted in the arrest of over 6,000 Communists and the deportation of thousands of foreign-born anarchists and other leftists. The frame-up of Italian anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti on murder charges and their execution in 1927 were part and parcel of the racist mobilization of the state and its auxiliaries in white sheets against militant immigrant workers.

The American Empire and Asian Immigration

The American capitalists have always tried to pit one sector of the working class against another in order to undermine labor struggle. In Hawaii, then an American colony or "territory," the plantation bosses were often successful in playing off one nationality against another. Japanese workers organized themselves into ethnic "blood unions," demanding equal pay with their Portuguese co-workers. When 7,000 Japanese workers struck on Oahu in 1909, the bosses hired Koreans, Chinese, Portuguese and Filipinos as scabs. Although the strikers were forced back to work after four months, the planters shortly thereafter eliminated the pay differential by raising the Japanese workers' wages.

Now the bosses turned to Filipino workers to replace the Japanese, setting off the first massive immigration of Filipinos to Hawaii. In December 1919, the Japanese Federation of Labor and the Filipino Federation separately submitted their demands to the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation. Three thousand Filipino workers were the first to walk out, but their Japanese class brothers soon joined them. Together 8,000-strong, they shut down production on Oahu. Spanish, Portuguese and Chinese workers subsequently joined the strike. More than 12,000 workers and their families were evicted from their homes, forcing them to camp in Honolulu parks. The strike ended after a six-month standoff, by which time the workers received some concessions such as increased wages, the abolition of wage differentials and changes in the system of bonus pay.

The Philippines was also at the time an American colony, and its inhabitants were declared "American nationals." In 1910, only 406 Filipinos were working on the U.S. mainland. But in 1920 there were 5,600, and in 1930 the number reached 45,000. By that time, 30,500 Filipinos had settled in California, of which 60 percent worked in agriculture and 25 percent were service workers. They were frequently targets of racist attack, especially during the Depression. In Watsonville in December 1929, 400 whites attacked a Filipino dance hall. In the four days of rioting that ensued, many Filipinos were beaten and one was shot to death.

In 1930, Filipino and Mexican workers organized by the Agricultural Workers Industrial League, which was led by the Communist Party (CP), went on strike after Imperial Valley growers tried to lower wages. Independently organized white packing shed workers joined the strike. After the growers called in the government to break the strike, over 100 workers were arrested, their bail set at $40,000.

Amid the Depression, some 500,000 Mexicans and Mexican Americans were kicked out of the country. Later, the *bracero* program that began during World War II brought hundreds of thousands of Mexican agricultural workers to *el Norte*. When the need for this labor dried up, over a million Mexican workers were targeted for mass deportations in "Operation Wetback" in 1954. Documented or undocumented, Mexican workers are the industrial reserve army of California agribusiness.

World War II Internment of Japanese Americans

When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, 37 percent of Hawaii's population was Japanese. Shortly after inspecting the still-smoking ruins of his Pacific fleet, Secretary of the Navy Knox railed against a Japanese "fifth column." Naval intelligence and FBI investigations concluded that there was no sabotage or espionage by Japanese residents. Nevertheless, the War Department asked the military governor of Hawaii his opinion regarding mass Japanese internment on one of Hawaii's outer islands. Negative, he responded: the Japanese and Japanese Americans were too crucial to both military operations and the economy.

On the mainland, the Western Defense Command was constituted with its headquarters at San Francisco's Presidio under the command of one General John DeWitt. To get the flavor of this all-round racist, DeWitt protested when he was sent black troops after the attack on Pearl Harbor, ranting that the local population felt that "they've got enough black skinned people around them as it is. Filipinos and Japanese." Beating the drums for internment, a *Los Angeles Times* editorial railed: "A viper is nonetheless a viper wherever the egg is hatched—so a Japanese American, born of Japanese parents—grows up to be a Japanese, not an American."

On 19 February 1942, Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, providing the basis for internment. The Japanese are not mentioned, but they were the intended targets. When the War Department discussed interning Germans and Italians on the East Coast, Roosevelt squelched the idea, writing that as opposed to them, the Japanese were "strangers from a distant shore." The armed forces removed 120,000 Japanese, some 70,000 of whom were American citizens (most native-born), from their homes and shipped them for internment to barbed wire-enclosed "Relocation Centers" in the desert and mountain wastelands of seven states. Those Japanese Americans who refused to report for internment, claiming their rights as citizens, were arrested, convicted and sent to prison, and the Supreme Court upheld their convictions.

No wonder that Japanese Americans were among the earliest protesters against Bush's domestic "war against terrorism" last fall. Like the new USA-Patriot Act, an acronym for the "Uniting and Strengthening America Act by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism," the World War II internment was proscriptive. This means: I am going to arrest you because you look like the sort of person who might be a spy or hijack a plane.

Let's be clear: the decision for mass internment was made at the highest level of government. Roosevelt had been considering such an option since 1936. But helping to pave the way for the internment was the class treason and the decades-long anti-immigrant chauvinism of the California trade-union tops. By the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Stalinist Communist Party, which was still influential in the Bay Area unions, was pushing the line of support to "democratic" U.S. imperialism and its allies against Japan and Germany. The CP expelled its Japanese members, cheered the internment of Japanese Americans and went on to applaud the dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Despite the internment, 33,000 Japanese Americans served in the Jim Crow armed forces in segregated units. The famed 442nd Regiment, formed in Hawaii and the internment camps, was sent to Europe and became the most decorated fighting unit in U.S. history, taking 9,486 casualties and earning 18,143 decorations.

Dorothea Lange

May 1942: Japanese families rounded up in California for internment in concentration camps.

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As the U.S. was herding Japanese Americans into concentration camps on the West Coast, it was using the 1924 immigration law to slam the door in the face of Jews and others fleeing the death camps in Germany and Nazi-occupied Europe. At the height of the Holocaust in 1943, fewer than 6,000 refugees were admitted. Already in 1939, the U.S. refused to allow the luxury liner *St. Louis* to dock with 930 Jewish refugees on board. The Roosevelt administration said that immigration quotas were filled and could not be compromised, and the boat was sent back to Europe, where many of its passengers later died in concentration camps. This event was dramatized in the movie *Voyage of the Damned*. As Trotsky wrote after the outbreak of World War II in Europe:

> "The world of decaying capitalism is overcrowded. The question of admitting a hundred extra refugees becomes a major problem for such a world power as the United States.... The period of the wasting away of foreign trade and the decline of domestic trade is at the same time the period of the monstrous intensification of chauvinism and especially of anti-Semitism."
>
> —"The Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" (1940), printed in *Documents of the Fourth International* (1973)

The then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) opposed all the imperialist powers in World War II while fighting for unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. The U.S. rulers' barring of Jewish refugees was fought by the SWP. Following Kristallnacht, the November 1938 Nazi pogroms against Jews in Germany, the SWP issued a call for united action by labor and the left against the American fascists (*Socialist Appeal*, 19 November 1938):

> "Show the Hitlerite assassins and pogromists the real position of American labor by your protest meetings!
>
> "Show them that the American working class means it seriously when it says that it detests anti-Semitism and the anti-Semites like the plague!
>
> "Show the victims of the fascist terror that you mean it seriously, by stretching out to them the hand of fraternal solidarity, by demanding of the American government the free and unrestricted right of asylum for the Jewish scapegoats of fascist barbarism!"

Class War and the Cold War

Massive class battles swept Europe and the U.S. after World War II. For the purpose of this talk, I will briefly look at Hawaii as an example. Restrictions on union organizers there imposed by U.S. military forces and court injunctions were lifted. The International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), whose leadership was around the CP, had united Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Puerto Rican, Portuguese and Hawaiian workers in one union. Beginning in 1946, it waged a series of long and bitter strikes.

Bancroft Library

Mexican farm workers protest during 1933 California cotton strike after armed thugs attacked pickets.

Looking for a showdown with the union, in 1949 the Big Five plantation companies provoked a strike by holding out against the longshoremen's demand for wage parity with their mainland counterparts. The strike began on May 1 and lasted 157 days. AFL and CIO maritime union tops ordered their members to scab as part of the Cold War witchhunt against unions and unionists associated with the CP and other left-wing organizations. The government used the Smith Act to imprison the ILWU regional director in Hawaii and six other strike leaders. Their conviction in 1953 was met with an all-Hawaii walkout.

In 1950, when the Chinese People's Liberation Army came to the aid of North Korea against U.S. imperialism and its United Nations allies in the Korean War, the U.S. bourgeoisie reacted by whipping up anti-Chinese bigotry and intensifying anti-Communist hysteria. In late 1950, Congress passed the McCarran Internal Security Act, requiring American CP members and others to register with the U.S. Attorney General. The Attorney General was authorized to detain them when there was "reasonable ground" that they might engage in espionage or sabotage. Title II of this onerous act pointed to the wartime incarceration of Japanese Americans (which had been embraced by the Stalinists) as a precedent for such a roundup of alleged subversives.

In 1952, Congress passed the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act. The law capped immigration from the so-called "Asian-Pacific Triangle"—i.e., most South and East Asian countries—at 100 people per country per year, and also sharply curtailed immigration from the Caribbean. Although the "white only" color bar of the 1790 Naturalization Act was finally eliminated, even Harry Truman objected to the act because it created a second-class citizenship status by distinguishing between citizens by birth and citizens by naturalization. The law also contained measures for banning would-be visitors with left-wing sympathies and deporting like-minded immigrants.

Later immigration laws served to strengthen the police and military powers of the capitalist state while providing cheap immigrant labor, especially for West Coast agribusiness, which depends on undocumented labor for up to 70 percent of its workforce. American capitalism's dependence on immigrant labor has driven every immigration "reform" in the last century. The 1986 Simpson-Rodino immigration law was completely in this tradition, using the sugarcoating of limited amnesty provisions, riddled with traps, to ram through increased powers for the military and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to control the borders.

Michael Schwartz

NYC: Unionized garment workers in Manhattan's Chinatown demonstrate against sweatshop conditions, August 1998.

For Full Citizenship Rights! Organize the Unorganized!

Today, the number of undocumented immigrants in this country is estimated to be as high as 8.5 million, with five million entering during the 1990s. By far the largest number of undocumented immigrants —probably half or more of the total— are from Mexico. Another quarter come from other parts of Latin America—Central America (mainly El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras), the Caribbean and South America. Driving immigration from Mexico is the 1994 NAFTA agreement—the U.S. "free trade" rape of Mexico. Real wages in Mexico have plummeted 75 percent in the last 12 years. NAFTA has also made the Mexican economy more dependent on the U.S. economy. Now big brother is in a big slump, and many toilers who have come here from south of the border remember the mass deportations that took place during the Depression of the 1930s and in the 1950s.

If you look at household income averages based on the 2000 census, differences among immigrant groups are more substantial than the difference between immigrants and the U.S.-born. While legal permanent residents, who are often skilled, have incomes near the overall average, undocumented immigrants have the lowest household incomes of any group ($31,500), more than one-third below those of the native-born. Having no rights, these workers can be exploited by the capitalists to the limit of physical endurance, hired and fired to meet cyclical and seasonal needs.

The huge influx of immigrant workers from mainland China, transported in conditions reminiscent of the Middle Passage of the African slave trade to be hideously exploited in the sweatshops of New York City and the Bay Area, is a searing indictment of the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms." These measures increasingly erode the social gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution that drove out the capitalists and freed women from a servitude no better than slavery. The conditions under which Chinese immigrants labor are also a searing indictment of the bureaucrats of the UNITE garment workers union, who are often no better than contractors for sweatshop labor. They collect their dues while signing sweetheart contracts with the owners of the sweatshops, where the workforce of mainly Chinese women has no rights except to toil 12-14 hours a day at wages far below the minimum wage (see "Chinese Immigrant Workers in Racist America," *WV* No. 719, 17 September 1999).

The immigrant worker is *in* this society, but as the so-called "alien," he is alienated from it, i.e., he is not *of* this racist social order. That's why immigrant workers are so often criminalized and seen as a threat. Many, especially those from Latin America, bring with them a tradition of militant social struggle. But, again, the color bar is ultimately decisive. While dark-skinned immigrants are treated as blacks, many light-skinned immigrants adapt to the anti-black racism spread by the white ruling class, which has long used the color bar to obscure the fundamental *class* divide in this capitalist society.

Many of the first black people in this country to rally to the side of the Russian Revolution were from the Caribbean—where black skin is not automatically a badge of shame and humiliation —like the Jamaican-born author Claude McKay. Some of the most powerful protests against lynching were penned by a Vietnamese waiter-dishwasher aboard a French liner in the early 1920s that would put in at American ports. His name: Ho Chi Minh. He would go on to become the leader of the Vietnamese Communists' struggle against the French, Japanese and U.S. imperialists.

I want to conclude with the example of the Japanese Marxist Sen Katayama. Born in 1860, he came to the U.S. in 1884 to complete his education. Because of his interest in the black question, he became the first Asian to attend a black college, Nashville's Fisk University. Returning to Japan in 1896, he was active in the socialist and labor movements. In 1906, he was sentenced to nine months' hard labor for his activities protesting Japan's war against Russia. He was imprisoned again for his participation in the 1912 Tokyo streetcar strike. After his release, he left once more for the U.S., never to see his homeland again, although he would continue to influence its socialist movement. Attracted to the Bolshevik Revolution, he became a founder of three Communist parties: the American, the Japanese and the Mexican.

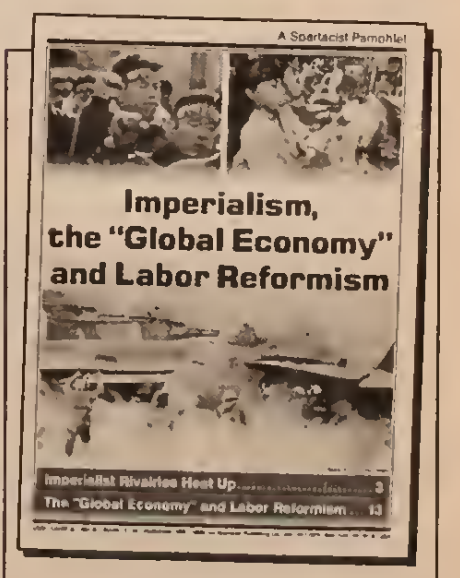
In his December 1923 article "Soviet Russia and the Negro," Claude McKay wrote:

> "When Sen Katayama of Japan, the veteran revolutionist, went from the United States to Russia in 1921 he placed the American Negro problem first upon his full agenda. And ever since he has been working unceasingly and unselfishly to promote the cause of the exploited American Negro among the Soviet councils of Russia."

In his capacity as a representative of the Communist International, Katayama was sent to Mexico in 1921. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in 1922, Katayama protested the refusal of the American party to fulfill its elementary internationalist duty and work together with its sister party in Mexico, a strategically important neocolony of U.S. imperialism:

> "Many Communist parties in the West cannot see beyond the borders of their own countries. I would like to give an example: the Mexican party that is still quite young. When I was in Mexico I sought to establish closer relations between the Mexican party and the Communist Party of America. We sent many letters to this party and sent them many articles, but the letters were never answered, and the articles were never printed. Most of us thought that personal reasons were involved. But after I left Mexico a member of the central committee of the Communist Party of Mexico approached the American party with a proposal for collaboration; he too got no answer. That means that the American party has never looked beyond the borders of their country. That is neither the idea nor the principle of the Comintern."
>
> —*Protokolle des IV. Weltkongresses der Kommunistischen Internationale*, Vol. 2 (1923)

The fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants is a fight in the interest of the U.S. working class as a whole. The foreign-born worker won to communism has a crucial and vitally important role in the revolutionary internationalist party we are seeking to build as the U.S. section of a reforged Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. Workers of the world, unite! Our banner. Our challenge. Join us!■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

New Evidence of Innocence

Free Mumia Now!

There can be no clearer indictment of this system of racist injustice than the fact that Mumia Abu-Jamal remains confined to a prison hellhole. It has been nine months since the courts received a sworn confession from Arnold Beverly that he carried out the December 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner for which Jamal was sentenced to death. Though that sentence was reversed on narrow technical grounds in a federal district court in December, Judge William Yohn upheld every single aspect of the discredited police/prosecution case in the face of an avalanche of evidence of Mumia's innocence. Now a new witness has courageously come forward to rip apart the coerced "eyewitness" testimony that was a cornerstone of the prosecution's edifice of lies, along with a manufactured "confession" and bogus ballistics "evidence."

In a sworn affidavit submitted to a federal appeals court on February 6, Yvette Williams confirmed that Cynthia White, the sole prosecution witness who claimed to have seen Mumia shoot Faulkner, was coerced by the cops to lie in court. It has long been known that White, a Philly prostitute known as "Lucky," was given police protection in exchange for her lying testimony. Now Williams states that White herself admitted this:

> "I was in jail with Cynthia White in December of 1981 after Police Officer Daniel Faulkner was shot and killed. Cynthia White told me the police were making her lie and say she saw Mr. Jamal shoot Officer Faulkner when she really did not see who did it."

At the time of Jamal's trial, White had 38 prior arrests and was serving 18 months in Massachusetts, with three prostitution charges awaiting trial in Philadelphia. Following Faulkner's killing, his precinct was told to refer her to the Homicide Division if she was taken in. In the next ten days, White was taken to Homicide twice—on prostitution charges! Each time she was let off; each time she altered her story more to the cops' liking. Williams described White's reply when asked why she lied:

> "She told me it was because for [*sic*] the police and vice threatened her life. Additionally, the police were giving her money for tricks.... She also said she was terrified of what the police would do to her if she didn't say that Mumia shot Officer Faulkner. According to Lucky, the police told her they would consolidate all her cases and send her 'up' (Muncy), a women's prison, for a long time if she didn't testify to what they told her to say."

COC Productions

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Despite repeated denials by prosecutors that White had been offered a deal

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Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

For a Workers Party That Fights for All the Exploited and Oppressed!

Immigrants and the Class Struggle

Part One of this edited presentation by Bay Area Spartacist League comrade Reuben Samuels appeared in WV *No. 774 (8 February).*

By the beginning of World War I, one-third of East European and Russian Jewry had emigrated. They were for the most part well educated: 80 percent of the men and 63 percent of the women were literate; two-thirds were skilled workers. Many became militants in the class struggle in the U.S.

PART TWO

Beginning in July 1909, spontaneous strikes broke out in New York City's Lower East Side garment industry among the mainly Italian and East European Jewish women workers. A thousands-strong support rally for the garment strike was held in Cooper Union on the night of November 22. After a lot of blah, blah, Clara Lemlich, who was only in her teens, rushed up onto the platform and proclaimed in Yiddish: "[The bosses] yell at the girls and 'call them down' even worse than I imagine the Negro slaves were in the South." She continued, "I am tired of listening to speakers who talk in generalities. What we are here for is to decide whether or not to strike. I offer a resolution that a general strike be declared—now!"

There was thunderous applause. The meeting chairman then jumped up on the platform, joined hands with Lemlich and asked the crowd to support the general strike: "Will you take the old Jewish Oath?" The crowd raised their right hands and pledged: "If I turn traitor to the cause I now pledge, may this hand wither from the arm I now raise." The next morning, 15,000 shirtwaist workers were on strike, soon swelling to 20,000. Though beaten by thugs and arrested by police, the strikers stayed solid, and by February 3, 300 of some 450 firms had settled. Several months later, another strike exploded, and 50,000 cloak and suit workers won a wage increase, a 54-hour workweek and preferential hiring for union workers.

ILWU

1947 Labor Day parade in Hawaii: ILWU longshoremen march for wage parity with workers on U.S. mainland. ILWU organized Hawaiian ports and plantations, uniting Filipino, Japanese, Portuguese and other workers.

It would not be just to leave this period on such a happy note, because until we end capitalism there will be no truly happy endings. The following year saw the worst factory fire in the history of New York City, at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company. Occupying the top three floors of a ten-story building, the company employed 500 women, mostly Jewish immigrants between the ages of 13 and 23. To keep the women at their sewing machines, the proprietors had locked the doors leading to the exits. A total of 146 women died in less than 15 minutes. The owners of the company were charged with manslaughter but later acquitted. In 1914, they were ordered by a judge to pay the measly sum of $75 each in damages to the families of 23 victims who had sued.

Anti-Immigrant Chauvinism and Racist Reaction

In racist America, the color bar is a defining characteristic of the capitalist system. In opposing immigration, the most influential black spokesmen in this period thereby fueled the forces of racist reaction. Booker T. Washington, himself an apologist for Jim Crow segregation in the South, declared at the 1895 Atlanta Exposition: "To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted, I would repeat what I had to say to my own race, 'cast down your buckets where you are'."

Other black spokesmen opposed immigration because they thought it would undermine the already precarious status of the oppressed black masses. W.E.B.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 776

8 March 2002

Defiance by Army Reservists Shakes Zionist Bunker

All Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!

No to U.S./UN Imperialist Intervention!

Reuters

Israeli soldier terrorizes Palestinian youth at West Bank checkpoint. Zionist rulers have turned Occupied Territories into virtual concentration camp.

MARCH 4—As European and United Nations emissaries embarked on yet another round of "shuttle diplomacy" in response to the latest "peace" proposal in the Near East, Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon gave his reply in the language this mass murderer knows best. On February 28, he ordered his troops to invade Balata, the largest refugee camp on the West Bank, and another camp near the town of Jenin. The Gestapo-style raid began in the dead of night when American-made Apache helicopters knocked out electricity in Balata. At least 30 Palestinian refugees were killed and dozens of homes reduced to rubble.

Since the start of the current *Intifada* 17 months ago, Israeli occupation forces and their ultra-Zionist settler auxiliaries have slaughtered over 800 Palestinians, many of those children. Palestinian villages and camps in the Occupied Territories have been turned into virtual concentration camps, surrounded by military blockades, "strategic highways" and a network of despised army checkpoints where Palestinians are routinely humiliated and terrorized. Malnutrition is rampant as many Palestinians have been denied any access to a livelihood other than pitiful UN handouts. Palestinian Authority leader Yasir Arafat, despite his every attempt to conciliate the Zionist butchers and their American patrons, remains imprisoned in his Ramallah headquarters. Describing the plight of the Palestinian people, Columbia University professor Edward Said wrote in an article in *Counterpunch* (14 January):

> "The result today is that the Palestinians are locked up in 220 ghettos controlled by the army; American-supplied Apache helicopters, Merkava tanks, and F-16s mow down people, houses, olive groves and fields on a daily basis; schools and universities as well as businesses and civil institutions are totally disrupted; hundreds of innocent civilians have been killed and tens of thousands injured; Israel's assassinations of Palestinian leaders continue; unemployment and poverty stand at about 50 per cent—and all this while [U.S. "peace" envoy] General Anthony Zinni drones on about Palestinian 'violence' to the wretched Arafat, who can't even leave his office in Ramallah because he is imprisoned there by Israeli tanks, while his several tattered security forces scamper about trying to survive the destruction of their offices and barracks."

We demand the immediate removal of all anti-Arab fortifications in the Occupied Territories—the settlements and the apartheid highway network. All Israeli troops, settlers out now! Defend the Palestinian people!

Cracks in the Zionist Bunker

The latest escalation in Zionist state terror came in response to a "peace" proposal by Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah, who has offered a "normalization" in diplomatic relations between the Arab regimes and Israel in return for withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza, which were seized by the Zionists in 1967. Abdullah's plan intersects a deepening rift between the U.S. and its imperialist rivals in Europe. While the European powers and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan embraced the plan, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell initially dismissed it as a "minor development." With Vice President Cheney preparing to visit Arab leaders in the region to try to strong-arm them into backing American plans for an invasion of Saddam Hussein's Iraq, Powell upgraded the plan to an "important step."

The new diplomatic flurry also intersects a growing polarization within Israeli society. Until recently, the Zionist rulers' murderous onslaught against the Palestinians had deepened a chauvinist consensus among the Hebrew-speaking population. The liberal Zionist "peace camp" had all but disappeared. The bourgeois Labor Party, with which Arafat hoped to cut a deal, is firmly ensconced in Sharon's bloody "national unity" government; indeed Labor defense minister Eliezer is the architect of the assault on the West Bank refugee camps. But fissures in the Zionist fortress are now coming to the fore.

These fissures have been both reflected in and impelled by the defiant statement by more than 50 army reservists in January declaring their refusal to serve in the Occupied Territories: "We hereby declare that we shall not continue to fight this War of the Settlements. We shall not continue to fight beyond the 1967 borders in order to dominate, expel, starve and humiliate an entire people." While hundreds of other soldiers have quietly refused to serve in the West Bank and Gaza over the past year and a half, this public statement of defiance by loyal, longtime officers and soldiers rocked the Zionist garrison.

Reuters

Tel Aviv, February 16: 14,000-strong demonstration was first major protest by Israelis against Zionist rampage in Occupied Territories since start of *Intifada*.

Though the high command has suspended 48 reservists and imprisoned three, the number of signatories to the statement has surpassed 300 in the last five weeks. This comes on top of an earlier protest statement by more than 60 high school students declaring that they would refuse to take part in "confiscation of lands, arrests, executions without trial, destruction of houses, closure, torture and prevention of medical treatment."

Remarkably, the "refuseniks" are supported by 26 percent of the Israeli public. Arie Arnon, a spokesman for the liberal Zionist Peace Now movement, declared: "There has never been such popular support for a movement of refusing to serve in the army or what the right-wing would call treason" (*Al-Ahram Weekly*, 21 February). On February 16, 14,000 demonstrated in Tel Aviv to demand, "Get out of the territories, get back to negotiations!"

The growing polarization extends right to the top of Israeli society. Exactly one

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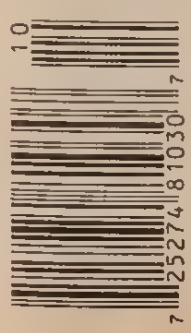

Imperialist Hypocrisy Over Afghan Women's Rights

RAWA Afghan Feminists Back Imperialist Reaction...3

Hunger Strike Against Isolation Cells Continues

Turkey: Free All Leftist and Kurdish Political Prisoners!

April 2001 burial of Turkish militant who died on hunger strike in solidarity with leftist prisoners.

Demir/EPA

The longest hunger strike in history has now gone on for more than 500 days, as leftist political prisoners and their supporters continue their desperate protest against the blood-drenched Turkish police state. While the London *Guardian* (19 January) reported that 45 people had died in the death fast to date, spokesmen for a solidarity committee in Germany say that the death toll now stands at 85. Dozens more prisoners and supporters have been murdered by police rampages.

Initially involving over a thousand Turkish and Kurdish leftists, the hunger strike began in October 2000 to protest government plans under a new "anti-terror" law to move leftist prisoners from dormitory-style prisons where they had some solidarity and protection into new "F-type" prisons featuring "isolation cells," where they can be tortured and killed with impunity by prison guards. Two months later, the government unleashed a bloody attack on 28 prisons—cynically code-named "Operation Return to Life"—using troops and police with helicopters, tanks and bulldozers. Scores of prisoners were killed and many more injured, while survivors were dragged off to isolation prisons.

The government massacre was met with huge protests throughout Turkey. Coming amid the ongoing war of terror against the Kurdish population, and a year after the death sentence meted out to Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan, these demonstrations in solidarity with Turkish and Kurdish leftists represented a significant development. In cities around Europe, Turkish and Kurdish leftists likewise joined in protests against the Turkish regime's bloody state terror.

More than 140 inmates and supporters outside the prison walls are currently engaged in the death fast—consuming only water, sugar, salt and vitamin supplements—and new teams join the protest every few months to replace those who have perished. While the regime callously rejects attempts to resolve the hunger strike, spurning a proposed compromise by the Turkish Bar Association that would have allowed prisoners to at least share a common area, it continues to terrorize all those who support the protest.

On November 5, police launched a massive military-style invasion of Kucuk Armutlu, a working-class suburb of Istanbul which had become a center of support for the hunger strikers. As helicopters flew overhead, armored vehicles crashed through street barricades and police fired into buildings housing hunger strikers. Four protesters were killed as their house was set ablaze. Eighteen others were arrested and face sentences of up to 22 years on charges of belonging to or aiding an illegal organization. Earlier, nine doctors who had spoken out against forced feeding of prisoners were threatened with ten years in prison. Another man faces a six-year prison sentence simply for writing a book about two daughters who died in the hunger strike. *Down with the isolation prisons! Down with the anti-terror law! Free Abdullah Öcalan! Free all leftist and Kurdish political prisoners! Down with the ban on the PKK and left-wing political groups!*

The leftist groups organizing the death fasts in Turkey look to the example of the 1980-81 hunger strike by Bobby Sands and nine other Irish Republican prisoners in the notorious "H-Block" of North Ireland's Long Kesh prison. The H-Block hunger strikers were also protesting onerous conditions imposed on political prisoners, demanding basic rights such as being able to freely associate with each other and to organize education and recreation and that their political status be recognized. But Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher—supported by the Labour Party—coldly watched Sands and his nine comrades go to their deaths rather than give in to their demands.

Today, the European bourgeoisies weep crocodile tears at Turkey's violation of "human rights," using it as a pretext for refusing the country's application for membership in the European Union (EU). But the imperialists, especially Germany and the U.S., have long backed the Turkish regime to the hilt because of its loyal services as a strategic NATO bastion, and many of these capitalist governments have themselves banned the PKK as well as immigrant organizations as part of the "war on terror." In fact, it was as a result of EU pressure that isolation prisons were introduced in Turkey in the first place. The "F-type" prisons are modeled after the infamous "Stammheim" isolation prison built by Germany under the Social Democrats (SPD) in the 1970s, which was meant mainly for the Red Army Faction (two of whose leaders allegedly "committed suicide" while in isolation).

As our comrades in Europe have stressed at solidarity protests from the start of the Turkish hunger strike, the power of the multiethnic proletariat, particularly in Germany, must be brought to bear against the Turkish police state and its imperialist sponsors if these desperate protests are not to result simply in removing from the battlefield hundreds more devoted fighters for social liberation. Unfortunately, the unquestioned heroism of the groups organizing the hunger strikes—the Guevarist DHKP-C, the Maoist TKIP and TKP/ML, and the Kurdish nationalist PKK—is accompanied by the politics of petty-bourgeois reformism and nationalism that rejects the possibility of mobilizing the proletariat in the fight for socialist revolution.

A mobilization of labor's social power in defense of the leftist prisoners and in opposition to the Turkish terror regime is not only necessary but distinctly possible.

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TROTSKY

LENIN

The October Revolution and Women's Liberation

At a time when women in the most "democratic" capitalist countries were denied even the right to vote, the October Revolution of 1917 brought unheard-of gains for women in all areas of public and private life. Today, women are still oppressed in myriad ways despite formal legal equality in the U.S. and Europe, while capitalist counterrevolution in the former USSR has led to a brutal rollback of women's rights there and emboldened anti-woman reactionaries internationally. As stressed by Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin in this 1920 commemoration of International Working Women's Day, the struggle for women's liberation is inseparable from the fight for international socialist revolution.

Even in the matter of formal equality (equality before the law, the "equality" of the well-fed and the hungry, of the man of property and the propertyless), capitalism *cannot* be consistent. And one of the most glaring manifestations of this inconsistency is the *inequality* of women. Complete equality has not been granted even by the most progressive republican, and democratic bourgeois states.

The Soviet Republic of Russia, on the other hand, at once swept away *all* legislative traces of the inequality of women *without exception*, and immediately ensured their complete equality before the law....

But the Soviet system is the last decisive struggle for the *abolition of classes*, for economic and social equality. Democracy, even democracy for those who were oppressed by capitalism, including the oppressed sex, *is not enough for us*.

It is the chief task of the working women's movement to fight for economic and social equality, and not only formal equality, for women. The chief thing is to get women to take part in socially productive labour, to liberate them from "domestic slavery," to free them from their stupefying and humiliating subjugation to the eternal drudgery of the kitchen and the nursery.

This struggle will be a long one, and it demands a radical reconstruction both of social technique and of morals. But it will end in the complete triumph of communism.

—V.I. Lenin, "International Working Women's Day" (4 March 1920)

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RAWA Afghan Feminists Back Imperialist Reaction

Manipulating outrage over the destruction of the World Trade Center to mobilize domestic support for the terror bombing of Afghanistan, America's imperialist rulers also cynically seized on the plight of Afghan women under the former Taliban regime. Laura Bush denounced the Taliban's "brutality against women," Secretary of State Colin Powell intoned that "the rights of the women of Afghanistan will not be negotiable" and, in the days immediately following the Taliban's ouster, the Western press was filled with accounts of the handful of women in Kabul who courageously ventured out without the obligatory head-to-toe *burqa*. But now that Washington has installed a puppet regime in Kabul, buttressed by thousands of United Nations troops, nary a word is heard about the supposedly "non-negotiable" rights of Afghan women.

Little wonder! The Pashtun saying that "a woman is best either in the house or in the grave" still captures daily reality in "liberated" Kabul. The new Afghan government, centered on the U.S.-backed Northern Alliance, is made up of the same gang of *mujahedin* warlords who turned the country into a nightmarish hellhole when they last took power in 1992, paving the way for the Taliban with inter-tribal mass slaughters (and are already at each other's throats again today). All the barbaric *sharia* (Islamic religious) laws remain, only slightly modified. A leading Afghan judge declared that those convicted of "adultery" will still be stoned to death...but with smaller stones. Women's rights marches are prohibited. Women remain subject to *purdah*, forcible seclusion in the home.

That the Bush administration, which would like to see every abortion clinic in the U.S. destroyed, could posture as "liberators" of Afghan women is certainly grotesque. Yet this cynical charade was aided by an array of leftists and feminists in the U.S. and Europe who beat the drums for imperialist intervention. Exemplifying such efforts was a "women's rights" demonstration in Paris on September 29, barely a week before the bombing began, which prominently featured portraits of assassinated Northern Alliance warlord Ahmed Shah Massoud and demands for the U.S. to put an end to the Taliban.

Especially prominent amid this hypocritical crusade about Afghan women was the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). RAWA has been hailed by pseudo-Marxist and anarchist groups around the world and its spokesmen were invited to address leftist antiwar protests. At the same time, it has been embraced by Democratic Party politicians and the Voice of America in the U.S. and showered with imperialist "human rights awards" from France to Asia.

During the Taliban's reign, RAWA activists courageously taught in underground schools for girls and went into Afghanistan with cameras hidden under their *burqas* in order to capture video footage of Taliban atrocities against women. They even organized a demonstration in the *mujahedin* stronghold of Peshawar, Pakistan in defiance of mobs of armed Islamic fundamentalist cutthroats. But these self-styled Afghan feminists are neither revolutionary, leftist nor even genuine champions of women's rights. RAWA openly lobbied for UN imperialist "peacekeeping" forces in Afghanistan, and supports the reinstatement of the former king, Zahir Shah, who was ousted in 1973. In fact, a RAWA representative was invited to be part of Zahir Shah's delegation to the Bonn talks which set up the current imperialist-sponsored puppet government.

McCurry/Gamma-Liaison

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Lochon/Gamma-Liaison

Above: Woman-hating *mujahedin* cutthroats backed by U.S. in 1980s against Soviet forces in Afghanistan. Below: Afghan women in 1980, as Red Army intervention opened prospect of social emancipation.

RAWA's Web site declares, "If you are freedom-loving and anti-fundamentalist you are with RAWA." The truth is that RAWA stood *with* the Islamic fundamentalists and fought *against* the Soviet military intervention that brought the only hope of emancipation to the hideously oppressed women of Afghanistan in the 1980s. And it is that record of allying with imperialist-backed reaction against the Soviet Union—and emancipated Afghan women—that RAWA trumpets to this day. This virulent anti-Communism is RAWA's calling card, opening doors in the corridors of bourgeois political influence and the wallets of Western feminists and liberals.

Those Afghans who are against religious fundamentalism and for women's liberation passionately wanted the Red Army to mop up the imperialist-backed mullahs and khans who stood for the enslavement of women and murdered those who dared teach young girls to read. When Soviet forces moved into Afghanistan in December 1979, after repeated requests for military assistance from the Kabul government, the "leftists" who today embrace RAWA as fighters for women's rights joined with the imperialists in denouncing the Soviet "invasion." Not least because the struggle for women's emancipation is so central to the liberating goals of Marxism, we Trotskyists forthrightly declared: ***Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!***

The Soviet military intervention was one of the few genuinely progressive acts carried out by the Stalinist bureaucracy, opening the vista of social liberation to the downtrodden Afghan peoples. In 1988-89, when then Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, in a vain attempt to appease the imperialists, withdrew Soviet forces from Afghanistan, we denounced this as a crime against both the Afghan and Soviet peoples. Events have bitterly and amply verified our warning that this would mean a bloodbath for Afghan women and leftists. And the Stalinist bureaucracy's treachery in Afghanistan was the direct precursor to capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself.

Women's Emancipation and the Battle for Afghanistan

Afghanistan had been a Soviet client state for decades before the Red Army moved in, but the Stalinists had not disturbed the social order in this deeply backward country. At the same time, most of the tiny stratum that made up the Afghan intelligentsia were educated and trained in the Soviet Union, which they rightly regarded as a source of social progress. In 1973, officers loyal to the left-nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) played a major role in overthrowing the monarchy and participated in the newly installed Daud government. When Daud moved right and tried to crush the PDPA in 1978, mass demonstrations of students and government workers erupted in Kabul. The PDPA military faction outgunned Daud's forces and he was killed. This was the so-called "April Revolution," essentially a left-wing military coup with popular support among intellectuals and government workers.

In power, the PDPA embarked on a program of reforms: canceling peasant debts, carrying out land redistribution, prohibiting forced marriages and lowering the bride price to a nominal sum. The PDPA's measures, particularly those aimed at freeing women from feudal tyranny, threatened the mullahs' stranglehold on social and economic life and immediately provoked a murderous backlash. Even the *New York Times* (9 February 1980) acknowledged, "It was the Kabul revolutionary government's granting of new rights to women that pushed Orthodox Moslem men in the Pashtoon villages of eastern Afghanistan into picking up their guns."

A decree allowing women to divorce was not officially announced because of the Islamic revolt. Most explosively, the PDPA made schooling compulsory for girls and launched literacy programs for women, building 600 schools in just over a year. The tribal insurgents denounced schooling for women as the first step in a "life of shame" and the earliest bloody confrontations were over women's literacy, as PDPA cadres and women literacy workers were driven from villages and killed.

With social development somewhere between tribalism and feudalism, there was no internal social base for the reforms pursued by the PDPA, much less for proletarian revolution. In 1978, out of a population of some 17 million, only 35,000 worked in manufacturing while the parasitic mullah caste numbered 250,000! The landlords and tribal khans controlled 42 percent of arable land as well as access to water, giving them life and death power over the landless peasants. There was almost no industry, no railroads, few highways, primitive sanitation and wretched health care. Life expectancy was 40 years and infant mortality about 25 percent; half of all children died before age five. Illiteracy was a staggering 90 percent for men and 98 percent for women.

The PDPA could not quell the *mujahedin* insurgency, which was heavily backed

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In Honor of Our Comrade Bill Moultrie

Kal Burnham

1927-2002

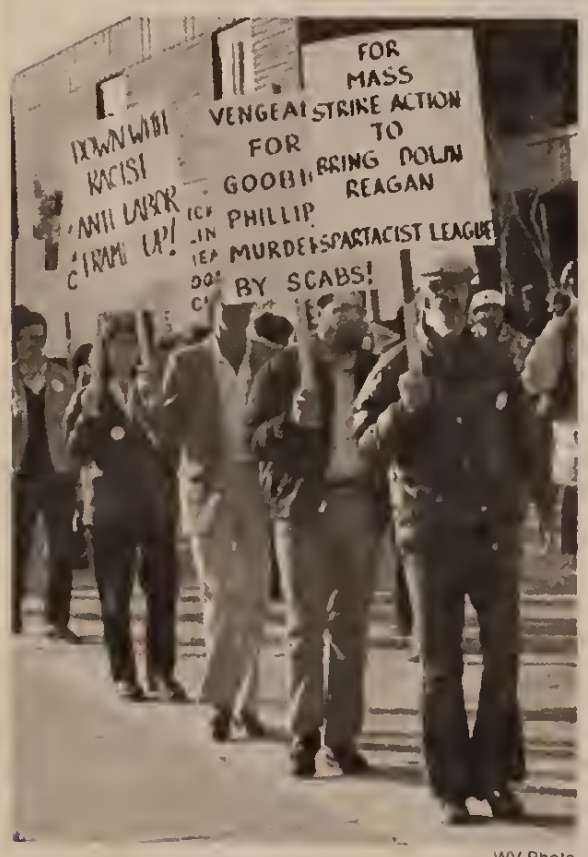
A memorial for our comrade Bill Moultrie was held on January 26 in Berkeley, California. A longtime member of the Spartacist League, Bill died on January 3 of complications following surgery for lung cancer. He was 74 years old. Nearly 100 comrades, friends and family members filled the room to remember and honor Bill's life and work.

Bill was born in 1927 in St. Louis. His family was desperately poor for most of his childhood. Later in his life Kat Burnham, his companion of 33 years, remembers Bill having difficulty reading *Angela's Ashes* because the grinding poverty, the charming alcoholic father, the strong but martyred mother were so like his own. Bill's childhood household contained not a single book, and the family attitude toward self-improvement was "Who do you think you are?"

In 1943, at the height of World War II, in an attempt to escape the dead end into which he saw his life heading, Bill lied about his age in order to join the Merchant Marine. Before his first trip was over, he had decided that the war was a senseless waste of lives. After the war Bill literally grew up in the labor movement of the Detroit area, moving from one assembly line to another in this proletarian center of the Midwest before he went to work for Bell Telephone in 1958. He became a shop steward in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and five years later, in unheard-of rapidity, was elected president of Local 4016.

Soon thereafter Bill's mettle as a union leader was put to the test in the 1968 nationwide phone strike. After the CWA International sold out the strike, Bill held the Michigan locals together in a wildcat strike. A statement for the memorial by Gene Herson described what Bill was up against in challenging both the company "which was bigger and more powerful than a number of countries...and a formidable union bureaucracy with a close working relationship with the CIA":

> "The International bureaucrats hacked away at Bill's local, conducting mail ballots, splitting the local, putting it into receivership and so on. 'Ma Bell' cut off the dues deductions, strangling the local's finances. The International backed this, while doing a hatchet job on Bill's character and reputation. Eventually Bill was driven out of the industry.
>
> "Most people would be demoralized and defeated after such an experience. But Bill didn't let them destroy him. He was able to learn from his defeat and go forward and contribute to the revolutionary workers movement."



WV Photo

March 1984: Bill at protest on behalf of Bay Area militants framed up during 1983 phone strike.

Bill joined the Spartacist League shortly after the strike, and he and Kat moved out to the San Francisco Bay Area. In a statement read to the memorial, Tweet Carter recalled her work with Bill in the 1970s and '80s:

> "Bill's vast practical experience in the working-class struggle strengthened everything we did....
>
> "We led some real struggles in the working class in California. We frequently got a serious hearing for our program, and episodically a significant sector of the working class adopted an element of that program in struggle. Bill's contributions were instrumental to this."

In addition to the three scheduled speakers at the memorial, Benny Montgomery, Al Nelson and Wanda Rutland (who read a statement from Helen Cantor, one of the group that introduced Bill to revolutionary politics), a number of comrades came up to the podium to talk about Bill's contributions to the work of the party or to read statements from others who could not attend. Paul Costan, a longtime supporter of the SL who had worked with Bill in the '70s, presided. His remarks captured a quality in Bill that many others also remarked on:

> "Bill detested self-inflation in others and tolerated none in himself. Yet I don't feel that this somewhat self-effacing demeanor was based on any lack of confidence.... He had a quick and sharp wit and used it to puncture the pompous, but mostly with a smile. He was a natural story-teller, and his stories were laced with wry lessons and asides."

Over the years Bill had also become an accomplished cabinetmaker, a skill which he used to good effect when the party occupied new headquarters in 1979. On behalf of the maintenance department, Corky Benedict wrote about the challenge we faced of re-leveling six oversized double-panel elevator doors that had to both slide back and forth and open out. "The rest of the maintenance comrades and I look at the repair work on those doors, still functioning some 23 years later, and think warmly of Bill's and Kat's work and care and their contribution to the safety of all comrades." Bill was very proud of his certificate from the SL, displayed at the memorial meeting, "to the finest red carpenter in the country." Indeed, those who spoke at the memorial did so from a podium emblazoned with a copper hammer and sickle that Bill made for the Bay Area branch over 20 years ago and that we still use today.

On the walls around the room where the memorial meeting took place were other displays of photographs and documents chronicling different periods: his wartime experience; his work at the Red Cross Blood Bank where he organized Detroit's first mobile blood unit; union cards from some of the many jobs he held in the Detroit area before being employed by Bell Telephone; "Class War in the CWA," when Bill was president of Local 4016, including photos of his children on the picket line of the wildcat strike; Bill's work at the California School for the Blind where he made deliveries on his heavy-duty supplies tricycle, cheering up the often multiply handicapped students. There were also displays showing Bill's parents and his siblings, photos of his children, and many of Bill and Kat together at different times over the last three decades, as well as of their trip to the Soviet Union in 1984. In addition to displays of his woodworking and beautiful pictures that Bill took himself, nine of Bill's "suncatchers"—wondrous structures of leaded glass—were hung in the windows and cast rainbows around the room.

Two of Bill's four children came to the memorial. His daughter Pam spoke very movingly for herself and her three brothers, Ray, Mike and Joe. She concluded:

> "We'd like to thank all of you for letting us share this day with you. It means so much to us to be able to learn more about his life and about the way he tried to better the world. It's a side of him that we never knew. It warms us to know there are so many people that loved him, that looked up to and respected Bill."

One of Kat's two sisters, Kelly Hoerber, teamed up with Irving Bunton, a member of the Labor Black League, to sing a rendition in shifting harmonies of the medieval song "Dona Nobis Pacem" ("Give Us Peace"), which Bill liked very much.

Perhaps the finest tribute to Bill was the fact that a young black high school student, who came with his parents to the memorial meeting, was inspired to emulate Bill's life as a revolutionist and has now joined the Spartacus Youth Club.

* * *

We reprint below excerpts, edited for publication, of remarks by SL national chairman Jim Robertson and of the presentation by Al Nelson.

Jim Robertson: In the German Social Democratic Party before the division between the reformists and revolutionaries had become clear, at a time when Bismarck made the party illegal, they had a name: *vertrauensmann*, a trusted man. In that underground period, there was no police control, there was no political control, and the party did its best as the socialist party in Germany. The key between the leadership and the localities were the *vertrauensmänner*. And that's what Bill was like. He was somebody who also in our organization we had full trust in; he was a trusted man.

I'm really sorry that Bill never had a chance to get together and chat with Jim Cannon. I met Cannon a few times, but he rightly got my number as a snotty kid and was not very impressed. But I think he would have taken a more serious measure of Bill Moultrie.

Al Nelson: Bill Moultrie was a very unusual man, both personally and politically. When I got to know him better and learned more about his childhood, I was awed by what he had done with his life. Here was a man who was born with a cleft palate so severe that until he was 10 years old only his immediate family could understand him when he spoke. His family was so desperately poor that when he was a child his father took Bill with him as he went door to door asking for money for his family, calling attention to the child's disability to encourage donations. Yet this same person went on to become the president of Communications Workers of America Local 4016, the second-largest local in Michigan. In April of 1968 his forceful leadership, and the solid support of his membership, was crucial to keeping the entire Michigan unit of Bell Telephone—some 62,000 phone workers—out in a solid wildcat strike

after a bitter national phone strike was betrayed by the CWA International bureaucracy. He also became a powerful public speaker. He was a real workers' leader, not one of those lawyers in $1,000 suits that pass themselves off as "labor statesmen."

Bill's first acquaintance with the Spartacist League was in January 1968 at the University of Iowa where we happened to have a small group of young comrades who had recently joined the SL. Bill was part of a group of 19 local presidents who had been handpicked by the CWA International president, Joe Beirne, to attend a three-month leadership school. The idea was to take union leaders distinguished by their militancy and groom them for sell-out roles in the International bureaucracy. But it didn't quite work out that way.

These were politically charged times, right in the middle of mass protests against the U.S. war in Vietnam. Most campuses were seething hotbeds of radical and leftist politics. The previous year Army airborne troops (including a young Geronimo Pratt) had been sent into Detroit to quash a riot against racist police terror. Our comrades, including Kat, eagerly made contact with the unionists and got an invitation to make a political presentation to them. Soon about a third of these unionists were regularly going to leftist parties every weekend. A few months later every single one of them would actively oppose the national contract settlement by the International. But Bill wasn't dabbling. Soon he was having regular serious discussions with the Spartacist group there, and began devouring Marxist books of all kinds.

Bill's local of several thousand workers—which extended 100 miles north of Detroit and far to the west as well—was probably unique. Here there was no fraternization or socializing whatsoever with management. No chummy lunches, no selling out of grievances behind the backs of the members. A hard class line was drawn. The union represented the workers, and management was the enemy—it was a question of principle. And that tradition was shaped by Bill Moultrie. He was also responsible for the union taking up the defense of women workers, which was also unusual then.

Even before he came to Iowa, Bill had begun to realize that these hard class principles clashed with the pro-capitalist policy of class collaboration of the CWA labor bureaucracy and their purely legalistic strategy of relying on government intervention and Democratic Party electoral politics. Based on his own experience he had begun to reject this policy in favor of a position for the political independence of the working class. He came to the conclusion that workers needed their own political party and had buttons made up that proclaimed, "We need a labor party." Soon, reinforced by his bitter experience in the upcoming strike, he would draw the conclusion that the trade-union bureaucracy was the chief obstacle to class struggle in the U.S. and that there could be no lasting gains for any section of the working class short of a workers revolution, which required the leadership of an international revolutionary party.

It was during the wildcat strike or soon afterwards when the International was moving against him that I first met Bill. He wanted to talk with the leadership of the Spartacist League, so a secret meeting was set up. When I met Bill I said something like, "We're in no position to give you any advice that will help you in your present situation. What we *can* do is change your understanding of the world and show you the way forward for the workers to overthrow the whole capitalist system. If you can accept that then we can talk. Otherwise there isn't much we can do to help you." There was a pause and then Bill said, "OK, let's talk." Bill had a million questions, none of them about trade-union work. What he wanted to talk about were things like the soviets, the workers councils, in 1917: how did they work, what will a workers government look like, how will the workers rule? What was the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 about? What's our attitude on Cuba?

Bill was a revolutionist until his last breath. He was unique in our party. But we can look forward to the next upsurge of mass struggle of the workers. There we will see other revolutionary workers like Bill Moultrie step forward to lead the working class in the final battle for the abolition of all classes.

WV Photo

Bill, a highly skilled craftsman, working on SL headquarters with his longtime companion Kat, 1980.

* * *

In 1969 Bill began to write a book about his political transformation from trade unionist to revolutionist. He never finished it, although he wrote several chapters of memoirs that were gathered for the memorial into a binder for all to read. Comrade Larry Ackerson read the introduction to the book, which we reprint here, before the memorial meeting was concluded with the singing of the "Internationale."

This is the story of a man and the struggle for revolution. One might think: what revolution? The Russian revolution? Hungarian revolution? or Cuba? No, is the answer to all of these questions. This is the story of a man and the upcoming world wide revolution of the working class, and more importantly the story of a revolution in his way of thinking. One of Webster's definitions of revolution says "a complete change": this then is the story of a man and how he saw the world, both before the "revolution" took place in his mind and after.

After 41 years of struggling to justify and try to live within the system this man finally became bold enough to defy what he had always been taught was right. Through his own initiative, with the help of books, many many friends and a new look around him and his environment, he raised his consciousness to the level to realize that this system is wrong, only benefits the rich, oppresses the poor, the "blacks," women, children, all, save those who rule; those who own the very means of existence.

He discovered that the saying that we must all work together to make this a better world is a complete myth and a contradiction; he discovered that there are "classes" under this society, the working class and the ruling class and that the ruling class has one sole purpose, to exploit the working class to make money.

This story deals with all the contradictions that are now in the early 1970s becoming a subject of conversation and struggle throughout the world—the role of the church, the oppression of women, discrimination, the destruction of mankind in wars, pollution of the air, water and land and the immediate threat of total annihilation of the planet by use of nuclear weapons.

When one speaks of another being "brain washed" one immediately thinks of having the brain twisted into thinking and doing "evil" things.

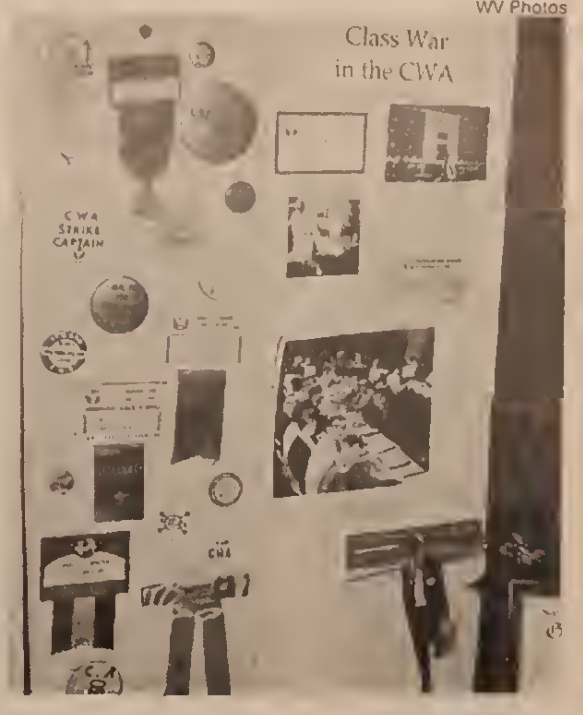
This is the story of a man who readily admits to being "brain washed" and who would hasten to add that he means by that that his brain has been cleaned, all the dirt and filth that his parents, teachers, union leaders, government leaders and the ruling class have put there have been washed away. He is now able to see things clearly. His eyes are no longer blurred by blind patriotism, unquestioned leadership and disregard for his surroundings.

This then is the story of a professional revolutionary—This book was written specifically for those who must toil daily for their bread, who must bear the brunt of the oppression of the "rulers"; this book was written for the "working class of the world" and it is the dearest hope of the writer that they will follow him through his life story, his struggles and frustrations, and that they too will have their brain washed and join in the struggle of life or death because unless the working class recognizes this society for what it is, builds a world on a new foundation after destroying the old, he may not live long enough to read another book.

I dedicate this book to Kathleen, who without her patience, understanding and a fanatical feeling for the love of life and the working class, I might have died never knowing what kind of world I lived in and never have been able to help bring about the inevitable revolution of the working class against their oppressors.

Bay Area memorial meeting for Bill, January 26. Display chronicled his years as militant workers leader.

WV Photos



RAWA...

(continued from page 3)

by the U.S., Pakistan and Iran (where the Islamic theocracy under Ayatollah Khomeini had come to power in early 1979). Repeatedly and urgently, the PDPA asked the Soviet government for military aid, including troops. Concerned above all to pursue the chimera of détente with imperialism, the Kremlin temporized. But toward the end of 1979, the Soviet high command watched anxiously as U.S. warships were positioned in the Persian Gulf and reports emerged that Washington might invade Iran. The U.S. was already bankrolling the Afghan *mujahedin* and trying to foment Islamic counterrevolution in Soviet Central Asia.

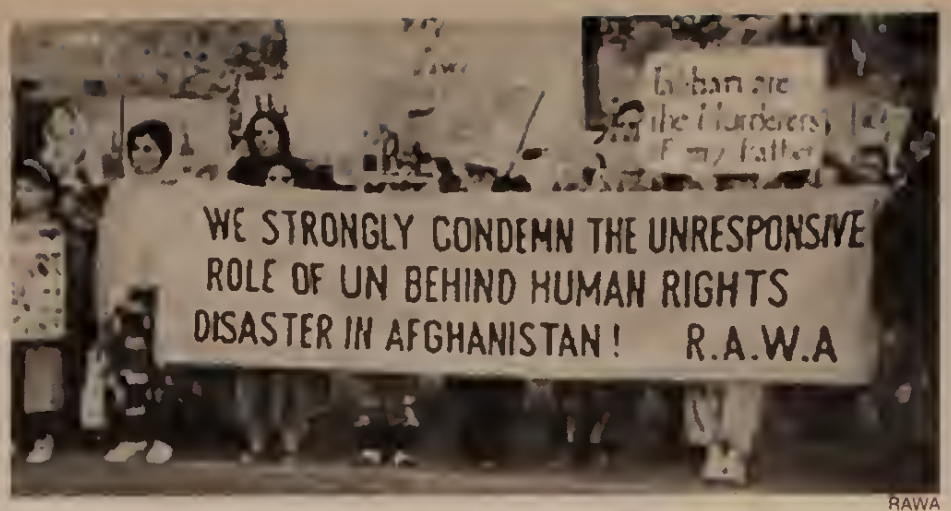
In December 1979, fearing the PDPA regime was about to collapse and with Afghan president Hafizullah Amin reportedly making approaches to the U.S., the Soviet Union sent in 100,000 soldiers to combat the Islamic reactionaries. The imperialists seized on the Red Army intervention to launch a renewed Cold War drive. As the CIA undertook its biggest covert operation ever, Afghanistan became the front line of the imperialists' relentless drive to destroy the Soviet Union. In 1998, Zbigniew Brzezinski—national security adviser to the Democratic Carter administration that launched the CIA's campaign—boasted: "That secret operation was an excellent idea. It had the effect of drawing the Russians into the Afghan trap."

The threat of a CIA-backed Islamic takeover on the USSR's southern flank posed pointblank unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. As we wrote at the time:

> "A victory for the Islamic-feudalist insurgency in Afghanistan will not only mean a hostile, imperialist-allied state on the USSR's southern border. It will mean the extermination of the Afghan left and the reimposition of feudal barbarism—the veil, the bride price. Moreover, the Soviet military occupation raises the possibility of a social revolution in this wretchedly backward country, a possibility which did *not* exist before."
>
> —*Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 29, Summer 1980

The Soviet intervention was unambiguously progressive, underlining the Trotskyist understanding that despite its degeneration under a Stalinist bureaucratic caste, the Soviet Union remained a workers state embodying the historic gains of the October Revolution of 1917, centrally the planned economy and collectivized property. These were enormous gains, not least for women and the historically Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia (today Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan), where conditions before the Bolshevik Revolution had been as backward and benighted as in Afghanistan.

A Red Army victory posed the extension of the social gains of the October Revolution to Afghanistan through a prolonged occupation and the country's integration into the Soviet system. Though undertaken purely for defensive geopolitical reasons, the Soviet military intervention cut against the grain of the nationalist Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." The Red Army troops, many of them recruits from Soviet Central Asia, who fought against the CIA-backed *mujahedin* genuinely believed they were fulfilling their "internationalist duty." And so they were! This military intervention in defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state opened up the possibility not only of tremendous gains for the hideously oppressed Afghan peoples but offered the prospect of reanimating the Bolshevik program of proletarian revolutionary internationalism in the Soviet Union. As we stressed at the time, a genuinely internationalist perspective toward Afghanistan required a political revolution to oust the Stalinist burcaucracy and return the Soviet Union to the road of Lenin and Trotsky.



RAWA

Protest in Islamabad, December 1998. Last year RAWA openly appealed for imperialist "peacekeeping" forces in Afghanistan.

What They Fought for: RAWA Embraces *Mujahedin*

Formed in 1977, RAWA opposed the PDPA government from the start, denouncing the PDPA in crude anti-Communist terms as Soviet "stooges." When the Red Army moved in, RAWA joined the imperialist-sponsored insurgency. RAWA founder Meena Keshwar Kamal declared at that time, "To fight against the Russian aggressors is inseparable from struggle against the fundamentalists. Nevertheless for the time being we should give priority to the former" (*Arizona Persian Bulletin* [Web site], 10 October 1997). In October 1981, Keshwar Kamal was invited to attend the congress of French imperialist president François Mitterrand's viciously anti-Soviet Socialist Party as a representative of the "Afghan resistance," and from there toured other European countries on behalf of the *mujahedin*.

RAWA said it was fighting for "the independence of our homeland" while the imperialists screamed about the Soviet Union's violation of Afghanistan's "national sovereignty." This sanctimonious concern by the blood-drenched imperialists for "national rights" was bogus to the core. Afghanistan is not (and was not then) a cohered nation, but an artificial state whose borders include and cut across a mosaic of ethnic and tribal groupings. It was under the Soviet presence that the murderous ethnic and tribal differences started to break down, while among the *mujahedin* they intensified. But Marxists would have supported the Soviet intervention even if Afghanistan had been a homogeneous nation. For proletarian internationalists, the cause of social revolution (and, at the time, defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism) stands higher than the bourgeois-democratic right of national self-determination.

What did it mean to back the *mujahedin*? The tribal khans and mullahs that the RAWA feminists signed on with got *billions* of dollars from the U.S. government. Favorite *mujahedin* targets were schools and teachers. By 1985 they had destroyed over 1,800 schools and by 1987 they had slaughtered 2,000 schoolteachers. The *mujahedin* committed blood-curdling atrocities against captured Soviet soldiers, hacking off limbs and genitals before murdering them. In the first four years of the war, only *eight* living Soviet soldiers were turned over to the Red Cross. In Pakistan, the "holy warriors" threw women and children into their jails and torture cells.

Despite massive financial and military support from the imperialists, the *mujahedin* did not militarily defeat the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, as the imperialists and their fake-left apologists assert. By 1984, the Red Army and PDPA forces had practically won the war and the CIA's "holy warriors" were shattered and demoralized. The government's modest reforms, though scaled back from even the moderate program the PDPA first put forward, were winning support in the countryside.

But in November 1986, in a vain attempt to placate U.S. imperialism and strike a "peace" deal with Ronald Reagan, the Kremlin Stalinists under Gorbachev declared they would pull all Red Army troops out of Afghanistan in two years. By 1989, in a move that imperiled and betrayed both the Afghan and Soviet peoples, the troops were completely withdrawn, thus handing over hundreds of thousands of Afghan women, leftists and workers to be tortured, dismembered and beheaded as "infidels." In solidarity with the Afghan masses who were waging a bitter struggle for survival in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal, on 7 February 1989 the Partisan Defense Committee (the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League/U.S.) formally proposed to the Afghan government "to organize an international brigade to fight to the death" to defend "the right of women to read, freedom from the veil, freedom from the tyranny of the mullahs and the landlords, the introduction of medical care and the right of all to an education."

This offer was declined, but at the request of the government, the PDC and its fraternal organizations internationally organized a fund drive to aid the civilian victims of the all-out *mujahedin* offensive against the city of Jalalabad. In two months, over $44,000 was raised, overwhelmingly from small donations from tens of thousands of people, many of them immigrant workers throughout West Europe, Asia and North America and women in Muslim communities. The siege of Jalalabad was defeated. The PDPA hung on for another three hard-fought years until 1992, when the *mujahedin* finally took Kabul.

For four years, the various tribally based *mujahedin* forces carried out a vengeful war of mass murder, torture and rape of rival ethnic populations which left at least 50,000 people dead in Kabul alone. *Sharia* law was reimposed, hooks deemed anti-religious were burned in the streets, women were driven back into the total seclusion of *purdah* and in Kabul the price of *burqas* soared as terrified women found themselves again at the mercy of the fanatical *mujahedin*.

RAWA's Falsification of History

While prating of their new-found concern for the rights of Afghan women, the *New York Times* and other imperialist mouthpieces bury the genuine advances achieved during the Soviet presence under a mountain of lies, grotesquely blaming the Red Army intervention for the current status of Afghan women. Promoting this Big Lie campaign, Tahmeena Faryal, recently on a RAWA speaking tour of the U.S., has outrageously claimed that "the tragedy began in Afghanistan with the Soviet invasion" (*Z Magazine*, January 2002). Given to extravagant falsifications, RAWA claims that "the situation of women in Afghanistan was beginning to improve in the early 20th century. During the reign of the former king or during the first president...women had the very basic right of education and the right to work. We had women in government."

In the early part of the 20th century, a modernizing king, Amir Amanullah Khan, did attempt to carry out measures aimed specifically at liberating women. Friendly to the Soviet Union, and the first king to visit Moscow, Amanullah was deposed and driven out by the social equivalent of the contemporary *mujahedin* with whom RAWA solidarized. The last decade of Zahir Shah's reign, from 1963 to 1973, was a period of some political ferment. But the slender rights achieved then were won through struggle, not the "good offices" of this reactionary monarch. In 1968 when Zahir Shah's parliament threatened to prevent women from studying abroad, hundreds of young women protested. In 1970, when Gulbuddin Hekmatyar—later one of the most barbaric *mujahedin* leaders and the recipient of the largest amount of CIA funding—sprayed acid at unveiled women and shot at their legs, 5,000 young women took to the streets in protest. The PDPA and the Democratic Organization of Women of Afghanistan (DOWA) campaigned for the right to vote, to study abroad and to work outside the home, and four women from the DOWA were elected to government in the 1970s.

To secular-minded Afghan women who had finally gained a degree of emancipation following the Red Army intervention, RAWA would have had little appeal. RAWA's secular pretensions are really a tissue-thin cover for flagrant conciliation of religious reaction. Sehar Saba, a particularly foam-flecked RAWA spokesman, ranted that the Soviet Union "tried to force change on us. They told men they should shave their beards, and that women shouldn't wear scarves, when for centuries they have followed those customs. They forced women and men not to pray" (*She Said It*, August 2000 [Web site]). In a like vein, Tahmeena Faryal raved that the Soviet forces "were trying to give some rights to Afghan women that are obviously okay in Western societies, but are not acceptable in our societies.... For example, they wanted to give so-called liberties of having a boyfriend or dancing in a nightclub, which are not acceptable in our society" (*Z Magazine*, January 2002).

How contemptible! What do RAWA leaders think of Bangladeshi writer Taslima Nasreen, who had a death sentence on her head because she wrote frankly and openly about sexual matters and women's oppression and opposed bloody anti-Hindu communalism? In Iran, the mullahs' military guards use *razor blades* to remove cosmetics from the faces of women who have taken this "so-called liberty." In Jordan, Turkey and Pakistan, young women are murdered by fathers and brothers for taking the "so-called liberty of having a boyfriend."

no credit

Following Soviet intervention, Afghan women took up arms to join fight against Islamic reactionaries.

RAWA's homage to Islamic strictures stands in contrast to the experiences of young women who came to adulthood and received an education during the Soviet period. "Life was good under the Soviets," recalled Saira Noorani, a young woman doctor. "Every girl could go to high school and university. We could go wherever we wanted and wear what we liked" (*Observer*, 30 September 2001). Another account, in the 1988 book *War in Afghanistan* by journalist Mark Urban, who was far from friendly to the Soviet forces, powerfully testified to the stakes for Afghan women:

> "There is no doubt that thousands of women are committed to the regime, as their prominent participation in Revolutionary Defence Group militias shows. Eyewitnesses stated that militant militia-women played a key role in defending the besieged town of Urgun in 1983. Four of the seven militia commanders appointed to the Revolutionary Council in January 1986 were women."

By 1989, confronting the treacherous Soviet withdrawal, all PDPA women members were receiving military training and arms and some 15,000 women had joined the militias, taking up arms to defend not only the rights they had won but their very lives.

Fake Leftists Sided with Islamic Reaction Against Red Army

Socialist-minded youth in the West might try to imagine that they are at the University of Kabul in 1979 as the Soviet Army rolls in to beat back the CIA's Islamic rebels. Look across the border to Soviet Central Asia: there are schools, factories and hospitals. Women, regarded as human beings instead of property, are not bought and sold in marriage. They are doctors, engineers and political leaders. No matter what indices you check—life expectancy, infant mortality, literacy—the differences between the two societies are measured in centuries, not decades. Do you don a *burqa* and follow Meena Keshwar Kamal into Pakistan to join the Islamic insurgents based there, or do you join a militia to drive out and destroy the *mujahedin* enslavers of women? Do you defend the Soviet Union, or support imperialist counterrevolution? Are you for or against the liberation of women from feudal barbarism?

The gut-level response of radical leftists should have been the fullest solidarity with the Red Army. Instead, most left groups—including those that had supported the PDPA before the Soviet intervention—and most feminists joined the anti-Communist, anti-woman outcry against the USSR. Today they weep over Afghan women, but when there was actually a chance to throw off the veil, achieve literacy and break the power of the mullahs, the despicable fake leftists were on the side of their own capitalist governments' support for the *mujahedin* cutthroats.

Among the most vociferous of those tailing the imperialist anti-Soviet crusade was the International Socialist Organization (ISO), at that time affiliated with Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party. When the Red Army came to the assistance of Afghan women and leftists, the British *Socialist Worker* (12 January 1980) screamed, "Troops Out of Afghanistan!" In Australia, the Cliffites joined a vile anti-Communist action in Melbourne, baldly declaring in a leaflet, "We call for the victory of the Afghan rebels in their war against Russian occupation." The Cliffites went on to champion reactionary, anti-Semitic Solidarność in Poland, the only "union" Reagan ever loved, funded by the CIA and the Vatican for the sole purpose of spearheading capitalist counterrevolution.

When the Soviets began withdrawing troops in order to appease the imperialists, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (May 1988) cheered: "We welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs." It did "give heart" to the forces of capitalist counterrevolution that in the next few years succeeded in destroying the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe, turning these countries into devastated hellholes racked by mass unemployment, homelessness, hunger and bloody ethnic slaughters, not to mention a brutal rollback of women's rights.

The openly anti-Soviet Cliffites were far from the only self-styled socialists who lined up behind the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive. The late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), though formally claiming to defend the Soviet Union, joined in screaming for Soviet troops out of Afghanistan and in hailing counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność. Last September, the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, the Usec's star section, was the central organized presence behind the pro-imperialist rally "for Afghan women" in Paris. The USec's capitulation to Islamic fundamentalism in Afghanistan is continued in Algeria, where the struggle for women's liberation is a strategic and explosive question. The ICL's fight for women's right to abortion in Algeria was denounced in 1992 as an "ultraleftist imbecility" by Damien Elliott, then a spokesman for the USec left wing. Last year, the Algerian USec section, the Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs, even withdrew its formal opposition to the anti-woman Family Code in order to maintain an alliance with village committees in the Kabylia region that exclude women and trample on women's rights.

Anti-Communism is the common bond bringing together the various fake leftists—from the ISO and the social-democratic *Z Magazine* in the U.S. to the Scottish Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Japanese USec group, the Revolutionary Communist League—that today lionize RAWA. A case in point is the *Northeastern Anarchist* (Fall/Winter 2001) in Boston, which published an article, "Supporting the Revolutionary Women of Afghanistan," explaining why "anarchists should critically support" RAWA. Central to their tribute to RAWA is that "they have fought against the Soviet occupation in 1979" and "against the rise of the US-supported fundamentalist reaction which followed." Driven by hatred for communism, these anarchists support pro-imperialist "feminists" who support the Afghan monarchy! For its part, *Northeastern Anarchist* refused to defend Afghanistan against U.S. imperialism's terror bombing.

Our aim is the proletarian conquest of state power internationally. Despairing of this outcome, the fake lefts were and are walking sponges for imperialist anti-Communism. Thus these supposed fighters for women's rights allied with the bitterest and most barbaric foes of women's emancipation and social progress against the Soviet intervention.

Feminism: Obstacle to Women's Liberation

Bourgeois feminists like the National Organization for Women and the Feminist Majority, who today pose as allies and benefactors of Afghan women, likewise lined up behind U.S. imperialism's "holy war" in Afghanistan in the 1980s. Their recent concern for the plight of Afghan women dovetailed with a policy shift by the Clinton administration in the late 1990s, as Washington began denouncing its erstwhile Afghan "freedom fighters" as "Islamic terrorists." That these feminists are animated by the interests and concerns of the U.S. imperialist rulers is hardly surprising. Their central purpose is to secure equal opportunity for petty-bourgeois and bourgeois women within the framework of capitalist class society.

Women's oppression is rooted in class society, centrally through the institution of the family. Even in the most advanced bourgeois societies only the overthrow of capitalist class rule can lay the material basis for the full emancipation of women in an egalitarian, international socialist society. But in those countries where bourgeois revolutions never occurred, the question of women's liberation is literally one of life and death—a fight for such basic needs as literacy, education, an end to forced marriages, freedom from the veil and the enforced seclusion and subjugation it represents.

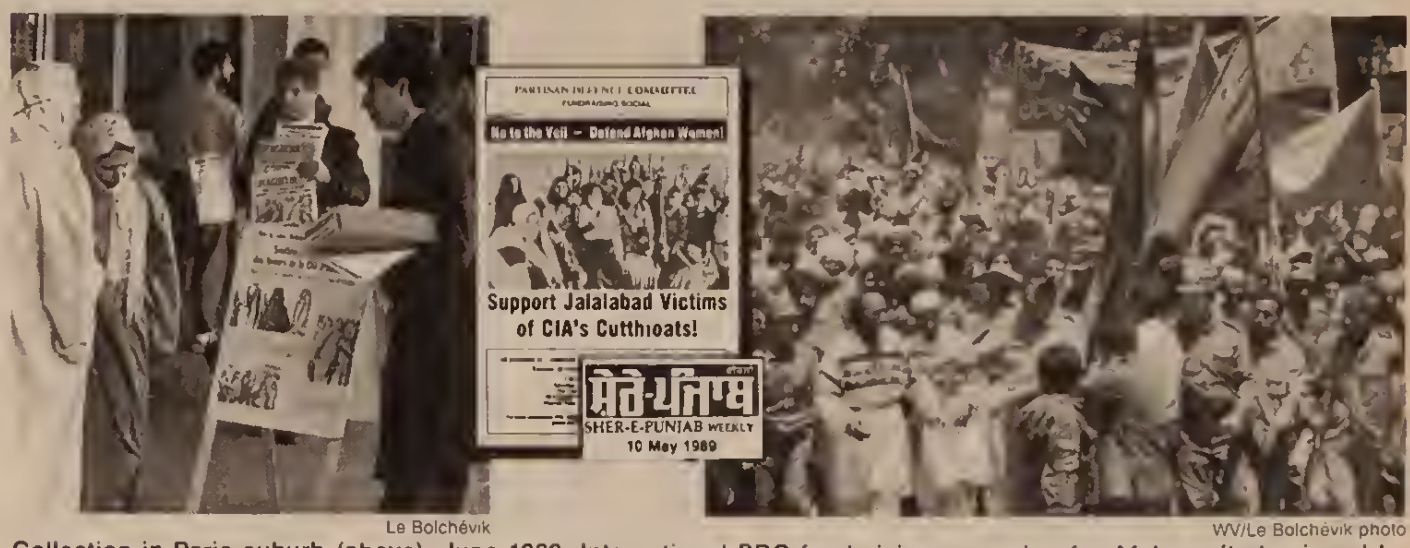
As the Red Army swept through Central Asia in the early years after the 1917 Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks undertook the enormous task of trying to liberate women in that historically Muslim region. When they spoke of "martyrs fallen on the women's liberation front," they were talking about the dedicated and heroic activists from the Department for Work Among Women (Zhenotdel), who put on the veil to bring to the women of the Muslim East news of the new Soviet laws and programs that would change their lives. Many of these women lost their lives at the hands of enraged husbands, fathers and brothers in these regions. In fact, it was the dismembered corpses of these Bolshevik women fighters that persuaded the Soviet government to reinstate the death penalty specifically for murders of this type, although the death penalty had already been abolished in general.

A political counterrevolution leading to the consolidation of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy separates the liberating ideals that animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks and the courageous Zhenotdel women from the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Nonetheless, the Soviet Union remained a workers state and the Red Army troops offered the prospect of liberating Afghan women from feudal barbarism and enslavement. RAWA stood on the other side. Today it continues to look to the imperialist powers as the agency for bringing some modicum of freedom to Afghanistan.

Imperialism cannot and will not bring Western-style democracy to Afghanistan or any of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The development of advanced industrial economies and parliamentary democracy in the West was accompanied by, and to a large extent based on, the exploitation of the colonial countries. The imperialists' continuing subjugation of the "Third World" requires that they maintain and reinforce the indigenous forces of social and cultural backwardness.

Twenty-two years ago, the promise of liberation for the Afghan peoples lay in a prolonged Soviet occupation. Today, after capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the key to the social liberation of the peoples of Afghanistan and the region is in the proletariat of countries like Pakistan, Iran, India and the former Soviet Central Asian republics. Concentrated in manufacturing, transport and other industries, Pakistan's proletariat numbers nearly ten million, with millions more agricultural workers. Iran has a sizable working class that was, until the 1979 victory of the Ayatollah Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution," historically pro-Communist. The despotic bourgeoisies that rule these countries are beholden to the imperialist exploiters, whose dictates they enforce.

To achieve social and national justice requires the seizure of power by the proletariat, standing at the head of all the oppressed and led by internationalist revolutionary vanguard parties. As Leon Trotsky stressed in advancing the perspective of permanent revolution, only proletarian revolution can break the imperialist yoke over such countries and, with the workers' seizure of power in the advanced capitalist countries, end imperialism forever. And as Trotsky noted in a 1924 speech to the Communist University for Toilers of the East, as the extension of Bolshevik power brought the prospect of liberation to the women of Central Asia, "There will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the revolution and for the ideas of communism than the awakened woman worker."■



Le Bolchévik WV/Le Bolchévik photo

Collection in Paris suburb (above), June 1989. International PDC fundraising campaign for Afghan city besieged by *mujahedin* was publicized in London immigrant press. Thousands in Jalalabad celebrated breaking of siege.

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China...

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heard from the bloodsoaked imperialists who normally rail against Beijing's "human rights" violations.

In return for its obsequious bowing to the U.S.-led "war on terror," the CCP regime hoped to gain the imperialists' acquiescence to its efforts to quash resistance in China's minority regions, most importantly against Turkic Uighur separatists in Xinjiang province. Although they have carried out sporadic attacks against Chinese officials and soldiers, the separatists pose no substantial threat currently to CCP rule in Xinjiang. Nonetheless, Beijing is intent on cracking down on any signs of unrest in this region, which is of significant strategic importance. Xinjiang is thought to contain vast oil reserves and is a route for oil and gas pipelines from Central Asia. Last year, China joined with Russia and four Central Asian countries to form the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, whose aims include cracking down on Islamic militancy in Central Asia and undertaking massive development projects in Xinjiang.

As it undermines the defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism, the CCP regime increasingly opens designated areas of China to raw exploitation by the imperialists and the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie, who operate in league with corrupt state officials and local businessmen (often the same people). Who the CCP tops fear are the Chinese masses, who are increasingly unable to make a living or even provide their children with education and access to health care. The central government has devoted ten divisions of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) to try to maintain "domestic order" against workers, the unemployed, small farmers and retirees who have participated in the thousands of strikes and protests against the privations of "market reforms."

Through greater economic penetration, political subversion and increased military pressure and threats, the imperialists are intent on the restoration of capitalism in China. We Trotskyists of the International Communist League fight for unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution. What is needed is the forging of an authentically communist—i.e., Leninist-Trotskyist—party to lead the combative Chinese proletariat in a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste that undermines the workers state and the gains of the 1949 Revolution.

Fake Left's Class Treason Over Afghanistan

Beijing helped set the stage for the current wave of renewed imperialist aggression through its collusion with the U.S. against the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan in the 1980s. Working in tandem with the CIA, the CCP regime under Deng Xiaoping provided arms to the *mujahedin* cutthroats. The Soviet Army entered Afghanistan in defense of and at the request of a modernizing regime whose reforms sought to mitigate the power of the landowning oligarchy and, more importantly, redress the total subjugation of women in that semi-feudal, clerically dominated society. Against the Soviet intervention—one of the few unquestionably progressive acts undertaken by the Moscow Stalinist bureaucracy—the Chinese Stalinists backed the enslavers of Afghan women and provided the CIA with invaluable "listening posts" in Xinjiang, on the border of Soviet Central Asia.

The ignominious withdrawal of the Soviet Army in 1988-89 by the bureaucratic caste then led by Mikhail Gorbachev contributed not just to the re-enslavement of Afghan women but to the disintegration of the Soviet Union itself. The Gorbachev regime's retreat from Afghanistan, where the Red Army had not been militarily defeated, was fully in the service of appeasing imperialism. The Moscow bureaucracy subsequently handed over East Germany to the forces of capitalist counterrevolution. Finally, counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet Union itself, the most powerful and dominant of those societies where capitalism had been overthrown. This world-historic defeat reduced the working people of the former USSR and East European deformed workers states to unimaginable levels of immiseration and social decline. It also served to profoundly set back proletarian consciousness internationally, as most workers today no longer identify their struggles with the aspiration to a socialist future.

Serving alongside the Beijing bureaucracy in aid of the imperialist war drive against the USSR were Maoist groups such as the Revolutionary Communist Party in the U.S., which denounced "Soviet imperialism" in Afghanistan. They were joined by a range of ostensibly Trotskyist outfits, including the United Secretariat (USec), which demanded Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Recently, the Hong Kong "Pioneer" group, a USec affiliate, wrote that after the USSR "invaded" Afghanistan, "the resulting pro-Soviet regime carried out some progressive reforms, but they were to no avail. The history of the 20th century proved that one cannot build socialism through the use of arms. Therefore, the total defeat of the USSR in Afghanistan actually also foretold the fate of the USSR."

This is petty-bourgeois pacifism in the defense of imperialist-sponsored counterrevolution! The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan did indeed herald the final undoing of the October Revolution, and from East Berlin to Moscow the ICL fought to the end to defeat the forces of capitalist counterrevolution. While fake Trotskyists and Maoists howled along with the imperialists over Afghanistan, we declared: Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!

Pioneer's opposition to efforts to "build socialism through the use of arms" is an echo of Karl Kautsky and other social democrats who reviled the October Revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. Pioneer mimics as well the Stalinists who later denounced Trotsky for allegedly supporting the "export of revolution." For Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, the Red Army was an auxiliary of revolutionary movements abroad. This issue was urgently posed when the Red Army defeated an invasion by Pilsudski's French-backed Polish nationalist regime in 1920. After intense debate, the Bolsheviks decided to follow the retreating Poles across the border, "sounding out with our bayonets Poland's readiness for social revolution," as Lenin put it, and seeking a common border with Germany, then in the throes of deep political and social crisis. A victory for the Red Army would have been of immense aid in assuring proletarian revolutions in Poland and Germany and breaking through the isolation of the Soviet workers state. But the Red Army was turned back from Warsaw in August 1920, a defeat that helped set the stage for the degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

In Afghanistan in the 1980s, which was so backward that it lacked even a proletariat, the Soviet Army presence in support of the modernizing government provided the possibility of liberating the society from extreme backwardness and oppressiveness. Six decades before, it was the Red Army's defeat of counterrevolutionary "White" forces in Central Asia that extended Soviet power to that region, which subsequently provided a beacon to the downtrodden masses of Afghanistan and elsewhere in the Islamic world. Likewise, the rule of the Chinese People's Republic was spread to Tibet through the agency of the PLA, sealed by its victory over the imperialist-backed rebellion led by the Dalai Lama in the late 1950s.

From Afghanistan in the 1980s to the Yeltsin-led counterrevolution in 1991-92 to China today, the USec was and is *on the other side of the barricades*. At a public forum in Tokyo in November, a Pioneer spokesman made this clear by declaring that his group would *defend capitalist Taiwan* in a war with China, falsely claiming that China has become a capitalist state. The flimsiness of this rationale for Pioneer's anti-Communism can be gauged in the fact that even if China were capitalist, it would have the right to claim Taiwan on the basis of national unification. Against such counterfeit "Trotskyists," the ICL stands for the defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against Taiwan or any other capitalist state, and against the domestic forces of counterrevolution as well. The fight for proletarian political revolution is premised on defense of the gains of the 1949 Revolution.

Stalinism: Gravedigger of Revolutions

From Mao to Deng, the CCP's treacherous collusion with U.S. imperialism was carried out in the name of the Stalinist dogma of building "socialism in one country." This "theory," propounded by Stalin in late 1924, served as a justification for the domination of the bureaucratic caste that had usurped political power from the Soviet proletariat in the context of economic backwardness and isolation and the demoralization of the Soviet workers over the failure of an expected socialist revolution in Germany in the fall of 1923.

In the words of Lenin's "Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People" (January 1918), the fundamental task of the October Revolution was "to establish a socialist organisation of society and to achieve the victory of socialism in all countries." To this end, the nascent workers state under Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party devoted some of its scant resources to building the Third (Communist) International, forging, in the imperialist centers and their colonies, revolutionary parties fighting to consign capitalism to the dustbin of history. Having propounded "socialism in one country," the Stalinist usurpers, in the interest of maintaining and enhancing their caste privileges and power, offered to confine socialist revolution within "their" borders. Finally, they explicitly embraced the program of class collaboration and "peaceful coexistence" with the "democratic" imperialists with the elaboration of the Popular Front in 1935. The imperialists, however, maintained their implacable opposition to the overturn of capitalist rule *anywhere*.

"Socialism in one country" was the program of Mao's CCP when it took power. Unlike the proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917, the 1949 Chinese Revolution was bureaucratically deformed from its inception under the rule of the peasant-based CCP/People's Liberation Army. Today, under the increasing pressures of the world capitalist market, the dominant section of the Beijing Stalinist regime openly advocates a return to a "free market" economy.

In every particular—in its attempt to appease imperialism, in its "discovery" of the superiority of capitalist "reforms," in its contempt for the well-being of the masses—the CCP bureaucracy mimics its Soviet counterparts and prepares the way for the destruction of the 1949 Revolution. In his September 1939 article on Stalin's pact with Hitler's Germany ("Stalin—Hitler's Quartermaster"), Leon Trotsky put it aptly when he noted that

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China's anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism over Afghanistan: foreign minister Huang Hua with Afghan reactionaries in Pakistan, 1980; Ronald Reagan hosts *mujahedin* cutthroats at White House, 1983.

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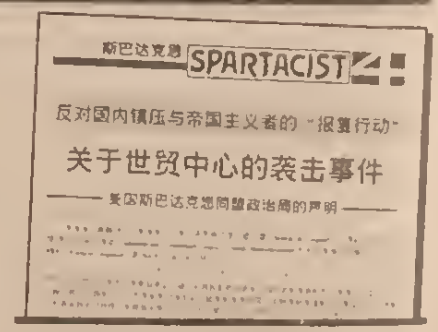

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"the ruling caste is no longer capable of thinking about tomorrow. Its formula is that of all doomed regimes: 'after us the deluge'."

In the context of a world economic recession, China's entry into the WTO may well lead to chaos, particularly in the countryside, where 70 percent of the population lives. The nation's farmers cannot match the productivity of agriculture in more advanced societies and, with the worldwide contraction of trade, it is unlikely that China's industrial products will be hot sellers on the world market. Further imperialist economic penetration, with accelerating unemployment and immiseration for China's masses, may well be the short-term outcome. In an article in the *Nation* (4 March), Jiang Xueqin, who recently traveled through China, wrote that "contrary to Western perceptions that the common people are benefiting from the free market, the Chinese see their government and the nation's elite as conspiring to sell them out to imperialists, *aka* the Americans."

It is a measure of the overwhelming and fatuous egotism of the CCP leadership that it has formally approved Jiang Zemin's plan to open the doors of the party to capitalists. For the moment, the bureaucracy has refrained from actually implementing that move (although it has begun classes for entrepreneurs aspiring to CCP membership). Under the economic "reforms" initiated by Deng, the CCP regime has already invited offshore Chinese capitalists to re-invest on the mainland. Many in the top echelons of the party have moved to secure their own place at the top of society in the event of capitalist counterrevolution, although tens of millions of other CCP members would be, at best, discarded by a successful counterrevolution, as their counterparts were in East Europe and the USSR. Many of these same top bureaucrats have also secured their ticket *out* of China by having their children establish foreign citizenship. Premier-designate Hu Jintao's daughter now has both American citizenship and a lucrative post at J.P. Morgan.

The roadblock in the way of the forces of capitalist restoration is the Chinese proletariat, which has repeatedly shown its determination to defend its livelihood against the ravages of "market reforms." This was exemplified by the February 2000 revolt in northeast China of some 20,000 miners and their families, who battled police and army units called out to smash their protest against the closing of a state-owned molybdenum mine. An article in the *Japan Times* (11 January) on an internal CCP document issued last year reported "more than a few hundred incidents of disgruntled workers demonstrating against the loss of jobs or non-payment of salaries while peasants protested against dues exacted by the local authorities. The document recorded only those incidents that involved more than 10,000 people, and did not mention many other smaller-scale ones."

Reuters

Front Line

Pratt & Whitney CEOs open joint venture in China. Workers protest layoffs and official plundering at Beijing factory; banner reads, "Where Is 150 Million Yuan Worth of State Property?" CCP's "market reforms" have generated massive proletarian resistance.

In deathly fear of the proletariat, the bureaucracy seeks to prevent any sign of opposition to its rule. At the same time, it seeks to pacify the masses by sowing the nationalist illusion that "market reforms" are necessary for building a modern, powerful China. Reflecting the growth of nationalist sentiment, it was reported in the immediate aftermath of September 11 that Web sites in China posted statements voicing approval of the attack on the World Trade Center as just retribution for the crimes of U.S. imperialism. That heinous attack—resulting in the deaths of several thousand ordinary, working people of all nationalities and races—was entirely criminal from the standpoint of the international working class. Whoever perpetrated it embraced the same mentality as the fascist rulers of America, identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors. For the U.S. rulers, the attack served as a pretext for unleashing their military might around the world and, along with the bourgeoisie everywhere else, carrying out a war on the home front against immigrants, minorities and the entire working class.

At the outbreak of the war against Afghanistan, ICL sections internationally raised the call, "For class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home! Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!" We publicized the example of Japanese dock workers at Sasebo port who refused to load armaments and supplies onto Japanese navy ships headed to assist the war against Afghanistan (see "Japanese Longshoremen Refuse to Load Warships," *WV* No. 770, 7 December 2001).

The road forward for the Chinese working class lies not in retrograde nationalism but in proletarian internationalism. The all-around modernization and development of China—providing the basis for a decent life for all its inhabitants—requires access to the kind of advanced productive forces possessed by Japan, the U.S. and West Europe, and that at bottom requires the overthrow of capitalist class rule in those countries. The struggle for proletarian political revolution in China must be linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the imperialist centers.

Against Reactionary Separatism and Han Chauvinism

It is more than ironic that Jiang Zemin now assists the U.S. imperialists in Afghanistan in order to legitimize his efforts to crush separatist sentiment in Xinjiang province. It was the efforts of his predecessor, Deng Xiaoping, in support of the CIA-backed *mujahedin* that propelled Uighurs and others to seek training in "holy war" in Afghanistan and opened the border to the arms and influence of the mullahs. The pullout of the Soviet Army from Afghanistan and subsequent disintegration of the USSR inspired some in Xinjiang to dream of their own "Islamic republic."

Unlike the "Free Tibet" forces around the Dalai Lama, who have long been supported by the CIA, the Xinjiang separatists seem to have little following outside the exile circles who fled China after resistance to CCP rule died out in the province in the early 1950s. We oppose reactionary separatist movements that wield the call for "national independence" as a bludgeon against the 1949 Revolution, which brought enormous

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Korea...

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aim, and that of the giant *chaebol* conglomerates that dominate South Korean capitalism, is to undermine the North Korean deformed workers state, in part through economic penetration, in pursuit of capitalist reunification with the South. But it is Seoul's U.S. imperialist overlords who call the shots, guaranteeing their domination with more than 37,000 American troops stationed in South Korea.

Since 1945, U.S. troops in Korea and in Japan have been crucial to the pursuit of American domination of the Pacific Rim region. Under the fig leaf of a United Nations "police action," the U.S. invaded Korea in 1950 and over the next three years killed close to *four million* people in the Korean War, raining bombs and napalm throughout the peninsula. But U.S. imperialism's attempt to overrun North Korea was turned back by the combined forces of the North and the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The Korean peninsula was divided with the establishment of the Demilitarized Zone, which is packed with more weaponry per square inch than any other place on earth. The DMZ is a *class* line between the capitalist South and the North, where a bureaucratically deformed workers state issued out of a social revolution that overthrew the capitalists and landlords. ***For unconditional military defense of North Korea against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution!***

From the outset, the U.S. military presence in Korea has been a dagger at the throat of the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states. It has also been wielded against challenges by the South Korean masses to the *chaebol* bourgeoisie, from suppressing numerous peasant uprisings in the 1940s to supporting the South Korean military's crushing of the May 1980 uprising in the city of Kwangju, in which some 2,000 people were massacred. U.S. troops were instrumental in maintaining the military dictatorship in Seoul that lasted until the late 1980s.

The struggle against imperialism and the *chaebol* bourgeoisie must be waged as a fight for socialist revolution in the South, whose proletariat is one of the most combative in the world. Shortly after Bush's visit, electricity and rail workers organized by the Federation of Korean Trade Unions went on a three-day strike against privatization plans, later joined by tens of thousands of auto workers at Hyundai and Kia. Coming at a time when the imperialists are increasing pressure on the South Korean government to rein in labor militancy, these strikes were met with brutal repression. Dan Byong Ho, president of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, has been seized and some 36 other strike leaders are threatened with arrest. The labor movement internationally must demand: *Free Dan Byong Ho! Hands off all strikers!*

The key political obstacle standing in the way of the South Korean proletariat's road to power is the nationalism that serves to bind the working class to its "own" capitalist class. Reinforced by the history of Korea's subjugation by Japanese and U.S. imperialism, nationalist ideology is prevalent among South Korean student left groups, some of which politically support the Stalinist North Korean regime. Nationalism is fostered as well by the trade-union bureaucracy, feeding illusions among the workers in a "progressive" and "anti-imperialist" wing of the South Korean bourgeoisie, which in fact is completely under the thumb of imperialism. The proletariat can only go forward on the basis of class independence from the Seoul bourgeoisie, whose talk of "friendship" with the North is a means of bringing about a united *capitalist* Korea.

The North Korean foreign ministry responded to Bush's diatribes by stating that his comments represented the "gangster-like logic of a typical rogue and a kingpin of terrorism." That description certainly fits Bush and his unhinged Cold Warriors in Washington. While the imperialists have maintained a starvation embargo against North Korea, it was with the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92 that the North Korean economy lost its lifeline and was sent into a devastating tailspin. However, beginning in the mid 1990s China has supported North Korea with subsidized power and food shipments. In recent years, rhetoric aside, Pyongyang has bent over backward to accommodate nearly all the imperialists' demands, from shelving missile tests to freezing its nuclear energy program. Smelling blood, the Japanese imperialists have stepped up their provocations, sinking a "suspected North Korean spy ship" in Chinese waters in December, killing 15.

Far from seeking proletarian struggle to overthrow the South Korean bourgeoisie, the North Korean Stalinists call for "peaceful" reunification. This perspective, offered first under Kim Il Sung and now under his son and successor Kim Jong Il, flows from the nationalism of this particularly bizarre bureaucracy, whose autarkic program of *juche* (self-reliance) is an extreme variant of the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." The International Communist League fights for the ***revolutionary reunification of Korea***—through socialist revolution in the South and proletarian political revolution in the North.

Korean workers must embrace an internationalist perspective, linking their struggles with those of the Chinese workers against the threat of capitalist counterrevolution there and of the proletariat in the imperialist centers, particularly Japan and the U.S., against their capitalist exploiters. To lead the fight for a socialist Asia, we fight to build revolutionary Trotskyist parties, sections of a reforged Fourth International. *All U.S. troops out of Korea now!*■

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

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TORONTO

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Israel...

(continued from page 1)

year ago, a much-publicized conference of leading figures from the defense and political establishments called for mass expulsion of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories. Now the Council for Peace and Security—a group of 1,000 reserve generals and senior officers and ex-officials from the Mossad and Shin Beth intelligence agencies—has announced a campaign for unilateral Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and part of the West Bank, including the dismantling of most settlements.

What is animating such sentiment was captured by Nahum Barnea, a leading Israeli commentator and columnist for *Yediot Ahranot*: "After 17 months of intifada, we must admit that the Palestinians have not been broken. Despair has only steeled them. Economic and human distress has only pushed them to acts of madness." While the Zionist rampage in the Occupied Territories continues unabated, the Palestinians have inflicted significant blows against Israeli troops and settlers.

What really shook the Zionist rulers was the destruction in February of a Merkava 3 tank by a handmade land mine. As the *New York Times* (16 February) noted: "The stark evidence that even the Israeli flagship tank—the Merkava 3, one of the toughest tanks in the world—was vulnerable to Palestinian weapons fanned fears today that Israeli forces were facing the same kind of punishing war of attrition in the West Bank and Gaza Strip that they fought so long in Lebanon." It was in response to the 1982 invasion of Lebanon—under the command of the butcher Sharon—that the military "refusenik" organization Yesh Gvul (There Is a Limit) was first formed.

The recent cracks in Israeli society reflect a common perception that Sharon has delivered neither the peace nor the security he promised when he was elected last year. Since December, his approval rating has dropped from 70 percent to 42 percent. The *Jerusalem Post* (18 February), a right-wing government mouthpiece, wails that Israel's "resolve" is cracking and a "chorus of defeatism can be heard in the land." But Sharon's latest provocations in the Occupied Territories, followed by a Cabinet decision to further intensify the war of terror against the Palestinians, underline that the Israeli government could well yet seek to implement a cataclysmic "peace of the graveyard." When Foreign Minister Shimon Peres told the Knesset (parliament) that "we can't just expel 3.5 million people from their homes," a right-wing parliamentarian shot back, "Yes we can, yes we can." A leading member of the Israeli Cabinet, Tourism Minister Benny Elom, is an open advocate of the forcible "transfer" of the Palestinian population out of the territories, a genocidal "final solution" supported by 35 percent of the Israeli population, according to a February 15 poll by the Israeli paper *Ma'ariv*.

UPI

Sharon's 1982 massacre of Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon was preceded by disarming of PLO fighters by UN intervention force.

Following a sniper attack on one of the hated checkpoints yesterday that killed seven soldiers and three settlers, a spokesman for the Aksa Martyrs Brigade said, "This is our new slogan now: Break the siege and remove the checkpoints." The attacks against army checkpoints and bases and against the heavily armed settler auxiliaries are directed at the military forces of the oppressive Zionist occupation. In contrast, the suicide bombings of Israeli civilians at shopping malls and discos, carried out by Islamic groups like Hamas and the secular nationalist Aksa, are reprehensible and criminal from a proletarian standpoint. Such indiscriminate terror, deeming all Jews to be enemies, mirrors the anti-Arab chauvinism of the far more murderous Zionist rulers and serves to drive Hebrew-speaking workers into the arms of their capitalist exploiters. But while the Palestinian attacks on the Israeli army have helped fuel sentiment for a withdrawal, the Palestinians cannot prevail in a military conflict with the Zionist juggernaut.

At bottom, the military struggle of the Palestinian nationalists is aimed at pressuring the imperialists and the Arab bourgeoisies. Looking to the Arab regimes to aid the Palestinian cause is a suicidal strategy. The result of this strategy was seen in the 1970 "Black September" massacre of thousands of Palestinian fighters by the Jordanian monarchy. That the reactionary Saudi monarchy is now embraced by Arafat and others as a guardian of Palestinian national rights is a travesty. After the 1991 U.S.-led Gulf War, Saudi Arabia joined Kuwait in brutally expelling hundreds of thousands of Palestinian (and Yemeni) laborers, and Palestinians are still excluded from entering Saudi Arabia. Only through the overthrow of not only the Israeli bourgeoisie but of the Jordanian monarchy and the other Arab ruling classes can the right of national self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples and the many other peoples of the region be equitably realized. *For a socialist federation of the Near East!*

The fissures in the Zionist bunker pose opportunities for revolutionaries to drive a wedge between the Hebrew-speaking proletariat and its chauvinist exploiters. Adding to the growing war-weariness of the Hebrew-speaking population is the economic impact of the war against the Palestinians. As the conflict drags on without apparent end, the sharp losses in tourism and construction have begun to mean cuts in jobs and social services for Israeli workers, and there have been a number of strikes recently.

As revolutionary Marxists, we seek to smash the Zionist garrison state *from within*. As we wrote recently, "We have no illusions that it will be easy to shatter the intense anti-Arab chauvinism of the Hebrew-speaking working class. But it is the task of revolutionaries to utilize every opportunity, every strike, every action that pits the working class against the Zionist capitalist rulers to emphasize the necessity for joint struggle by the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking workers. In the course of such struggles will be forged the internationalist Trotskyist party which champions the national rights of the Palestinians as part of the fight to place the proletariat in power" (*WV* No. 771, 28 December 2001).

"Remember Sabra and Shatila —Don't Trust the UN!"

The fight for proletarian state power throughout the Near East is the only road forward for the Palestinian people. The petty-bourgeois nationalists of Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) see no other road than to beg the imperialists to pressure the Zionist butchers for "peace." This is also the plea of the reformist and centrist left organizations in the West which, rejecting the possibility of proletarian revolution, cynically peddle the lie that their own bourgeoisies can bring national justice to the Palestinians.

Given the overt hostility of the Bush administration toward the Palestinians, and the even more foam-flecked support for Sharon by Democrats like Hillary Clinton, the reformist *Workers World* (10 January) in the U.S. limits itself to

China...

(continued from page 9)

gains in health, living standards and education to the minority peoples.

Our proletarian-internationalist defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against counterrevolutionary separatists is counterposed to the nationalism of the ruling bureaucratic caste, which favors the Han Chinese who constitute over 90 percent of the population. Thus, while the 1949 Revolution provided the basis for social advancement for all, the policies of the bureaucracy for the most part have tended toward Sinification, frequently supplemented by efforts to submerge minority regions in a sea of Han émigrés. Mongolians now make up less than a fifth of the population of Inner Mongolia, while the Uighur proportion of Xinjiang's population has dropped from three-fourths to less than half, about equal to the Han population there. As in Tibet, state officials and party cadres in what is officially known as the "Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region" are overwhelmingly Han Chinese and Mandarin is the official language, making government virtually inaccessible to the native populations.

Over the last two decades, massive unemployment in the Chinese heartland engendered by economic "reforms" has accelerated Han emigration to minority regions in search of jobs or rudimentary business ventures. As investment funds from the central government begin to pour into Xinjiang in order to develop its mineral resources, Han managers and entrepreneurs prefer the better-educated, "more reliable" and Mandarin-speaking émigrés, while the native peoples become more resentful. Indicative of the Chinese Stalinists' own chauvinism against Islamic minorities is Beijing's hailing of capitalist Russia's suppression of the Chechen people's just struggle for independence.

The deep grievances of Xinjiang's minorities under the Han-chauvinist officialdom can be gauged by the fact that they used to regularly flee to the Soviet Union. In 1962 alone, tens of thousands of Xinjiang Muslims undertook a mass exodus across the border into Soviet Central Asia. Although the Soviet bureaucracy was imbued with Great Russian chauvinism, its conduct was conditioned by the fact that Russians were but a slight majority within the Soviet state. In order to integrate the peoples of diverse national and ethnic backgrounds that made up the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy retained a more democratic heritage in regard to the nationalities question than Mao's China. Even under the administration of the bureaucracy, the USSR's planned economy served to greatly modernize and develop the Central Asian Soviet republics, to the benefit particularly of women.

The economic and social policies of the CCP bureaucracy provide all the fuel necessary to light the fires of secession. A successful proletarian political revolution would instantly move to provide China's minority regions with a maximum of self-rule while providing all the technical, educational and financial resources necessary to redress the backwardness and misery endemic in those areas. Under such a regime, China's minority regions would become a beacon in the struggle for social liberation of national and ethnic minorities in Central, South and East Asia.

The Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has placed the 1949 Revolution in grave danger. Simultaneously, its policies have sparked the social protests and working-class resistance that are the necessary tinder for proletarian political revolution, a harbinger of which was seen in the 1989 uprising that began with students in Tiananmen Square and quickly drew the working class into the struggle. Critically lacking then, and now, is a Trotskyist party that links defense of the collectivized foundations of the Chinese workers state to the spread of socialist revolution throughout Asia and internationally, particularly in the centers of imperialist power. The ICL is dedicated to resolving the problem of revolutionary leadership as we fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International—world party of socialist revolution.■

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enthusing that support "has been growing dramatically" for "nationalist, left and Islamic Palestinian organizations"—which includes the anti-Semitic, anti-woman Islamic reactionaries of Hamas. It goes on to laud the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) as "the largest Palestinian Marxist organization." In fact, the PFLP is simply a petty-bourgeois nationalist group which has long relied on Syrian patronage and was notorious in the early 1970s for airline hijackings and other indiscriminate terror attacks. Like Arafat, PFLP leader Ahmad Saadat looks to the UN, as he said in an interview in *Al-Hadat* last year, to "force Israel to implement United Nations resolutions."

In Europe, where the capitalist governments do strike a posture of opposing the Israeli onslaught against the Palestinians, the fake left explicitly appeals for imperialist intervention in the Near East. And nowhere is this more the case than in France, whose bourgeoisie is the most vocally critical of the U.S. A demonstration in Brussels on February 27 and a previous one in Paris on December 19, both promoted by the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), were centered on the call, "For an international peace and protection force!" This has long been the position of the LCR. In November 2000, it called for "a political fight directed at the European Union and the French government so that they respond positively to the pressing demands of the Palestinian national movement" (*Rouge*, 7 December 2000).

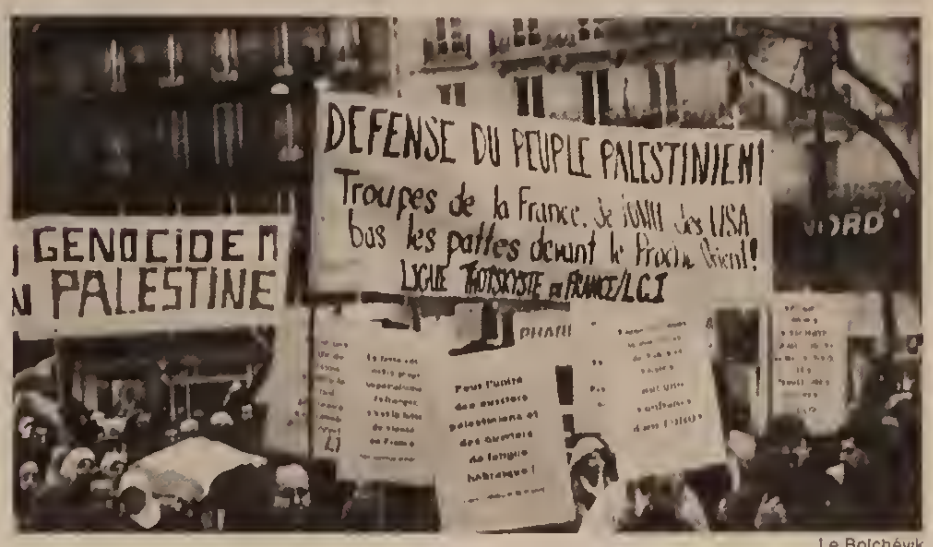
Lutte Ouvrière (LO) strikes a different pose, writing in its journal *Lutte de Classe* (January/February 2002), "The only possible perspective is a real coexistence, a fraternal cooperation between the peoples. But for this the only solution is to put an end to the imperialist presence in the region and to the oppression not only by Israel but by all the states and possessing classes in the region, who in various degrees are the agents of imperialism." LO's talk of "anti-imperialism" isn't worth the paper it's printed on. Last year, LO signed on to an appeal to France and the European Union (EU) to intervene in the Near East, and LO mobilized its forces for the pro-imperialist demonstration in December. Meanwhile, the anarchists of *Courant Alternatif* (February 2002), notwithstanding their profession of opposition to all state powers, join in the chorus of appeals for an "international protection force in the Occupied Territories." Such appeals parallel calls by Arafat and Arab bourgeois regimes for a United Nations "peacekeeping" force in the Occupied Territories.

Intervening into a protest organized by Palestinian and Maghrebin (North African) organizations in Paris on March 2, a contingent of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League, marched under a banner reading, "Defend the Palestinian People! French/UN/U.S. Troops Hands Off the Near East!" Our slogans were directly counterposed to calls from the podium for imperialist economic sanctions against Israel. Many Arab youth, in their desperation over the plight of the Palestinians, see no alternative to imperialist intervention. Nonetheless, particularly striking a chord among many of the protesters was an LTF sign reading, "Remember Sabra and Shatila—Don't Trust the UN!"

In 1982, faced with constant Israeli bombing raids over Beirut, Arafat begged for imperialist intervention to protect Palestinian refugees and PLO fighters in Lebanon. U.S., French and Italian "peacekeeping" troops moved into Lebanon to *disarm* the PLO militants, overseeing the transfer of many to Tunisia. With the PLO fighters gone, in September 1982 Israeli troops surrounded the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in West Beirut, and then Israeli defense minister Ariel Sharon let loose the fascistic Lebanese Christian militias for a 36-hour orgy of killing, rape and torture. More than 2,000 people—mainly women, children and the elderly—were slaughtered, shot at close range. Now Sharon complains that he was not able to kill Arafat as well at the time.

The hypocrisy of the French bourgeoisie's more sympathetic posture toward the Palestinian Arabs is exposed not only by France's history of brutal colonial subjugation and torture in Algeria but by the racist persecution of the large Arab minority in France today. The government of Socialist Party premier Lionel Jospin seized on the U.S.-declared "war on terror" after September 11 to reinstate the dreaded Vigipirate campaign of police roundups of immigrants and youth of North African origin. Yet LO remains silent when it comes to anti-Maghrebin Vigipirate terror. Notably, with the exception of the LCR and the anarchist CNT, the bulk of the French left boycotted the March 2 demonstration organized by Maghrebin and immigrant groups.

As one of the LTF placards on March 2 declared, "The Fight Against French Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home." Maghrebin workers form a key component of the multiethnic industrial proletariat in France. At an LTF public meeting in Paris the week before the demonstration, our speaker stressed: "A protest strike against Vigipirate and the repression against the Arab population in France would do more for the Palestinian cause than 10,000 people in Brussels."



Le Bolchévik

Ligue Trotskyste contingent in March 2 Paris protest. Banner reads: "Defend the Palestinian People! French/UN/U.S. Troops Hands Off the Near East!"

Near East: Cockpit for Interimperialist Rivalry

The LCR, among other left groups, calls for European delegations of civilian observers in the Occupied Territories. While some idealistic youth might see this as a way to deter Israeli army terror, in fact such "moral witness" tactics are aimed at securing imperialist "peacekeeping" intervention. In a similar vein, groups like the U.S. International Socialist Organization and the British Workers Power push for a consumer boycott of Israeli exports or "divestment" of Israeli stocks. Such impotent appeals to Western consumers are at bottom a ruse for pressuring the imperialists to impose economic sanctions, which is the only way "divestment" can be realized. All such approaches are premised on portraying the Western imperialist powers as enforcers of democracy and justice, behind which lies a direct capitulation by the fake left to the imperialist appetites of their own bourgeoisies.

The attempt of the French and other EU governments to put themselves forward as "peacemakers" and wrest some influence from the U.S. among the Arab states reflects a longstanding conflict of interest between American and European capitalism: the economics of world oil. The world oil market is dominated by American companies like Exxon-Mobil, which effectively control Saudi Arabia, while the core countries of the EU—Germany and France—are not major producers or distributors of oil.

The Europeans have significant trade with and investment in Iran, and the French have been negotiating for several years to invest in the Iraqi oil fields but cannot do so as long as the U.S. maintains the embargo. The furor provoked in Europe by Bush's talk of an "axis of evil" including Iraq and Iran is an expression of these particular conflicts in the Near East. More broadly, the European imperialists are frustrated that Washington's overwhelming military superiority impedes them from pursuing their own ambitions.

In calling for the Jospin government to intervene in the Near East, groups like the LCR line up behind the French bourgeoisie in its growing competition with the U.S. and other imperialist powers. French imperialism is intent on regaining its former sphere of influence in the region, where it had been the colonial overlord of Syria and Lebanon (not to mention much of North Africa). U.S. opposition to the 1956 Anglo-French invasion of Egypt aimed at reconquering the Suez Canal—carried out in alliance with the Zionist state—signaled the decline of French and British influence and the ascendancy of American imperialism in the Near East. The EU is already the largest trading partner for Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel. But, as Belgian foreign minister Louis Michel put it, "The EU does not want to play an economic role only, but also a political one" (*Al-Ahram Weekly*, 14 February).

The European and American imperialists, as well as the Arab bourgeois regimes, are utterly opposed to a genuine realization of Palestinian national rights. The Saudi proposal currently embraced by the EU would offer, at best, the kind of bantustan-style mini-state envisioned by the U.S.-sponsored 1993 Oslo accord between Israel and the PLO. While headlining its editorial on the accord "Toward a 'Bantustan'," the LCR enthused over "a new dynamic" and called it the "first stage of a process that could radically change the situation" (*Inprecor*, October 1993). Its sister section in Israel went further, demanding that the Israeli government follow through with "the exact implementation of the agreements" (*The Other Front*, 5 September 1994). The "dynamic" hailed by the LCR has proven to be one of ever more suffocating imprisonment of the Palestinians in an Israeli-dominated ghetto.

As we warned at the time, far from offering even the most deformed expression of self-determination, Arafat's deal placed "the PLO's seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses" ("Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto," *WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993). At best, the "two-state solution" being pushed by the imperialists, the "left" Zionists and Arab nationalists would mean an impoverished Palestinian statelet under the stranglehold of the Zionist state and with no viable economy. Moreover, it would permanently consign the millions of Palestinian refugees to the camps in Lebanon, Jordan and elsewhere where they now languish.

The answer to the plight of the Palestinian people lies not in petty-bourgeois nationalism but in an internationalist proletarian perspective. The Palestinians, spread throughout the Near East, suffer national oppression not just in the Occupied Territories but within Israel itself as well as in Jordan and Lebanon, which have large Palestinian concentrations. National and social liberation will only come through workers revolutions against all the capitalist regimes of the region and the creation of a socialist federation of the Near East. The Hebrew-speaking proletariat must be broken from the reactionary chauvinism of the Israeli rulers and won to the defense of the oppressed Palestinians, and the Palestinians and other Arab workers must be broken from petty-bourgeois nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. If the Zionist madmen are not to ultimately unleash their nuclear arsenal and engulf the whole region in a holocaust, the Hebrew-speaking proletariat must join with Arab workers in sweeping away the entire rotten edifice of capitalist class rule in the Near East. ■

Turkey...

(continued from page 2)

In November, the leftist DISK union federation and other trade unions organized a protest of up to 10,000 people in Istanbul against unemployment and the attack on Afghanistan; demonstration speakers declared their solidarity with the imprisoned hunger strikers. In Germany, hundreds of thousands of ethnic Turkish and Kurdish workers are a strategic component of the working class and can be a living bridge between class struggle in Turkey and in the industrial heartland of Europe. Labor protests and political strikes in Germany in support of the leftist prisoners could strike a powerful blow for their freedom and push forward united struggle by the working class against the anti-labor offensive of the capitalists and the ruling SPD.

It will take socialist revolutions to sweep away the Turkish police-state regime and the anti-immigrant, anti-working-class imperialists who back it. The International Communist League fights to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties, sections of a reborn Trotskyist Fourth International, which will be tribunes of all the oppressed.

It is urgent that trade unions, leftist organizations and all fighters for social justice join in an outcry of protest in solidarity with the leftist prisoners in Turkey's dungeons. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a letter of protest to the Turkish government and we urge other organizations and individuals to do the same. ■

Available in Turkish

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International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

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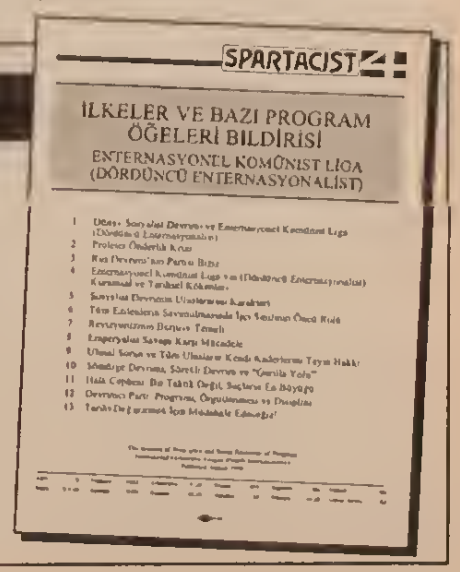
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Beijing Bureaucrats Conciliate Imperialism Over Afghanistan

China and the U.S. "War on Terror"

Defend Gains of 1949 Chinese Revolution!

As the U.S. devoted its military efforts to tracking down Islamic "terrorists" throughout the world after September 11, the Bush administration was diverted from its central aim of building up American military power in the Pacific targeting the People's Republic of China. But as Bush made clear in his trip to East Asia last month, the imperialist warriors in Washington are intent on renewing their military buildup in the Pacific Rim area around China. Addressing the Japanese parliament only weeks after his deranged State of the Union speech lashing out at North Korea as part of an "axis of evil," Bush proclaimed a "Pacific Century," committing American military power to "a forward presence in this region." Bush also reasserted American plans to forge ahead with a "missile defense" system supposedly aimed at "rogue states," i.e., insubordinate countries like North Korea that do not have nuclear weapons.

But while the imperialists clearly have the North Korean deformed workers state lined up in their cross hairs, the chief purpose of the proposed "missile defense" is to facilitate a nuclear first strike against China, the largest remaining deformed workers state and one which does have a nuclear arsenal. In his Tokyo speech, Bush pointedly reaffirmed Washington's commitment to Taiwan, which has been maintained as an anti-Communist fortress ever since the 1949 Revolution drove the Chinese bourgeoisie off the mainland.

Bush's subsequent meeting with Chinese president and Communist Party (CCP) leader Jiang Zemin in Beijing occurred 30 years to the day after Mao Zedong greeted Richard Nixon. Mao's obscene embrace of Nixon as U.S. imperialism carpet-bombed Vietnam sealed a counterrevolutionary alliance aimed against the Soviet Union. A few years later, Beijing supported apartheid South Africa's war against Soviet-backed Cuban troops in Angola and, in the 1980s, the U.S.-sponsored *mujahedin* war against Soviet forces in Afghanistan. Beijing's alliance with Washington provided crucial support to the imperialists' drive to smash the Soviet Union and overthrow the October Revolution of 1917. The Chinese Stalinists thus greatly endangered the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, as the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 removed a key obstacle to imperialist depredations around the world.

Now, for the second time in as many decades, Beijing has allied with U.S. imperialism in Afghanistan. As American planes bombed Afghanistan, a State Department spokesman declared in Beijing in December, "We're pleased with the cooperation we have received from China." The Beijing Stalinists might think that they are winning the hearts of the imperialists by supporting the "war on terror," but Washington's easy win in Afghanistan has only emboldened the world's most rapacious imperialist power to assert its readiness to employ military force against any and all who would dare defy its aspirations to dominate the planet.

AP

Chinese president Jiang Zemin hosts Bush in Beijing as U.S. imperialism renews military buildup in Pacific Rim.

Some 650 Special Forces troops are now deployed in the Philippines ostensibly to aid in suppressing Islamic rebels. But as the *New York Times* (4 March) wrote, the Philippines is propped up by the U.S. largely to serve "as a counter to China." The Bush administration is also moving to resume military aid to Indonesia, bypassing a Congressional ban imposed in 1999. The U.S. has also now established a military foothold in the former Soviet republic of Uzbekistan, to China's west. The U.S. military presence in the region surrounding China, centered on more than 80,000 troops in South Korea and Japan, is not least a threat to, if necessary, assist the forces of capitalist counterrevolution. *All U.S. troops out of East and Southeast Asia, Central Asia and the Persian Gulf!*

Bush used his visit to Beijing to peddle the Republican right's push for "religious freedom" in China, where a range of religious movements—from the reactionary Falun Gong sect to the proliferating "underground" Christian churches—provide breeding grounds for domestic counterrevolutionary forces. He also promoted the Dalai Lama, long a CIA tool, and pro-imperialist "dissidents."

While balking at Washington's arrogant demands that China end its arms sales to "enemies" of the U.S., the Chinese Stalinists are intent on pursuing "partnership" with American imperialism. From their narrow nationalist perspective, the bureaucrats were doubtless pleased that their collaboration with Washington helped seal China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) last fall with nary a peep being

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U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now!

On his Asia trip last month, U.S. imperialist chief Bush stood at the Korean "Demilitarized Zone" and touted the "freedoms" supposedly enjoyed in the thinly veiled police state that is capitalist South Korea. Meanwhile, police in Seoul were brutalizing and arresting scores of protesters, thousands of whom had taken to the streets to demand, "Bush go home!" *Free all the arrested protesters! Drop all charges now!*

While the South Korean government normally follows along with every pronouncement by its Washington patrons, the Kim Dae Jung regime has voiced consternation at Bush's "axis of evil" tirades against North Korea, fearing that such saber rattling could wreck its "sunshine policy" toward the North. Kim's

continued on page 9

AP

Reuters

Imperialist chief Bush at Demilitarized Zone separating capitalist South Korea and North Korean deformed workers state. February 9 protest outside U.S. embassy in Seoul.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 777

22 March 2002

NATO Allies Seethe over "Axis of Evil" Diatribe

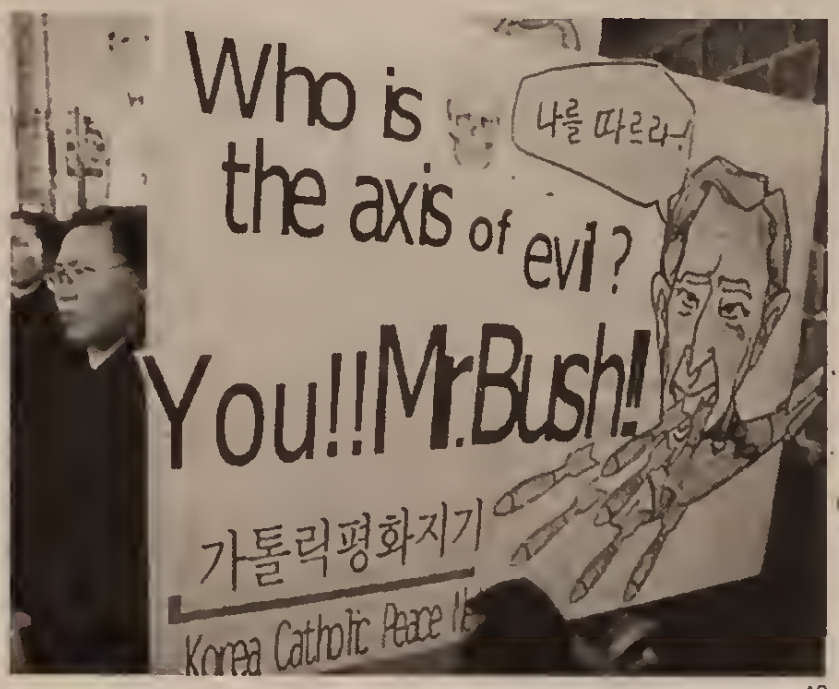
U.S. Nuclear Madmen on a Rampage

U.S. Imperialists Hands Off Iraq!

MARCH 18—Only days before Vice President Richard Cheney departed for a Near East tour aimed at lining up Arab support for an invasion of Iraq, international headlines were dominated by a new Pentagon report outlining "contingency plans" for a possible nuclear first strike. Among the potential targets specified in the "Nuclear Posture Review" is Saddam Hussein's Iraq, one of the three countries branded as part of an "axis of evil" by George W. Bush in his State of the Union address in late January.

Ludicrously invoking the World War II Germany-Japan-Italy Axis, Bush conjured up an "axis" of two small, mutually hostile Near Eastern capitalist states, Iraq and Iran, and the North Korean deformed workers state. He ranted that these were "the world's most dangerous regimes," which "threaten us with the world's most dangerous weapons." In fact, about the only thing the three countries have in common is that they do *not* have nuclear weapons but are deemed insubordinate by America's rulers; that's what qualifies them as "rogue states." But U.S. imperialism, truly the world's most dangerous regime, does have nuclear weapons—many times more than enough to blow up the whole world.

While the U.S. rails against putative "weapons of mass destruction" in the hands of the Iraqi regime, Israel (which has its own nuclear arsenal) is currently using the very real weapons supplied by its American quartermaster to wreak mass destruction against the Palestinian Arab people. With consummate cynicism, on the eve of Cheney's trip Washington shuttered the green light it had given Israeli leader Ariel Sharon to indiscriminately slaughter Palestinians in the Occupied Territories and announced that U.S. "peace" envoy Anthony Zinni would be returning to the region. In the week between that announcement and Zinni's arrival, Sharon unleashed the bloodiest offensive yet against the 18-month-long *Intifada*. Israeli troops and tanks stormed into crowded refugee camps and towns, virtually flattening entire areas, killing dozens a day and rounding up every Palestinian man they could grab in door-to-door raids reminiscent of Gestapo sweeps through the ghettos of East Europe. The Zionist stormtroopers even imprinted ID numbers on the arms of Palestinian captives.



AP

German news magazine lashes out at "The Bush Warriors." Left: South Koreans protest Bush visit to Seoul in February.

There is an urgent need for international protest action drawing on the power of the proletariat, from the heavily Arab and black auto workers in the Detroit area to the multiethnic industrial working class of France with its strategic Maghrebin (North African) component, to demand: *Defend the Palestinion people! All Israeli troops and settlers out of all the Occupied Territories now!*

Not surprisingly, Cheney's efforts to strong-arm "friendly" Muslim countries have met with little visible success, with even loyal U.S. partners like Mubarak's Egypt, the Saudi monarchy and NATO bulwark Turkey opposing an attack on Iraq for fear it would destabilize the entire Near East. Though gratified by Bush's latest "peace" moves in Israel, all the major European powers but for the slavishly pro-U.S. Blair Lahour government in Britain (the only European stop on Cheney's tour) likewise oppose an invasion of Iraq.

Since the end of the 1991 Gulf War, the U.S. imperialists—including the Democratic Clinton administration—have been relentlessly pummeling the Iraqi population with bombing sorties and missile assaults. Some 1.5 million people, mainly children and the elderly, have died as a result of the starvation blockade imposed under the aegis of the United Nations in 1990. Last year, Washington used its veto power in the UN Security Council to block at least half of the food and medical imports Iraq was allowed under the UN sanctions' "oil for food" provision.

Now, in "phase two" of their "global war on terrorism," the White House cabal are intent on "finishing the job" they began under Bush Sr. in 1991, when they slaughtered tens of thousands of Iraqis. According to the London *Guardian* (14 February), the Pentagon is preparing for a ground assault involving up to 200,000 U.S. troops. Installing a pliant regime in Baghdad will not be as easy as overthrowing the Taliban. The anti-Saddam Iraqi National Congress is dismissed even by its CIA patrons as a bunch of incompetent losers with no popular support. But with or without NATO support or Arab "coalition" partners, Washington seems bound and determined to smash Saddam Hussein.

AFP

Buildings reduced to rubble in 1999 U.S. bombing of Iraq under Democrat Clinton. Now Bush threatens new "Desert Slaughter."

The international working class has a vital interest in the *military defense of Iraq* in the face of an American attack, while not giving an iota of political support to the anti-working-class regime of Saddam Hussein. A victory for American militarism anywhere will mean further death and destruction around the world, and further misery for working people and minorities in the U.S. *Down with the starvotion blockode! U.S. honds off Iraq!*

Down With U.S. Imperialists' "National Unity"!

The Bush gang came to power with a minority of the popular vote, determined nevertheless to screw the ghetto poor, immigrants and labor and to enrich their cronies, like Enron. Internationally, they wanted mainly to tighten the military squeeze on the People's Republic of China, to further the drive for capitalist counterrevolution there. But with the indiscriminate terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, Bush and his cohorts got a lock on power. Riding a tide of flag-waving "national unity" unseen in decades, the Republican administration—with overwhelming Democratic support—declared an indefinite "war on terror" against all perceived enemies, pushing through a massive assault on civil liberties at home and lashing out at Taliban-ruled Afghanistan as "phase one" of its war abroad.

Its easy win over backward, impoverished Afghanistan stimulated the appetites of the government for further military

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Socialist Action: Hate Red Army in Afghanistan

Jan. 13, 2002

Dear Workers Vanguard,

In an article in the Dec 2001 issue of Socialist Action on "What Are U.S. War Goals" (in Afghanistan) Michael Schreiber, its editor, makes reference to the Spartacist League on P. 11 as follows:

> "In recent months, one group, the Spartacist League, has been boasting that they, unlike virtually every other group on the American left, had welcomed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s.
>
> "The Spartacists liken the Soviet forces in the 1980s to the Bolshevik Red Army of the 1920s, lending the armed might of the revolutionary workers state to oppressed peoples in struggle abroad.
>
> "But the facts are quite different. Brezhnev and the other top Soviet bureaucrats sent in the troops not to solidarize with and to help organize the Afghan people against their oppressors—the landlords and capitalists—but to secure their borders against what they viewed as U.S. provocations.
>
> "For this, they hoped to prop up their client regime in Afghanistan—which, although it had instituted some reforms, was corrupt, ruthless, and unpopular.
>
> "As soon as they arrived, the Soviets executed the sitting president, Amin, and installed their own stooge, Karmal, into power. During the next few years, they proceeded to make a large part of the country into a no-man's-land, reducing a large percentage of its villages to rubble, cutting down the orchards, destroying the irrigation channels, and laying tens of thousands of mines in agricultural fields. "An armed force that lays waste to a country, kills a million people, and sends millions more fleeing into an exile of poverty and starvation is not at all 'revolutionary,' let alone a descendant of the Red Army of Trotsky and Lenin."

What is your response to what he wrote?

Yours truly
Reader

***WV* replies:**

In brief, it is that Schreiber's screed amply demonstrates his organization's social-democratic, anti-Marxist politics. When the Red Army went into Afghanistan—at the request of the People's Democratic Party (PDPA) government—to defend that modernizing regime, we declared:

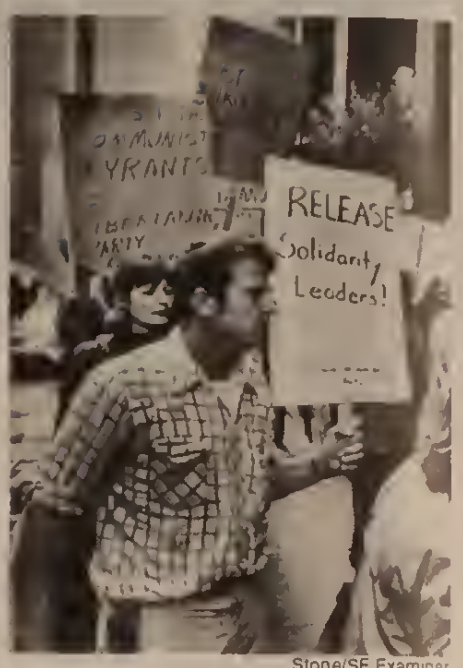
> "For revolutionary socialists there is nothing tricky, nothing ambiguous about the war in Afghanistan. The Soviet army and its left-nationalist allies are fighting an anti-communist, anti-democratic mélange of landlords, money lenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs committed to mass illiteracy.... The gut-level response of every radical leftist should be fullest solidarity with the Soviet Red Army."
>
> —"The Russian Question Point Blank," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 29, Summer 1980

That is why we forthrightly declared, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend Social Gains of October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!"

Not so other self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" organizations that, to a man, joined with the imperialist wolves in howling for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. But while others are today not anxious to advertise the fact that they stood on the side of the CIA's Islamic cutthroats, Schreiber shamelessly continues to retail the sort of lurid anti-Sovietism worthy of Zbigniew Brzezinski, Democrat Jimmy Carter's national security adviser at the time the U.S. launched the CIA operation in Afghanistan. But then Socialist Action never took a back seat to anyone in championing the forces of anti-Soviet reaction. Shortly before he helped found Socialist Action, at the height of the imperialist Cold War offensive, erstwhile central leader Nat Weinstein joined a demonstration of openly anti-Communist reactionaries in support of CIA-funded, counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność.

Schreiber's lengthy article completely disappears the gains, particularly for women, implemented by the PDPA government and defended by the Red Army. He has next to nothing to say about the hideous barbarities routinely perpetrated by the Islamic reactionaries, who were backed by the biggest covert operation in the CIA's history. Instead, he rails against the PDPA regime as "corrupt, ruthless and unpopular" and, echoing Cold War lies about Soviet "atrocities," decries Soviet military actions to suppress the Islamic insurgency. By such measure, Schreiber should also oppose the razing of Atlanta by Union General William Tecumseh Sherman during the American Civil War, the bloodiest military conflict ever waged until then. The question is not one of body counts, but whether one side is fighting for social progress. Just as Marxists stood with the Union Army against the Confederate slavocracy, we had a side in Afghanistan with the Red Army and for the social emancipation of the hideously benighted peoples of that country.

The Afghan conflict posed pointblank a defining position for Trotskyists: unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism. But this is of no consequence to Schreiber, who wails that "Brezhnev and the other top Soviet bureaucrats sent in the troops not to solidarize with and to help organize the Afghan people against their oppressors—the landlords and capitalists—but to secure their borders against what they viewed as U.S provocations."



Stone/SF Examiner

Former Socialist Action leader Nat Weinstein joins anti-Communists in promoting Polish Solidarność, 1981.

Viewed as provocations?! Intent on establishing a counterrevolutionary regime on the USSR's crucial southern flank, the U.S. had been funneling aid to the Afghan *mujahediu* even before the Soviet intervention, as well as organizing incursions into Soviet Central Asia itself. Moreover, whatever the intentions of the Kremlin Stalinists, the Red Army intervention posed the possibility of extending the social gains of the October Revolution to Afghanistan.

One needed only to look across the border from Afghanistan to Soviet Central Asia to see what a prolonged Soviet presence could have meant for the Afghan people—from literacy to life expectancy to women's rights. All of this is flatly denied by Schreiber, who paints a picture of Soviet Central Asia that could have been scripted by Radio Free Europe "The Soviet republics in this region were oppressed during Stalinist rule in a manner highly reminiscent of the oppression they endured from imperial Russia at the time of the Tsar."

Even the *New York Times*, which can hardly be accused of pro-Soviet sympathies, provided a more truthful account in an 11 April 1980 article on Soviet Central Asia. Titled "In Soviet Asia, Afghan Thrust Finds Wide Acceptance," the article noted:

> "Years of ideological and social transformations, extirpation of ancient customs and exposure to Russian culture have made Soviet Central Asia a different world from the mountain backwardness of Afghanistan. Women on the Soviet side of the border do not wear the veil and they are not chattel of their husbands. There is little unemployment. And if there is no great wealth, there is also no abject poverty or hunger."

Not surprisingly, a large number of the Red Army troops who served in Afghanistan were from this region. As one person interviewed by the *Times* declared:

continued on page 11

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Socialist Revolution to Bring Down U.S. Imperialism!

Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, America's capitalist rulers have increasingly wielded their unparalleled military might to assert their intention to dominate the planet. In a report on the "Theses on the American Revolution" adopted by the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in 1946, when the U.S. had emerged as the world's foremost imperialist power, James P. Cannon powerfully motivated the fight for proletarian revolution to bring down the rapacious U.S. imperialist rulers.

The United States has emerged from the war as the strongest power in the world, both economically and militarily. Our theses assert that the role of the United States in further world developments will be decisive in all respects.

If the workers in another country, or even in a series of other countries, take power before the revolutionary victory in the United States, they will have to defend themselves against the American colossus, armed to the teeth and counterrevolutionary to the core.

On the other hand, a revolutionary victory in the United States, signalizing the downfall of the strongest bastion of capitalism, would seal its doom on an international scale....

Our theses—and here we demarcate ourselves from all those who are hypnotized by the superficial appearance of things—point out not only the strength of American imperialism but also its inherent weaknesses; the contradictions from which it cannot escape; and the new, even greater, power which it has created and which is destined to be its gravedigger—the American working class....

A one-sided view of the American capitalist system—overestimation of its power and awestruck prostration before it—is the source of many illusions. And these illusions, in turn, are the chief source of American labor opportunism in general.

—James P. Cannon, "The Coming American Revolution," 15 November 1946, reprinted in *James P. Cannon: Writings and Speeches, 1945-47* (1977)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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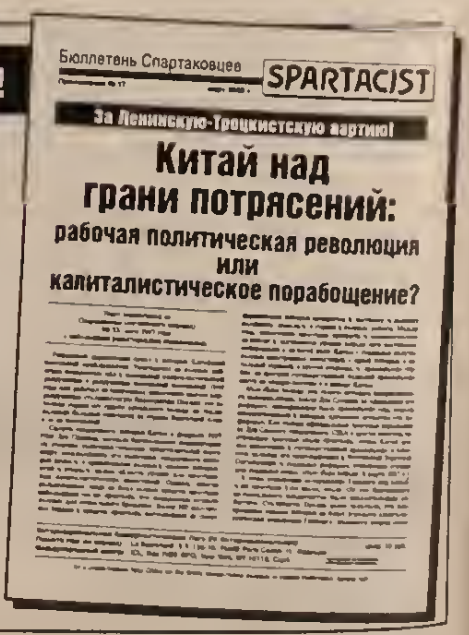

NYC Transit

Union Jobs at Union Wages for "Workfare" Laborers!

In December, Bill Clinton's vow to "end welfare as we know it" was cruelly visited upon some 30,000 New York City residents whose meager benefits were cut off as they reached the five-year time limit imposed by his 1996 "welfare reform" law. Many of the welfare recipients had been forced into the slave-labor "Work Experience Program" (WEP), or "workfare," where they toiled for city agencies in return for their benefits. The sop that Clinton's "reform" would lead to real jobs was always a lie. But now the desperately impoverished welfare recipients have been cut off at a time when even many minimum-wage jobs have disappeared due to the economic recession.

With the last shreds of any social "safety net" eliminated, the multitude being thrown off welfare face eviction, starvation, sickness and death. At welfare offices around the city, signs referring to the five-year limit taunt people with messages like "Your Clock Is Ticking." The capitalist rulers' war against the poor can be gauged by the fact that by 2000, fully one-third of the city's residents were living below the poverty level. Conditions continue to get worse, with homeless shelters turning away record numbers of people.

The U.S. economy was already in a nose-dive well before the September 11 criminal attack on the World Trade Center added tens of thousands to the unemployment lines. The "war on terror" that has rained death and destruction on impoverished Afghanistan is also a drive to regiment the working class at home. The capitalists want to "rebuild New York City" on the backs of workers, immigrants and black people, who are called on to "sacrifice" in the name of "national unity." Fanning the flames of patriotic bigotry, the racist rulers are carrying out an anti-immigrant witchhunt whose ultimate aim is to further drive down the wages and living standards of the entire working class.

NYC mayor Bloomberg is now demanding 20 percent cuts in city agency budgets, threatening the heavily minority public employees unions with further job cuts and lower wages. Schools and libraries are on the chopping block, and even the recycling program that allows the homeless to collect five-cent deposits on cans and bottles is being eliminated. It's time to fight back!

When the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 bureaucracy, then led by Willie James, hatched a sellout contract in 1996 providing for nearly 600 transit cleaning jobs to be slashed and replaced by WEP laborers, we wrote in "NYC Transit 'Workfare' Deal: Enslaving the Poor, Busting the Unions" (*WV* No. 652, 27 September 1996):

> "What is required is a fight for *jobs for all*—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—and full cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts. New York needs a *massive program of public works at union wages*—for quality, integrated housing and schools, for free quality health care for all, for massive reconstruction of roads, bridges and tunnels, for everything we need for a decent life. It is necessary to demand *equal pay for equal work*. The city wants to bring in hundreds of poor people to clean the filthy subway stations? Fine. They should be hired at *union wages with full union protection!* The TWU should lead a fight to *organize the unorganized!*"

Franco/NY Times

NYC "workfare" laborer cleaning subway, job formerly done by unionized worker. Defense of ghetto poor is integral to defense of unions themselves.

"Workfare" and Union-Busting

It was obvious from the get-go that "workfare" was a union-busting move to replace thousands of unionized jobs with cheap labor. City University students on welfare and people in work training programs were forced to abandon their studies and training and enroll in "workfare." In the Parks Department, whose regular staff has been cut by nearly two-thirds over the past 15 years, "workfare" laborers outnumbered unionized employees three to one by 1999. Out of 4,400 WEP workers who have reported for assignments in the transit system, some 1,000 were assigned to clean subway trains and platforms. Often the avenue to better-paying, skilled positions for women and for younger black and immigrant workers, unionized cleaners jobs were cut by a whopping 22 percent between 1995 and 1999 even as ridership boomed.

The WEP cleaners, having been told that after performing their work they could be "processed for hire," were informed in November that the Transit Authority (TA) had imposed a hiring freeze due to impending budget cuts. In the Parks Department, on December 31 more than 3,500 former welfare recipients were laid off from government-subsidized jobs (which, although unionized, paid less than $10 per hour). In addition, 1,200 people on "workfare" who were about to be thrown off the rolls were told they would be denied the Parks jobs they had been promised. Instead, they were referred to a subcontractor paying $1.43 per hour less for the very same work.

As we wrote in our article on the transit "workfare" sellout: "This betrayal by the Local 100 tops is not only a vicious attack on overwhelmingly minority welfare recipients but is a dagger pointed straight at the heart of the TWU—and all NYC municipal unions." The imposition of "workfare" helped soften up the TWU for the pivotal 1999 contract fight. Transit workers were poised to strike but were shackled by the widely despised Local 100 bureaucracy under James, as well as by the "New Directions" (ND) group under Roger Toussaint that has since taken office. Mass meetings of thousands of workers voted to strike in defiance of court injunctions that criminalized even uttering the word "strike." But both wings of the bureaucracy worked to enforce the government's anti-strike dictates to the letter, with ND calling to extend contract negotiations indefinitely. During his election campaign against James, Toussaint assured transit bosses that ND wasn't "strike happy."

Since the TWU tops rolled over in that contract battle, TA management has been walking all over the workforce, exemplified by the racist abuse and firing of union cleaners at Bronx and upper Manhattan stations two years ago (who eventually won their jobs back). Already hit by increased random drug testing, transit workers face a myriad of imminent attacks, from productivity drives to token booth closings and the expansion of one-person train operation (OPTO), a deadly danger to workers and riders alike.

Meanwhile, "workfare" crews are forced to endure the kind of miserable working conditions that unions fought to end years ago. Mostly black and Hispanic women, they do the dirtiest cleaning jobs with no protection from health and safety hazards. They have to use dangerous chemicals and dispose of hazardous materials like syringes without even the minimal training that union cleaners receive. Describing a WEP worker who "became the Coney Island terminal's designated cleaner," the *New York Times* (17 December 2001) wrote, "He was called to dispose of bodily waste in subway cars, to heave garbage from the dank station below the tracks, to scour an employee bathroom that he was not allowed to use." Those on WEP get no sick leave, no vacation, no holidays, no pension—only welfare benefits that cost the city $1.80 per

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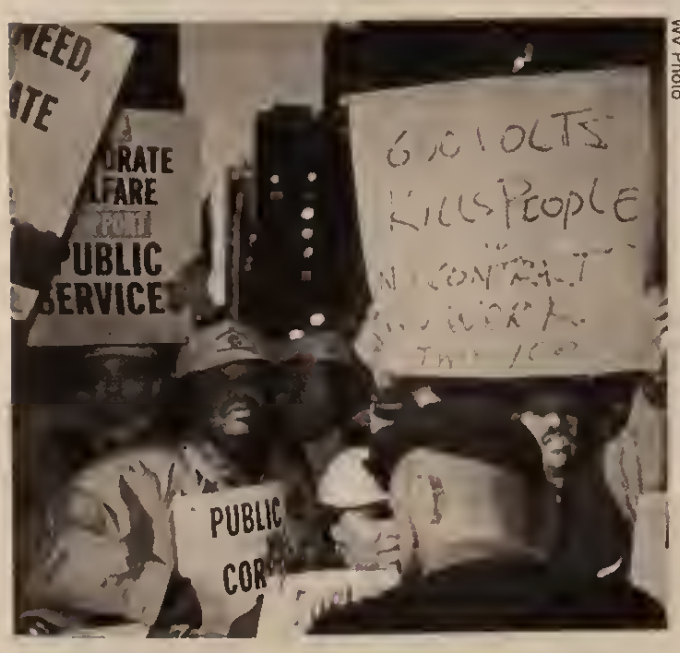


WV Photo

Mass TWU strike rally, December 1999. Local 100 tops knuckled under to government anti-strike injunctions, paving way for further anti-union attacks.

Spartacist League/SYC Forum

Capitalist Rulers' Attack on Welfare Targets Women, Blacks, Immigrants

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Saturday, March 30, 5 p.m.
University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC)
Circle Center (CCC), Room 509, 750 S. Halsted St.
CHICAGO For more information: (312) 563-0441

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Mass Protests Shake Argentina

Saturday, March 23, 7:30 p.m.
Trinity-St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street West (one block west of Spadina)
TORONTO For more information: (416) 593-4138

Young Spartacus

From Korea Through the Vietnam War

The U.S. Left and the "American Century"

Wide World

Part Three: The Rise and Decline of "Revolutionary" Black Nationalism

We print below the third part of an educational on the American left given over two days by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour to a gathering of Spartacus Youth Club members and youth from throughout the International Communist League in New York last summer. The first two parts were published in WV *Nos. 773 and 775 (25 January and 22 February).*

In retrospect, the year 1965 marks a watershed in the history of the American left in the period from the Korean War through the end of the Vietnam War. In February of that year, Lyndon Johnson ordered U.S. warplanes to bomb North Vietnam for the first time. This provoked the first major antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C. organized by the Students for a Democratic Society, which was then not that widely known.

A few months later, the arrest of a black motorist in the Watts ghetto of L.A. sparked the biggest civil conflagration in recent American history. In early 1965, it was still possible for black civil rights militants to consider themselves revolutionaries, in the vanguard of the black struggle, using the tactics of nonviolent resistance. After Watts that was no longer possible. Thus, American society in general, and the American left in particular, was very different at the end of 1965 than at its beginning.

To understand the political significance of Watts, we have to backtrack a little and consider the civil rights movement in the North. In the early '60s, an effort was made to extend the civil rights movement from the South to the North. The main organization involved in this effort was the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). In 1963-64, for example, there were a couple of boycotts of puhlic schools in Harlem and other black neighborhoods in New York City, principally demanding the integration of the city's school system.

However, to speak of a civil rights movement in the North is actually a misnomer. The main demands of this movement were overcoming de facto—not legalized—segregated schools and housing, eliminating poverty and mass unemployment in the ghettos and ending racist police brutality. These demands go beyond bourgeois-democratic rights.

The concentration of blacks in impoverished inner-city ghettos in the North was the result of the atomized working of the American capitalist economy. Even if realtors could have been compelled by law to sell homes in affluent white suburbs to black families from Harlem or Chicago's South Side, how many black families could afford to buy such homes? In effect, the civil rights movement in the North was asking for the radical restructuring of the American economy and a massive redistribution of wealth, something the white American ruling class was *not* going to do.

The civil rights movement in the South could and did succeed in achieving its narrowly defined aims. Slowly and unevenly, blacks in the South acquired democratic rights and freedoms that they did not previously have. As a consequence, Martin Luther King Jr. and the Baptist preachers maintained their political authority over the Southern black populace.

Spartacist

Chicago, 1968: Spartacists fought to win growing militant left wing of civil rights movement to class-struggle program of revolutionary integrationism.

The North was a whole different ballgame. The civil rights movement in the North did not and, by its very nature, could not improve the conditions of the black masses. Consequently, civil rights agitation generated a rapidly rising level of frustrated expectations, especially among lumpenized black youth, which exploded in what came to be called the ghetto rebellions of the mid-late '60s—Harlem, Watts, Chicago, Newark, Detroit, Washington, D.C. At the time, in "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," we noted:

> "For the last three summers ghettoes across the country have been rocked by elemental, spontaneous, non-political upheavals against the prevailing property relations and against the forces of the state which protect these relations.... As the struggle against the police expands, the black street-fighters turn on the merchants and shopkeepers, the visible representatives of the oppressive class society, and smash whatever cannot be carried off. Yet despite the vast energies expended and the casualties suffered, these outbreaks have changed nothing. This is a reflection of the urgent need for organizations of real struggle, which can organize and direct these energies toward conscious political objectives. It is the duty of a revolutionary organization to intervene where possible to give these outhursts political direction."
>
> —*Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967

Although Harlem in 1964 was the first of the ghetto rebellions, it was Watts the following year that had a decisive political impact on the civil rights movement. Under great pressure from the Johnson White House and white liberal establishment, King not only condemned the black protesters but endorsed their murderous repression at the hands of the LAPD. Watts thus cost King whatever moral and political authority he still had—and he had some—among young black radicals.

The Northern ghetto rebellions opened up a new and very wide gulf between the right and left wings of the civil rights movement, one which was not easily bridged through compromise. You could support the police repression of the rebellious black youth, or you could defend the black street-fighters against the cops. Neutrality was not a viable option. In Mississippi, Stokely Carmichael and King could and did collaborate in opposing institutionalized racism. But in Watts, Harlem and the Chicago South Side, they were on opposite sides of the barricades.

To better understand the dynamics of the civil rights movement in 1965-66, I'll use an analogy from sports. The young civil rights militants, mainly college-educated intellectuals, were jogging along moving to the left of where they had started. Then, all of a sudden, this mass of black ghetto youth races past them. So they start running all out to catch up and again place themselves at the head of the black struggle.

Furor Over the "Black Power" Slogan

In the spring-summer of 1966, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, publicized the slogan of "Black Power," which infuriated and was intended to infuriate the Northern liberal establishment and official civil rights leadership. The slogan polarized the civil rights movement and became the target of liberal as well as right-wing racist reaction.

There was a significant difference within our own tendency as to how to respond to the furor over the "Black Power" slogan. This difference is documented in two pieces—"Black Power and the Fascists" and "Black Power–Class Power"—reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 (Revised): "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism." Due to problems in publishing a regular *Spartacist*, the comrades in the California Bay Area, under the leadership of Geoff White, put out their own newsletter-type publication called *Spartacist West*. We were less centralized in those days so that the line in *Spartacist West* didn't necessarily express the line of the national leadership as codified in prior motions. Apparently, the Bay Area local was not all that centralized either.

As it turned out, our first public comment on the "Black Power" slogan was a piece in the August 1966 *Spartacist West* written by one of our leading young comrades at the time, named Chris. He wrote:

> "The black workers must seek allies among the rest of the working class. To do this, they must drop the slogan Black Power...because as a slogan for struggle it says nothing to workers of other races about the oppression—and the interests—that black and white have in common."

This piece also put forward the especially bad argument that the fascists had "rallied the racism of thousands of whites in reaction to Black Power." We do *not* deter-

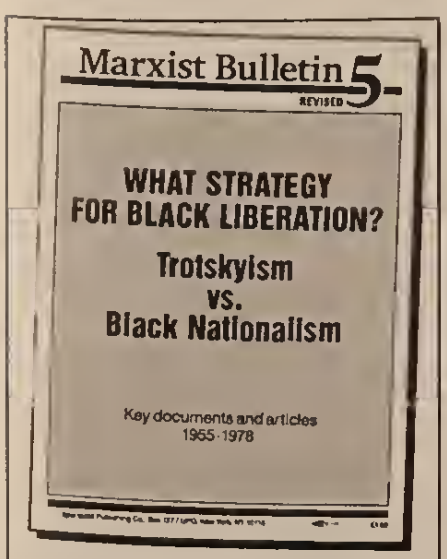
mine our political line and slogans so as not to offend backward workers.

Geoff White objected to and opposed the line of the piece by Chris and wrote a corrective for the next *Spartacist West*. He argued that the slogan of "Black Power" expressed a significant leftward shift in the civil rights movement under the pressure of the impoverished black masses. For most black militants, the slogan was primarily an expression of hostility to the pro-Democratic Party liberalism of King and a declaration of solidarity with the rebellious ghetto youth in Harlem, Watts and elsewhere. White recognized, as we all did, that the slogan "can be used by petty bourgeois black nationalist elements who want to slice the social cake along color rather than class lines and to promote reactionary color mysticism." However, he argued that, at that particular conjuncture, we should use the slogan of "Black Power" and invest it with a revolutionary proletarian programmatic content. This position was accepted and implemented by the rest of the organization.

There is an important general lesson to draw from this episode on the internal functioning of a Leninist vanguard party. Geoff White was a rightist within the tendency. In 1968, he would resign from the Spartacist League and openly repudiate Marxism. The immediate cause of his resignation was his support to the petty-bourgeois radical Peace and Freedom Party. His line that we should seek to appropriate rather than oppose the "Black Power" slogan was consistent with his general softness toward "the movement," as it was called. But, in this case, he was right. This was the smart, as well as principled, initial response to the "Black Power" slogan. So when a known party rightist makes a proposal or advances a position on a new development, do not automatically dismiss it as an expression of opportunism toward petty-bourgeois radicalism, social democracy or whatever. Judge every question on its own objective merits.

Returning to the civil rights movement, for a year or so we used the slogan of "Black Power" according to the line of Geoff White's article. For example, when the Newark ghetto exploded in the summer of 1967, Jim Robertson wrote a short—very short—agitational leaflet titled "Organize Black Power!" that is included in the first bound volume of *Spartacist*.

Incidentally, about this time Hollywood reissued the popular and quite left-wing film *Spartacus* starring Kirk Douglas. This movie was about the great slave revolt in ancient Rome from which our name originally derives, via Rosa Luxemburg. The film helped us a bit because it made our name less obscure. When we told black youth we were from the Spartacist League, they would say, "Oh, you're the Kirk Douglas group. You guys kicked the asses of the Romans." To which we'd respond, "Yeah, that's our historic tradition."



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New York, NY 10116

The Influence of Black Nationalism

By 1968, the "Black Power" slogan had become universally identified with black nationalism which, in turn, had become hegemonic among young black radicals. In October 1966, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was founded in Oakland, California. The next year Stokely Carmichael published an anti-Marxist tract under the title *Black Power*. One consequence of the hegemony of black nationalism is that by 1968 we lost our half dozen or so black members—all of them. We did not recruit any blacks again until late 1971-early '72 in the aftermath of the split in the Black Panthers.

I earlier indicated the main negative factors that contributed to the rise of black nationalism. First and foremost was the absence of any significant left opposition in the labor movement opposing the racist practices of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and racial oppression in American society at large. From the standpoint of a black college student or lumpenized ghetto youth, the white population was one racist mass. As one of the black separatists in SNCC put it: there were "in reality 180 million white racists" in the U.S. The second negative factor was that no revolutionary Marxist organization intervened early in the civil rights movement when the overwhelming majority of young black activists still adhered to liberal integrationism.

There were other important factors that conditioned the rise of black nationalism in the mid 1960s. One was the international context. The civil rights movement coincided with and was influenced by the anti-colonial struggles then taking place in Africa, Asia and Latin America. I have already discussed the impact of the Cuban Revolution on the American left. There was also the Algerian war of independence against French colonial rule. In the late 1950s-early 1960s, most of the British, French and other European colonies in sub-Saharan Africa gained their formal political independence. In some cases, these countries were now governed by left-talking bourgeois nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana and Sékou Touré in Guinea, who claimed adherence to "African socialism."

It became commonplace among black radicals to see the black struggle in the U.S. as a part of a broader struggle of black or nonwhite oppressed peoples against Western imperialism, as a form of internal anti-colonial struggle. Here again Malcolm X, though wrong, well expressed the views of young black radicals:

> "The black revolution is world-wide in scope and in nature. The black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America....
> "The revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era."
> —*Malcolm X Speaks*, edited by George Breitman (1965)

It's easy to understand why Malcolm X thought this way. When he went to the newly independent states of black Africa and also Algeria, he was treated by their governments as an honored guest. Had Malcolm X tried to attend a convention of the United Auto Workers (UAW), United Steelworkers of America or some other big AFL-CIO union, he probably would have been threatened with violence by the bureaucratic white union leaders.

In its own way, the Sino-Soviet split also contributed to the rise of black nationalism in the U.S. For earlier generations of black leftist radicals—like Harry Haywood in the 1920s and Ben Davis in the 1930s—Soviet Russia was the unchallenged leader of world Communism because it was the only Communist country in the world. But that was no longer the case in the 1960s. When the future Panther leaders Huey Newton and David Hilliard came on the scene, there were several different Communist countries and two competing rival Communist powers: Russia and China.

Furthermore, the nonwhite, non-European Communist power, China, *appeared* to be a lot more revolutionary than the white European Communist power, Russia. Mao's China denounced the Kremlin leaders for "revisionism" and collaboration with U.S. imperialism. Young black radicals like Newton and Hilliard interpreted the Sino-Soviet split in racial and national, as well as doctrinal, terms. As they saw it, just as white American workers were collaborating with the American capitalists to keep black people down, so the Russian Communists were no longer revolutionary but were collaborating with the American imperialists to keep the nonwhite peoples of the world down. The Black Panther Party labeled itself "Marxist-Leninist" ***and*** "revolutionary black nationalist," a combination that would have been inconceivable to earlier generations of black American leftists.

I want to discuss a very important aspect of 1960s black nationalism, one which decisively influenced the subsequent development of the Latino left—Chicano and Puerto Rican—as well as radical feminists. This was the central importance attached to racial organizational exclusivity. Organizational separatism became a psychological compensation for the manifest impossibility in the U.S. of acquiring a separate state. In this sense, the term black nationalism is actually a misnomer. Black separatism is a more accurate description of this political current.

The main central demand of Basque nationalists in Spain is for the creation of an independent Basque state. The main central demand of Kosovar Albanian nationalists is secession from Serbia and the incorporation of Kosovo into a greater Albanian state. But none of the major black nationalist organizations in this period—the post-1966 SNCC and CORE, the Panthers, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers—called for a separate black state carved out of the territory of the United States, because this demand was manifestly fantastical. No one would have taken them seriously. What differentiated these groups from liberal black groups and from racially integrated leftist groups was that they were exclusively black and sought to build exclusively black institutions but within the framework of the existing American capitalist state.

The black nationalist current originated as a minority opposition in the main civil rights organizations—SNCC in the South and CORE in the North. Its main immediate demand was the expulsion and exclusion of whites from these organizations. To justify this demand, the separatists put forward a socio-psychological theory of black oppression. Blacks, they argued, were conditioned to defer to white authority and to accept white leadership and white-derived political doctrines. It didn't matter whether the whites in question were right-wingers, liberals or communists. White was white, even if it also happened to be red.

Adelman/Magnum

Malcolm X inspired a generation of black militants in the 1960s.

In his book on SNCC (*In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* [1981]), Clayborne Carson quotes and summarizes the views of the black separatists who demanded the exclusion of whites from that organization:

> "The authors asserted that many blacks were 'intimidated by the presence of whites, because of their knowledge of the power that whites have over their lives.' A single white person who participated in a meeting of black people could change the tone of that meeting: 'People would immediately start talking about "brotherhood," "love," etc.; race would not be discussed.'... On a deeper level, the Atlanta separatists argued that white people were inherently incapable of understanding the black experience. Despite this, whites had shaped blacks' views of themselves. 'Too long have we allowed white people to interpret the importance and meaning of the cultural aspects of our society'."

If you replace black and white in this passage with Latino and Anglo or with women and men, it accurately expresses the outlook of Chicano nationalists and radical feminists a few years later, in this regard modeling themselves after the black nationalists. The late '60s was the heyday of what we called sectoralism or multivanguardism, the doctrine that every oppressed group—whether defined by race, ethnicity, sex or sexual orientation—had to have their own exclusive "liberation" organization. Only such organizations, it was argued, could truly express the interests of these groups and psychologically empower their members to fight against their oppression.

AP

SNCC's Stokely Carmichael speaking to hundreds of students at a historically black Florida college in 1967. His "Black Power" slogan incensed liberal white bourgeoisie.

In its own way, sectoralism was an acceptance of and adaptation to white supremacy and male chauvinism. Its basic underlying premise was that while whites could lead and influence blacks, blacks could not lead and influence whites; while men could lead and influence women, women could not lead and influence men. All of you in the Spartacus Youth Clubs know from your own experience in our tendency that this premise is definitely not true.

The heyday of sectoralism on the American left did not last all that long. By 1972, the large majority of former black and Latino nationalists and radical feminists were operating within the framework of pro-Democratic Party liberalism. At the same time, a significant number of radicals who once were in

continued on page 6

U.S. Left...

(continued from page 5)

these movements and milieus were now in racially integrated groups claiming to be or to be building the "Marxist-Leninist" vanguard of the American proletariat.

The Rise and Fall of the Black Panthers

To better understand this development, we have to consider the history of the Black Panthers, by far the best-known expression of radical black nationalism in this period. The Panthers don't fit into the standard political categories. They were a short-lived phenomenon shaped by a unique historical conjuncture both within the U.S. and internationally.

As previously noted, the Panthers considered themselves a "Marxist-Leninist" organization of the Maoist persuasion. The writings of Chairman Mao were displayed in Panther offices, and not just for show. Some of the leaders and cadre took the writings seriously. However, the Panthers differed radically from the other Maoist groups in the U.S. at the time: first, they were exclusively black; secondly, they didn't even pay lip service to the working class but openly espoused a form of lumpen vanguardism; thirdly, they were a paramilitary organization and mainly attracted recruits on that basis.

However, the Black Panthers were not like any other left-wing paramilitary organization I know. In both their public pronouncements and internal communications, they compared themselves to Mao's peasant-based guerrilla army in the Chinese civil war and to the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front. However, they did *not* actually engage in insurrectionary activity. In Latin America in this period there were left-wing urban guerrilla groups. But the Panthers were not urban guerrillas. Nor did they engage in individual terrorism.

What the founding Panther leaders —Newton, Hilliard, Bobby Seale— attempted to do was to build a black paramilitary organization in the ghettos that would coexist with and restrain the police—sort of an armed version of "community control of the cops." And for a short time they actually got away with it, especially in Oakland, their original and strongest base. The authorities were not certain how much support they had and were concerned that the killing or arrest of some Panther leaders might set off a major ghetto conflagration.

But by 1968 the FBI and local police forces had launched a concerted campaign to destroy the Black Panther Party. Thirty-eight Panther militants were killed outright, including the top leaders of the Chicago branch, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Practically the entire central leadership was imprisoned on capital charges. A few of the other leaders, notably Eldridge Cleaver, fled the country to avoid arrest and took refuge in Algeria. The government also effectively incited more right-wing, rival black nationalist groups to engage in murderous attacks on the Panthers.

I believe that Newton and the other Panther leaders were genuinely shocked that the black community did not rally to their defense even at the level of large protest demonstrations and fund-raising. In order to broaden their base of support, the Panthers moved right at two levels, that of the black community and that of the white liberal community.

Despite their "Marxist-Leninist" posture, the Panthers had no concrete program to mobilize the black working class and ghetto poor in struggle against the capitalist order. In seeking to become more attractive to black working people, they resorted to social work. Much of the Panthers' organizing energy was now expended on its "free breakfast for children" program. In 1967-68, the Panthers publicized themselves with pictures of guys with bandoleers across their chests carrying rifles in military formation. In 1969-70, they publicized themselves with pictures of guys and also young women serving cereal to black schoolchildren.

At the same time, the Panthers came under the political influence of the Communist Party (CP), especially through its legal defense apparatus. Over the decades, the CP had acquired proficiency in working the left-liberal milieu in which they had a layer of sympathizers and contacts. Furthermore, the conditions of the late 1960s had also radicalized this milieu. Thus, defense of the Panthers became a major cause in rad-lib circles as well as among leftists. Celebrities like Hollywood actress Shirley MacLaine and Leonard Bernstein, conductor of the New York Philharmonic, organized well-publicized fundraising benefits for the Panthers.

Of course, it is in no way unprincipled for a radical left group to seek liberal support against state repression. We've done this in the past and will do so in the future. However, the Panthers adapted their politics so as to make themselves more acceptable and attractive to white liberals. For example, in 1969, they teamed up with the CP in a typical popular-frontist lash-up called the United Front Against Fascism, the main demand of which was "community control of the police on a national scale."

In 1970-71, the Panthers underwent a violent faction fight and split between the Algiers group around Eldridge Cleaver and the old central leadership around Huey Newton. The Algiers group accused Newton & Co. of abandoning the group's original "revolutionary" nationalist politics and paramilitary activity in favor of common work with white liberals. Of course, it was a lot easier to advocate a return to anti-cop confrontations from Algiers than from Oakland. This faction fight effectively destroyed the Panthers.

One important consequence was that several hundred black radicals, who, after all, had been in an organization which called itself "Marxist-Leninist," were now in a state of political disarray and organizational homelessness. Some of these moved leftward into racially integrated organizations claiming to be or to be building the "Marxist-Leninist" vanguard of the American working class. Our first black recruits in this period came from a group of ex-Panthers in Los Angeles around Joe Johnson ("Li'l Joe"). We cited Johnson's capsule analysis of the Panthers in the piece we did at the time of the split (reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [Revised]).

Whereas the Panthers have since entered the realm of popular political mythology with Hollywood films made about them, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit is today a little-known chapter in the mass black radicalism of the 1960s. Yet the League was a significant organization because it was the main expression of "revolutionary" black nationalism within the unionized industrial proletariat, in a union—the UAW—in which the left historically had influence. Furthermore, the underlying trajectory of the Panthers and the League, despite their different social bases, was similar.

Formed and led by a circle of radical nationalist intellectuals, the League attracted a layer of young auto workers, the slightly older brothers of the "brothers on the block" who elsewhere rallied to the Panthers. In 1968-69, League supporters organized and led a number of successful wildcat strikes in Detroit's Chrysler plants. While most of the League's immediate concrete demands were supportable (such as more upgrading of and apprenticeship openings for blacks), there were also elements of nationalist class collaboration, as in seeking the hiring of more black foremen.

Although in practice the League sometimes operated within the organizational structure of the UAW, its stated goal was the formation of a separate black dual union opposed to the UAW. As such, the League was indifferent or hostile toward white workers, which obviously played into the hands of the Reutherite bureaucracy and the companies in victimizing League supporters.

No less decisive was that the large majority of older black workers did *not* support the League's nationalist politics, although many involved themselves in its shop-floor actions. While these older black workers generally did not support the Reutherite bureaucracy, they did support the UAW as an institution. They recognized, as many younger black workers did not, the value of a racially integrated industrial union, despite the racist practices of its bureaucratic leadership, in defending their own material interests against the auto bosses.

Thus, the League, like the Panthers, was impelled to broaden its base of support among the black populace because most blacks, including workers, did not support its original nationalist program. Whereas the Panthers turned to social work, the League engaged in community organizing around such demands as "community control of the school system."

In early 1971, the League experienced a major faction fight and split, which paralleled that of the Panthers politically as well as chronologically. One faction, personified by Ken Cockrel, stood for popular-frontist black community politics whose trajectory was clearly in the direction of the Democratic Party. A few years later, Cockrel would give backhanded support to the black Democrat Coleman Young in his successful bid for mayor of Detroit.

The opposing faction stood for a return to the League's original shop-floor oriented, semi-syndicalist nationalist politics. However, after the split, a number of leading figures in this group, such as General Baker, joined a hard-line but racially integrated Stalinist-Maoist organization, the Communist League. The leader of the Communist League was a veteran black ex-CP cadre, Nelson Peery, who was very much an orthodox old-line Stalinist. We have a few comrades in the tendency today who were originally in Peery's California Communist League in the early 1970s.

I have discussed the rise and decline of "revolutionary" black nationalism primarily in terms of American domestic social struggle. However, the formation and subsequent history of the Black Panthers and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers was also decisively conditioned by the Vietnam War, in which American imperialism was defeated by a state and a movement whose leadership claimed to stand for the principles of "Marxism-Leninism."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

AP

Black Panthers were targeted by FBI, local police for picking up guns. To broaden their support base, the Panthers launched a series of ghetto social work programs, such as "breakfast for children."

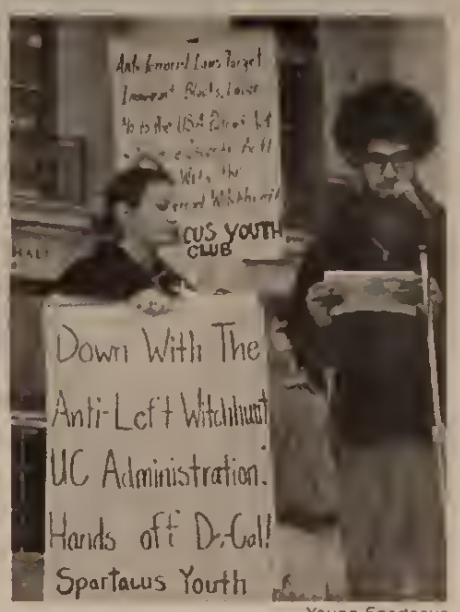
Wide World

In the late 1960s-early '70s, radical black auto workers in Detroit-area plant Revolutionary Union Movements (RUMs), affiliated into the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, led successful wildcat strikes. 1973: Organizers of victorious Detroit auto sit-down strike being carried from plant.

Rosenberg/Detroit Free Press

Spartacus Youth Say

Down With Anti-Sex, Anti-Left Witchhunt at Berkeley!



Young Spartacus

When students from the Male Sexuality De-Cal class (student-run classes taken for credit) were reported to have participated in an orgy, the UC Berkeley administration and its right-wing lackeys in the campus *Daily Californian* launched an anti-sex witchhunt to try to eliminate the entire De-Cal program. The Bay Area SYC called a March 7 speakout against the witchhunt. Famous left-wing porn star Nina Hartley endorsed the demo and sent a statement: "Sexual literacy is essential for sexual liberation to occur—keep the de-cal classes!"

Unsurprisingly, the Stalinist Progressive Labor and the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party—organizations that grotesquely debate whether or not homosexuals are degenerate products of bourgeois society—did not come out. Though the International Socialist Organization normally excludes us communists from their meetings, one member invited the SYC to give a quick presentation to motivate the protest. We explained how necessary it was to oppose such conservative regimentation and right-wing filth. Yet the "fight the right" ISO still chose to impotently abstain! We print below the SYC statement for the demo.

* * *

MARCH 3—The *Dnily PuritaniCal* is at it again. To carry on its journalistic mission, which traditionally consists of publishing the most racist and jingoistic ads and cartoons for the sake of "presenting different views," the *Daily Cal* has spearheaded the latest anti-left witchhunt and anti-sex hysteria on campus. The Male Sexuality De-Cal class was suspended for two weeks based on supposed "illicit activities," which in reality amounted to consensual sex outside the classroom. Soon after, seizing on the anonymous theft of copies of the right-wing *Cnlifornia Pntriot* (February 2002), the *Daily Cnl* launched the newest round of cynical "free-speech" hysteria, painting leftists as anti-free-speech "marauders" worthy of prosecution and repression at the hands of the administration and police. Taken together, these incidents contribute to an atmosphere of social regimentation ripe for the administration to clamp down on this university's feeble "academic freedom" and drive all "deviants," sexual or political, out of UC Berkeley. This is an attempt to roll things back to the McCarthyite 1950s, when communists, leftists and even liberals were witchhunted off campuses. We say: *"Down With the Anti-Left Witchhunt!"*

The Male Sexuality De-Cal has been reinstated on a "probationary basis," while the administration still investigates "wrongdoings" and prohibits any "outside activities." This is not an isolated incident. Last semester the revolutionary communists of the Spartacus Youth Club held an Introduction to Marxism De-Cal class which was targeted by right-wingers, who lobbied the History Department to cancel it. But we have the right to present our revolutionary program on this campus, and we will fight for it. The *Daily Cal*'s dramatic demands that De-Cals be given "clearer academic standards and better faculty supervision" (19 February) only embolden the state's efforts to shut down these student-run classes; the administration's new De-Cal task force is an effort to enforce conservative codes of conduct and suppress leftist ideas from higher education. While the administration wants all discussions about sex off-limits, UC Regent Ward Connerly, the man whose name is synonymous with the abolition of affirmative action in California, now wants the entire De-Gal program eliminated, calling it "degeneracy." Meanwhile, ROTC, the training corps of American imperialism's next generation of mass murderers, has free rein in recruiting on this campus. *That* is degeneracy! *UC Administration: Hands off De-Cal!*

What really twists the panties of the administration is not the question of violating "the sanctity of democratic education" but of violating bourgeois morality. For them, all sex that threatens the bourgeois conception of "one man on one woman for life blessed by god" needs to be stamped out in order to protect the institution of the family, which serves to oppress women as child-bearers and youth as future wage slaves and soldiers, and to ensure social conservatism. The anti-gay nature of this latest outcry is thinly veiled, as the *Dnily PuritnniCnl* titillatingly whispers of field trips to gay strip clubs and sex clubs as some of the supposedly more outrageous "illicit activities" of the Male Sexuality class. This is no surprise in the "democratic" United States, where gays and lesbians lack access to basic democratic rights.

A few years ago the Spartacus Youth Club launched a campaign to defend San Francisco State University professor John De Cecco, who was under fire for sitting on the editorial board of a "Journal of Paedophilia," which researched issues of child sexuality. We have also always vigorously defended the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), perennially under attack by right-wing bigots and liberals alike for its opposition to age-of-consent laws between male lovers. We also defended Nina Hartley—an X-rated film star whose guest lectures at Male and Female Sexuality De-Cals have been cited as proof that they're no longer acceptable—when she faced 12 years in prison for "felony lesbianism." Consenting individuals, regardless of age, gender or particular kink, should be free to engage in whatever sexual relations they choose, without interference from the state, church, school or right-wing busybodies. We don't accord the racist capitalist state—whether run by Democrats or Republicans—the right to decree a sexual "norm." Do you want the people who framed up Mumia Abu-Jamal, who kill Afghanis and terrorize immigrants and blacks, who are trying to do away with the democratic right to abortion, to decide what you do in your bedroom?

It is no coincidence that this state-sponsored right-wing backlash is happening while the American bourgeoisie still drops bombs on Afghanistan, prepares further massacres in Iraq and the Philippines, and beefs up the Zionist state of Israel for the "final solution" against the Palestinian people. To carry out its imperialist adventures, the bourgeoisie needs to regiment the population to accept authority without question. College students, who under capitalism are trained to be the future technocrats and managers of the bourgeoisie's affairs, must be kept in check so they can better serve the capitalist masters. And now, with token gains of the civil rights movement like affirmative action abolished, tuition fees escalating exponentially, and U.S. imperialists pillaging the world, the elite campuses have been overwhelmingly purged of blacks and Latinos so that racists and other retrogrades think they can act with impunity.

If anyone is trying to censor "free speech" it is these neo-McCarthyite demagogues shutting up anyone who opposes them while advancing the capitalists' "anti-terror" crackdown that targets immigrants, blacks, labor, and antiwar youth. The *'California Patriot*'s current issue baits the Berkeley Stop the War Coalition as the "John Walker Lindh Fan Club," (February 2002) and viciously equates Chicano student group MEChA with the fascist Third Reich. Their demonizations of the antiwar milieu—from accusing a member of the International Socialist Organization of stealing campus newspapers to basically calling anyone to the left of Jesse Helms an "authoritarian Communist"—are serious provocations and part of a nationwide drive to purge left-wing dissent from campuses. Just last year we had to fight for our right to protest the racist, slavery-apologist David Horowitz, who has been crusading for the elimination of leftists and antiwar activists from campuses while on break from his usual intellectual cross burnings.

This outrageous campaign of intimidation and repression calls for the biggest possible protest. We call on all students and organizations who agree with the following demands, regardless of other political differences, to join us in organizing a united-front protest: *Down With the Anti-Left Witchhunt! Down With Anti-Sex Hysteria! UC Administration: Hands Off De-Cal!*■

No More Mr. "Naked Guy"

The following is an excerpted version of the satirical "UC Berkeley's Sexual Code of Conduct" issued by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club and distributed on campus leading up to and at their March 7 speakout.

The administration of the Center of All Life (CAL) proposes the following Code of Conduct. Recent behavior by students and facilitators of the soon-to-be-abolished (God willing!) De-Cal classes has forced us to act at once to better protect our hallowed reputation as a place where nothing "funny" happens.

1. Enrolling in a De-Cal class requires that one refrain from engaging in any and all sexual acts, inside or outside the classroom.

2. Discussion of male sexuality is henceforth forbidden. The discussion of female sexuality is also forbidden, unless it refrains from discussing women's sexual freedom, right to abortion or any deviance from women's established role as cooks, baby-bearers and underpaid secretaries.

3. Strip clubs are off-limits to any UC student who wishes to graduate from this institution.

4. All parties and private social gatherings by students must be attended by a UC Berkeley police officer, so as to guarantee that no "illicit" activities take place at them.

5. Being gay is no crime, but be gay somewhere else. UC Berkeley must enforce the highest possible standards for its student body.

6. To uphold the highest academic standards, De-Cal classes must be taught by individuals who hold at least a double PhD and who have been cleared by the Legislature's Commission on Education.

7. It is unacceptable for the student body to engage in general naughtiness. The General Guardians of Decency, also known as the Board of Regents, shall decide on the definition of naughty.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.
March 23: **The Capitalist State: Reform vs. Revolution**
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor, Oakland
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON
Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
March 28: **The Formation of the Deformed Workers States**
Boston University
College of Arts and Sciences
725 Commonwealth Ave., Room 426
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

LOS ANGELES
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.
March 30: **The Fight for a Revolutionary Workers Party**
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"Axis of Evil"...

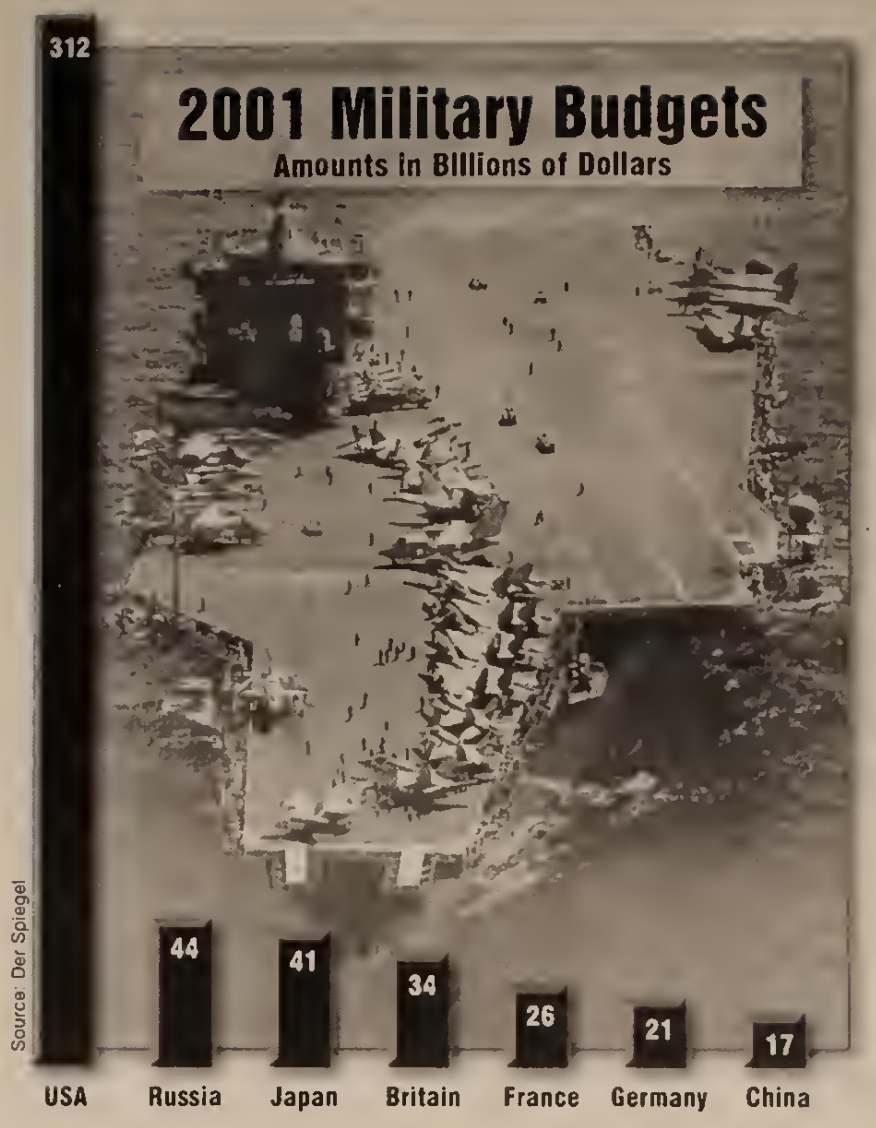
(continued from page 1)

adventures. Barely a week has gone by without the announcement of a new American military deployment, from the Philippines to Yemen to the former Soviet republic of Georgia. Now Washington wants to send more U.S. "advisers" to Colombia as the decades-long counterinsurgency war by the death squad military intensifies.

In December, Congress—with bipartisan support—approved a huge package of high-tech arms for capitalist Taiwan, a counterrevolutionary dagger aimed at the Chinese deformed workers state and the gains of the 1949 Revolution (and the U.S. now has or is planning a military presence in former Soviet Central Asian republics on China's western flank). Simultaneously, Bush unilaterally tore up the 30-year-old ABM treaty outlawing the development of anti-missile systems, which had been an obstacle to U.S. plans for a "national missile defense." Even if it can be built, such a missile defense would be useless against an all-out nuclear attack. But it could be used to neutralize a relatively small nuclear arsenal, like China's, in the event of an American nuclear first strike. Not coincidentally, China is among the seven countries listed as potential targets in the Nuclear Posture Review. *For unconditional military defense of China, as well as North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba, against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution!*

Commenting on the international furor that met the Pentagon paper, the *New York Times* (11 March) wrote of "making the unthinkable thinkable." In the minds of America's imperialist rulers—Democrats and Republicans—a nuclear attack has been thinkable from the moment they first got their hands on the A-bomb. The first two bombs developed by the U.S. were immediately used to incinerate the populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Washington repeatedly considered the use of nuclear weapons against North Korea in 1950-53, and later against Vietnam in the 1960s and early '70s, as the recently released tapes of Richard Nixon's Oval Office rantings confirm. The American rulers were held back only by fear of Soviet nuclear retaliation. But today the Soviet Union no longer exists, destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92.

That world-historic defeat for the international proletariat shapes today's world. While rivalries among the major capitalist powers are no longer held in check by a U.S.-led anti-Soviet consensus, the U.S. has simultaneously asserted its unchallenged supremacy as the "world's only superpower." In a 12 March editorial, the rational-posturing *Times* warned that Bush would turn the U.S. into a "nuclear rogue" by threatening non-nuclear states with a nuclear attack. But that "rogue" policy was earlier enunciated by Clinton's Pentagon chief William Perry in 1996. What has changed is that the Republican administration dispenses with even the window-dressing of "multilateralism." Little wonder, then, that Bush's "axis of evil" tirade provoked an outcry not only



from its intended targets but also from Washington's NATO allies. Even the "soft cop" in the Bush administration, Secretary of State Colin Powell, warned the Europeans that whatever their differences they would have to accept the "principled leadership" of the American behemoth.

The unrestrained militarism signaled by Bush's speech demonstrates even more clearly than before that American imperialism is truly the main enemy of the world's peoples. The Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League, is dedicated to the forging of the revolutionary workers party needed to lead the multiracial working class in a socialist revolution that sweeps away the capitalist order in the bastion of world imperialism. That purpose animated the labor-centered rally in the San Francisco Bay Area on February 9 in defense of immigrants and against the USA-Patriot Act and Maritime Security Act. As the Spartacist speaker stated:

> "This is the first effort to mobilize the power of the working class independently, against 'national unity' here in the belly of the American imperialist beast....
>
> "The attacks on immigrants and the working class that we are addressing at the rally today cannot be separated from the broader aims of the ruling class. The American colossus, waving the criminal destruction of the World Trade Center on 9/11 like a bloody shirt, lashed out at Afghanistan to assert its unchallenged supremacy as the world's nuclear cowboy. Now the American imperialists are plotting their next moves in an open-ended 'war on terrorism'—be it attacks on Iraq, Iran or North Korea. We defended Iraq and then Afghanistan when they were attacked by the imperialist war machine, and we will do so again....
>
> "In fighting every injustice and every oppression, we in the Spartacist League have the aim of making the working class as a whole conscious of its historic tasks: bringing down this whole system of greed, exploitation and war that is capitalism."

EU Imperialists: Economic Powers, Military Pygmies

On one level, European fury over Bush's "axis of evil" speech reflected the growing conflict of interests in the Persian Gulf and Near East between the U.S. and the European Union (EU) powers. Even during the Cold War era, the European bourgeoisies attempted to develop their own client states in the oil-rich Gulf region. Before the 1991 war, France did a thriving oil-for-arms trade with Saddam Hussein's Iraq. In recent years, France has consistently voted to soften the UN embargo and expanded its trade with Iraq—within the limits set by the sanctions and, more fundamentally, by what the U.S. will tolerate. The French oil company TotalFinaElf has also been negotiating with Baghdad over investing in the huge Majnoon and Nahr bin Omar oil fields.

The European capitalists also have a strong interest in investment in Iran, another oil-rich country. Following the U.S.-backed Shah's ouster by the 1979 "Islamic Revolution" and the ensuing "hostage crisis," Washington has not even had formal diplomatic relations with Iran. Meanwhile, the EU pursues a policy of "constructive engagement," seeking in particular to cultivate the "moderate" wing of the Islamic theocracy around President Mohammad Khatami. Bush's "axis of evil" speech was, of course, quite the opposite of "constructive engagement." Even the generally pro-American London *Economist* (9 February) took Bush to task for having "made things harder" for Khatami while strengthening "Iranian hardliners."

But differences over Iran or Iraq did not alone account for the firestorm of denunciation against Bush's speech by spokesmen from all parts of the European political spectrum. German Green Joschka Fischer, foreign minister under Social Democratic (SPD) chancellor Gerhard Schröder, fumed that "alliance partners are not satellites," harking back to the Cold War line that the East European deformed workers states were mere "satellites" of the Soviet Union. Right-wing French president Jacques Chirac, preferring an analogy from the era of feudalism, accused Washington of treating its NATO partners like "vassal states." Even British Conservative Chris Patten, current EU commissioner of external affairs, warned Washington of "dangerous instincts," including "that allies may be useful as an optional extra but that the U.S. is big enough to manage without them if it must."

The major German newsweekly *Der Spiegel* (18 February) dispensed with such diplomatic language, running a caricature of "The Bush Warriors" on its cover. An article titled "Masters of the World" groused, "Not even a half year after West European politicians and media declared that we are now all Americans, one sees that the much ballyhooed change of the U.S. president from a grinning deputy sheriff to a team player... was pure wishful thinking." Fulminating against an "imperial America" that is reviving "the old great power arrogance," *Der Spiegel* warned, "Rambo is on the loose again." The article declaimed that in Pentagon chief Donald Rumsfeld's view, "war, doubtless even with nuclear weapons, remains a self-evident means of American foreign policy in the 21st century." It pointedly concluded: "The most important argument that the Americans can advance for their martial stance is their unassailable military superiority."

The Bush administration's bellicose "unilateralism" drives home with a vengeance that the European imperialists cannot pursue their own national ambitions when those come into conflict with U.S. interests anywhere in the world so long as they remain, relatively speaking, economic powers but military pygmies. They may hate the punishing tariff on steel imports Bush just imposed in violation of international agreements, but there is little they can do except complain and threaten some retaliatory economic measures. *Der Spiegel* may believe that in response to Washington's provocations the "Europeans have found a common voice." But the formation of a European "superstate" as a counterweight to the U.S. is blocked, as it always has been, by Europe's division into rival and potentially mutually hostile capitalist nation-states. Despite the launch of the Euro and a certain degree of economic integration, the core of state power, the military, remains strictly national, not pan-European.

In the ICL's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program," we assert, "Looking back retrospectively to the pre-World War I period, today's 'post-Cold War world' presents many parallels" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998). In broad political terms, this is true: the Soviet workers state that issued out of the first proletarian revolution in history, the October Revolution of 1917, no longer exists, while rivalries among the major capitalist countries have increasingly come to the fore.

But on the military plane, relations among the competing imperialists are vastly different than they were before World War I or World War II. Though Britain and France already have substantial nuclear arsenals, and Germany and the rest could assemble their own in short order, the gulf between these countries and the U.S. is vast. As British left-liberal Seumas Milne observed in the London *Guardian* (14 February), referring to Bush's request for a $48 billion increase in the U.S. military budget this year: "The latest increases will take its military spending to 40% of the worldwide total, larger than the arms budgets of the next 19 states put together. No previous military empire—from the Roman to the British—had anything like this preponderance, let alone America's global reach."

Already in the mid 19th century, the perceptive French intellectual Alexis de Tocqueville predicted that the U.S.—because of its size, natural resources and economic dynamism—would one day surpass Europe. By the end of World War I, Wall Street had displaced the City of London as the world's financial center, as the European imperialists emerged from four years of carnage economically and

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militarily exhausted. In the mid 1920s, Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the Bolshevik Revolution, noted the ascendancy of American imperialism:

> "American capitalism is seeking the position of world domination; it wants to establish an American imperialist autocracy over our planet. This is what it wants.
>
> "What will it do with Europe? It must, they say, pacify Europe. How? Under its hegemony. And what does this mean? This means that Europe will be permitted to rise again, but within limits set in advance, with certain restricted sections of the world market allotted to it."
>
> —"The Premises for the Proletarian Revolution" (1924), reprinted in *Europe and America: Two Speeches on Imperialism* (1971)

But U.S. imperialism's increasing economic pre-eminence was not yet matched by military supremacy. The 1921 Washington conference, one of a number of "disarmament" summits held that decade, fixed the number of battleships that the U.S., Britain and Japan could have at a ratio of 5:5:3. In the years 1933-38, total U.S. military spending was less than half that of Hitler's Germany and roughly on a par with that of Japan, Britain or France. But Washington's military budget had risen astronomically by the end of World War II. With Germany and Japan in rubble and Britain and France qualitatively weakened, the U.S. emerged from the war as the hegemonic imperialist power, both militarily and economically. For the next 45 years, its predominance was challenged only by the existence of the Soviet degenerated workers state. Despite the devastation wreaked by the Nazi invasion—and the misrule of the parasitic Kremlin bureaucracy—the USSR's triumph over Nazi Germany, and soon thereafter its development of a nuclear arsenal to keep U.S. imperialism at bay, demonstrated the enormous power of the planned, collectivized economy.

By the 1970s, with the U.S. sapped by its losing war in Vietnam and with the industrial resurgence of West Germany and Japan, American capitalism was losing its overwhelming economic dominance. But West Germany and the other imperialist powers accepted U.S. leadership in their common crusade to destroy the Soviet Union.

Today, the capitalist rulers of post-Soviet Russia have their own imperialist ambitions, even if they are not now in a position to realize them. If Germany exhibits an imbalance between its economic weight and military weakness, Russia has the opposite imbalance. Should these two countries forge an alliance, uniting Germany's financial and technological resources with Russia's still formidable nuclear arsenal, that alliance would rapidly alter the global balance of power.

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

There is genuine and well-founded hatred and fear of American militarism among working people in Europe, fear that the Pentagon's arsenal of death and destruction will be used not only against Third World countries like Iraq and Iran but at some point against Europe. But if opposition to American militarism is not directed toward *proletarian internationalism*, it will inevitably be directed toward support for strengthening the military power and global role of one's "own" capitalist state.

During the First World War, the German ruling class and its Social Democratic henchmen appealed to the deeply rooted hostility of the German working class toward the Russian tsarist autocracy, historically the gendarme of European reaction. In turn, the French ruling class and its social-democratic hirelings appealed to the hostility of French working people toward imperial and militaristic Germany, contrasting the more "democratic" character of the French Republic to the Kaiser's Reich. Against the social-democratic class traitors, the great German revolutionary socialist Karl Liebknecht put forward the famous slogan: The Main Enemy Is at Home! Today, it is necessary to re-emphasize that the struggle against militarism and imperialist war is *first and foremost a struggle for proletarian revolution against one's own imperialist bourgeoisie.*

It is the social democrats who now administer imperialist rule throughout much of West Europe. And the line of the various self-styled "revolutionary," "Marxist" or "Trotskyist" organizations that support them is that the American and *only* the American bourgeoisie is the enemy. They portray the European bourgeoisies, by omission if not always explicitly, as "peace-loving" in contrast to the crazed warmongers in Washington.

Thus the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) has promoted recent demonstrations in Paris and Brussels calling for "an international peace and protection force" to defend the Palestinians and earlier demanded "a political fight directed at the European Union and the French government so that they respond positively to the demands of the Palestinian national movement" (*Rouge*, 7 December 2000). Among the other groups that mobilized for the pro-imperialist demonstration in Paris was Lutte Ouvrière (LO), which last year signed on to an appeal to France and the EU to intervene in the Near East. An article in *Lutte Ouvrière* (25 January) denouncing Washington's support for Zionist state terror does not even refer to French imperialism.

Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France have opposed appeals for military intervention by the French bourgeoisie, former colonial overlords in the Near East and North Africa and brutal oppressors of the large Maghrebin minority in France. Throughout Europe, sections of the ICL have stressed that the multiethnic proletariat must be mobilized against the heightened anti-immigrant repression being carried out in the name of the "war on terror." In attacking immigrants, the capitalist governments are preparing to go after the entire workers movement. In the U.S., hundreds of Near Eastern immigrants and others arbitrarily rounded up after September 11 remain imprisoned. The February 9 labor-centered demonstration in Oakland in defense of immigrants had a particular impact on militant workers and fighters for minority rights in Europe, underlining the need for proletarian internationalism and refuting the lie that the U.S. working class is at one with its "own" imperialist rulers.

The French Cliffites, while blaring "The Real Insecurity in the World: The $396 Billion U.S. Military Budget," at least denounced the presence of French troops in Afghanistan (*L'Etincelle*, March 2002). Their British co-thinkers, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), ran a front-page article with a photo of Bush and a headline in huge block letters screaming: "The Madman Prepares to Kill Again" (*Socialist Worker*, 16 February). Though attacking "Bush and Blair's Afghan war," their main enemy is clearly not at home, as seen in a subsequent issue (2 March) which asks, "Can We Defeat the US's Evil Empire?" Seemingly more certain on that score, the German Cliffites' *Linksruck* (4 March) asks instead, "How Can We Stop the USA?"

Their answer, clearly, is to bolster the European imperialists against the bourgeoisie of Hiroshima. Indeed, the Linksruck group has joined SPD "left" Oskar Lafontaine and others in co-signing a statement, originally printed in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* (9 February), which declares:

> "Germany and the other EU states have every reason to reject military megalomania and ambitions for world domination, which in our complex world can only bring more insecurity and human suffering. Instead of taking part in and arming for Bush's announced global wars, the EU, as an important political force, should devote itself to the solution of political conflicts through peaceful civilian means and through furthering cooperation. Germany can play an important role in such a policy."

Such flagrant social-chauvinism would probably have caused even the renegade Karl Kautsky to blanch. In promoting a greater international role by the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz (as a force for peace!), Linksruck feeds into the drive for German military rearmament. Exposing Kautsky's rather more benign appeals for a peaceful "ultra-imperialism," Lenin wrote in his 1916 pamphlet *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*:

> "The only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the *strength* of those participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc....
>
> "Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars."

One way or another, the bourgeoisies of Germany, Japan and other imperialist countries will move to enhance their military capabilities in order to pursue their interests and appetites abroad. In recent years, Germany has taken significant measures to assert a regional military role, altering the constitution to allow the deployment of the Bundeswehr abroad and dispatching combat forces to the Balkans. "The German military knows what has to be done," said one strategist quoted in a *New York Times* (16 March) article on "Europe's Military Gap." But, she continued, "they don't have enough cash to do it." The German and other European bourgeoisies know where to get the cash—out of the hides of the working people—but to do so they have to break the resistance of the organized workers movement. And the "peace-loving" blandishments of the Cliffites, LCR, LO, et al. help pave the way for that.

Class Struggle in Europe

The fake left's attempt to portray their imperialist governments as more humane and civilized is particularly criminal at a time when the social-democratic rulers of Germany, France and Britain (as well as the right-wing Berlusconi government in Italy) face increasing working-class discontent pointing toward a new wave of labor militancy. In France, Communist Party leader Robert Hue was booed at and run out of a 20,000-strong public workers rally in Paris on March 14 because of his party's participation in the government that is stealing workers' pensions, closing factories and cutting social benefits. In Britain, the past few months have seen the most significant strikes since Labour came to power in 1996. In January, 40,000 social benefit office workers staged a two-day walkout, and a series of brief railway strikes effectively crippled commuter traffic in and out of London. Further walkouts are threatened in coming months by railway workers, mail deliverers, teachers and civil service unions. The Labour government is reviled and mistrusted, with workers particularly furious that Blair is steamrolling ahead in his "reform" of Britain's decrepit public services—transport, education, the National Health Service—which means further privatization and attacks on the unions. Leading union officials now liken Blair to hated Tory union-buster Margaret Thatcher, and a number of unions have slashed or withheld their financial support to the Labour Party.

Recent developments in Germany parallel those in Britain: a heightened mood of trade-union militancy; growing working-class distrust of the SPD-led government; increasing opposition to the government's support for Washington's "war on terrorism." When the huge IG Metall metal workers (auto, etc.) union called for a halt to the bombing in Afghanistan last fall, Schröder arrogantly warned them—without success—to "keep your fingers out of foreign policy." Now, with workers ready to strike for a greater wage increase than the 6.5 percent called for by the union tops, a resolution by shop stewards at the giant Siemens corporation challenged the IG Metall bureaucracy: "How long do the members want to put up with a top leadership that remains behind their expectations?"

Michael Sommer, who is slated to take over as head of the German Labor Federation (DGB) in May, warned the government of the "explosive atmosphere on the shop floor." On January 29, several thousand shipyard workers went on strike demanding equal pay for blue-collar and white-collar workers. Two weeks later, workers at the GM Opel plant in Bochum struck against job-cutting "rationalization." At Halle/Ammendorf in the East,

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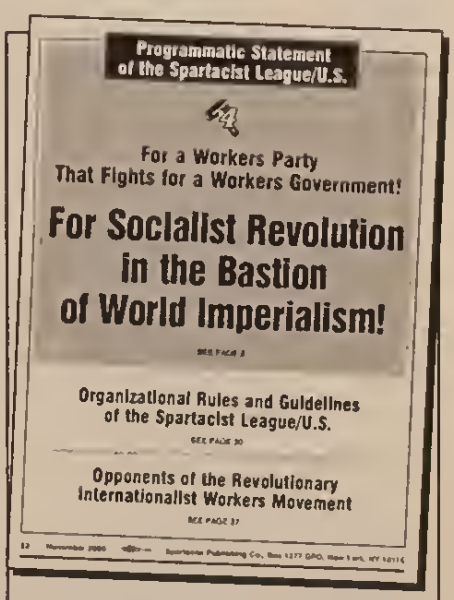
Asahi Shimbun

Dinh Quang Thanh

U.S. imperialism, greatest enemy of world's workers and oppressed: Nuclear incineration of Hiroshima, 1945; bombing of Vietnamese city of Nam Dinh, 1972.



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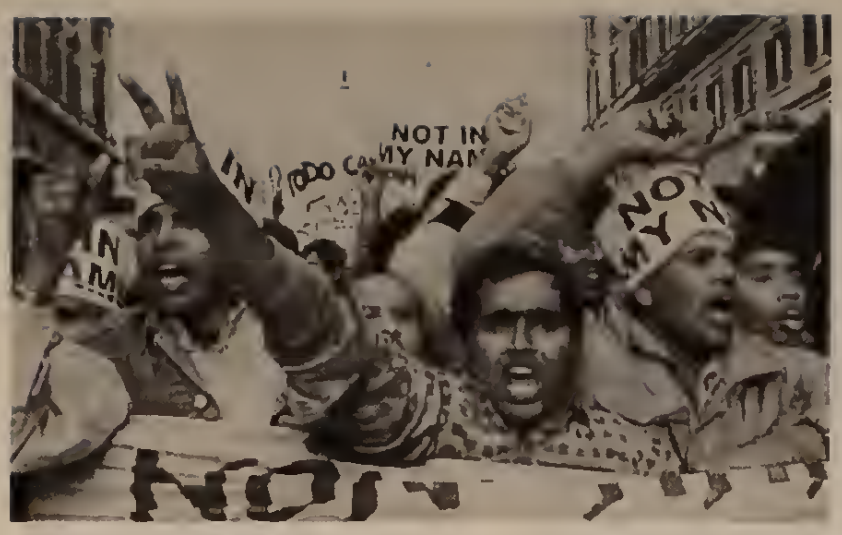

Left: Immigrants join in Rome protest against bombing of Afghanistan last November. Over 100,000 trade unionists and others demonstrate against EU summit in Barcelona, March 14.

AP photos

"Axis of Evil"...

(continued from page 9)

Bombardier railway car builders carried out a plant occupation against threatened closure, and were joined by other workers. Hamburg longshoremen have protested further privatization of the port. In Berlin, public service workers have staged almost daily protests against the massive attacks by the new coalition government under the SPD and the "left" social-democratic Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS).

Italy has been convulsed by a wave of strikes and mass protests against the war in Afghanistan, in defense of immigrants and against attacks on the unions. On March 9, some 100,000 demonstrated in Rome in solidarity with the Palestinians. A week earlier, there was a demonstration in Naples demanding "citizenship rights for all," and the week before that a huge protest in Brescia involving many immigrant workers. The CGIL trade-union federation has called for a general strike in April against government attacks on existing measures defending workers rights, including protection against arbitrary firings. The CSIL and UIL federation tops have also endorsed the general strike call, after their initial refusal led to a protest strike that brought out 10,000 workers in Torino province alone.

The labor tops and "left" social democrats like the British Socialist Alliance (which includes the SWP), the PDS in Germany and Rifondazione Comunista in Italy will adjust their rhetoric in an attempt to keep pace with the workers' militancy, but only in order to contain the struggles of the proletariat and channel them into the confines of bourgeois parliamentarism. The current upsurge in class struggle poses an opportunity for Marxists fighting to break workers from their pro-capitalist misleaders and win them to a revolutionary, internationalist workers party. That requires a sharp struggle against the illusions promoted by the pseudo-revolutionary tails of the social democracy that imperialism can be rendered "peaceful" and that a new "left" government at the head of the capitalist state will somehow satisfy the aspirations of the working class.

For Workers Revolution Against U.S. Imperialism!

In the U.S., where there is no mass social-democratic party, the fake left's faith in its "own" bourgeoisie is expressed in attempts to pressure the Democratic Party to render U.S. imperialism more "just." The first demand of an anti-war march planned for April 20 in Washington, D.C., endorsed by a slew of reformist groups including the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Socialist Workers Organization and the Young Communist League, begs for "a U.S. foreign policy based upon social and economic justice, not military and corporate oppression." The International ANSWER coalition created by the Stalinoid Workers World Party (WWP) demands in a similar vein (of George W. Bush, no less), "money for jobs and education not war!" The WWP and ISO occasionally mention the Democrats' support for the war machine, but they relegate that to the small print while their headlines scream about *Bush's* war.

While the level of social struggle in the U.S. is currently far lower than in West Europe, even amid the intense chauvinist hysteria following September 11 there were a number of strikes around the country. And once the U.S.-backed Afghan warlords of the Northern Alliance took Kabul, the Enron scandal displaced the "war on terrorism" as the top news story. Contributing to the American public's fascination with the evildoings of Kenneth Lay and his fellow corporate con men are the hardships wrought by the economic recession. A public opinion survey conducted the week before Bush's State of the Union address showed that the economy had now become the number one concern. One of those surveyed, a retired home-furnishings salesman, explained: "Everybody was waving the flag for the first month or two. But if you don't have insurance and you can't get to the doctor, the war is pretty far away" (*New York Times*, 27 January).

The key to unlocking labor struggle in this country lies in breaking the class-collaborationist "national unity" pushed by the bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. And that means, first and foremost, breaking the chains forged by the labor tops and the black politicians and preachers that bind the proletariat and the ghetto masses to the "lesser evil" Democratic Party of American imperialism. If there is to be an end to imperialist war, to racist oppression and all-sided, grinding misery, the multiracial U.S. working class must be won, through Marxist education and its own experience in struggle, to the fight for a revolutionary workers party. That is our perspective, and on its outcome hinges the fate of the whole world. As we wrote in the ICL Declaration of Principles:

> "The road forward for all of humanity is for the presently small forces adhering to the revolutionary program of Lenin and Trotsky to forge parties with the experience, willpower and authority among the masses to lead successful proletarian revolutions. Yet as we seek to bring this program to bear among the world's workers and oppressed, we must recognize that the possession of the technology of nuclear holocaust by an irrational imperialist ruling class foreshortens the possibilities: we don't have a lot of time."■

Immigrants...

(continued from page 12)

an average of six months.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, where close to three-fourths of screeners are Filipino immigrants, nearly a thousand are threatened with firing. Filipinos have long seethed under the indignities resulting from their country's brutal, decades-long colonization by U.S. imperialism, and U.S. forces are once more in action there. Filipino veterans who fought for their colonial masters in World War II were even denied equal benefits. Now Filipino screeners are outraged to be told they will be fired based solely on their citizenship.

Union organizing campaigns have recently recruited screeners along with food service workers, baggage handlers and others at the three major Bay Area airports (San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose). One of the key arguments in a lawsuit challenging the new legislation launched by the ACLU and the Service Employees International Union, which has organized screeners in the Bay Area and Los Angeles, is that citizenship is not required to serve in the capitalist armed forces. "If I get fired because of this new law, I could enroll in the National Guard and be back in the airport two weeks later, standing behind the screeners holding a rifle," said one screener quoted in a January 17 ACLU press release.

This graphically illustrates that screeners are an auxiliary of the armed forces of the capitalist state, albeit on the bottom rung. The screeners' job is to defend the airlines' property, identifying "suspicious" passengers and turning them over to the armed agents of the capitalist state—cops, National Guardsmen, etc. As Marxists, we understand that the state is not neutral but an organization for maintaining the class rule of the capitalists and defending their private property. At its core are special bodies of armed men—the army, cops and prison guards, supplemented by private security guards and strikebreaking outfits like the Pinkertons—whose purpose is to violently repress the working class.

Therefore, while we support union campaigns to organize food service workers, cabin cleaners, baggage handlers and ramp workers, we ***oppose*** union organizing of screeners and security guards, just as we have fought against organizing cops and prison guards into unions such as the SEIU, Teamsters and AFSCME. Unions cannot defend workers if they have in their ranks those whose job is to serve the strikebreaking forces of the capitalist state. At the same time, we oppose making citizenship a requirement of employment for anyone.

Class Struggle vs. Class Collaboration

The labor bureaucracy puts forward not the mobilization of union power in defense of immigrant rights but an appeal to the bosses and the Democratic Party "friends of labor" to reverse the Security Act in the name of better airport security. Thus they seek to make themselves an organic part of the "war on terrorism," pleading with the capitalists to moderate their attacks on workers. An article in SEIU Local 790's *United Worker* (November-December 2001) called for "stringent background checks" on all screeners before they are hired and declared: "The government should impose strict airport oversight but recognize that legal immigrants are just as capable working as screeners as they have been serving in the U.S. Armed Forces."

This class-collaborationist program dominated rally/press conferences at the three Bay Area airports on February 19, organized by the SEIU and other groups, such as Filipinos for Affirmative Action and the Filipino Workers Association, to protest the new law under the slogan: "Justice for Immigrant Airport Workers, Safety for Passengers!" At these events, the bureaucrats were aided and abetted by fake-left reformists. The International Socialist Organization (ISO) acted as foot soldiers for the labor tops, carrying the same placards and circulating an SEIU Local 790 petition which appeals to the bosses' "federal, state and local governments and courts to stop implementation of this law."

An article in the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (4 January) posted on the Web even embraced the Aviation and Transportation Security Act, but for the citizens-only provision, as a great gain, declaring it "will nationalize airport screening, creating 28,000 new federal jobs with annual salaries of up to $35,000 plus benefits. But because of the anti-immigrant hysteria whipped up by Congress and the Bush administration, you'll have to be a U.S. citizen to get one." In 1996, the ISO's Canadian co-thinkers championed a "work action" by Toronto prison guards, while the ISO itself supported a "strike" by New York City security guards. One month earlier, those security guards had acted as strikebreakers during an SEIU building maintenance workers strike (see "ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops," *WV* No. 664, 21 March 1997).

The power of the working class can only be mobilized *in complete independence* from the capitalist class, its state and parties. This understanding was key to mobilizing organized labor in defense of immigrants in Oakland on February 9, a united-front rally initiated by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee—which the ISO flatly refused to endorse or participate in. As the Spartacist League speaker at the rally declared, "It is not the job of the workers to enforce the laws, 'security' or otherwise, that will be used against them." While the capitalist rulers push "national unity" in order to divide the working class along national, ethnic and racial lines, the aim of this mobilization was to break through the lie that workers and their exploiters have a common interest and to pose united, multiracial class struggle. The interests of workers, immigrants and black people will either go forward together or fall back separately.

This rally represented on a small scale what's needed: a revolutionary workers party that acts as a "tribune of the people" to defend all the oppressed, which is possible only with the understanding that we need to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery. The trade-union bureaucracy acts instead to subordinate the workers to an alliance with the Democratic Party wing of the capitalist class enemy and promotes the interests of America's imperialist rulers abroad.

Those who look to pressure the capitalist government can't mobilize workers to defend immigrants against state repression because they regard the "security" of that state as a legitimate interest. A *revolutionary workers party*, embodying in its program and actions the highest interests of the international working class as a whole, must be forged through a political struggle against the unions' pro-capitalist misleadership. Only such a party will enable the working class to transform defensive struggles into a victorious fight to sweep away the capitalist state and build a workers state capable of creating a society free from racism, exploitation and war.■

Red Army...

(continued from page 2)

"The Afghans are our neighbors. Where there is poverty and backwardness it is our duty to help."

But for Schreiber, it was Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran that was a beacon of liberation at the time and the real target of the U.S.: "I would suggest that an even stronger concern of the U.S. administration was that mass revolutionary sentiment in Iran (which had already heen partially diverted by the Islamic clergy) might spread to other countries in the region. providing a severe threat to capitalist interests." Far from it. In fact, the U.S. rulers openly appealed to the Khomeini regime—in Brzezinski's words, to "every sober-headed Iranian, even the most anti-American ones"—to join in the "holy war" against "godless communism" in Afghanistan. The February 1979 "Iranian Revolution" that ***brought the Islamic clergy to power*** was carried out under the battle cry "Death or the veil!" And once in power, the mullahs staged a bloody rampage against the Iranian leftists who had criminally supported that "revolution." Second to none among those leftists internationally who cheered Khomeini on was Socialist Action's forebear, the American Socialist Workers Party.

Schreiber asserts that we "liken the Soviet forces in the 1980s to the Bolshevik Red Army of the 1920s." As we wrote in 1980: "We recognize that the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky is separated from the Red Army of Brezhnev by a bureaucratic counterrevolution under Stalin. Only a proletarian political revolution in the USSR can truly restore the Red Army and the Soviet state to their internationalist and revolutionary mission" ("The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution'," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 29, Summer 1980). Commanded by a parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy which had usurped political power from the Soviet workers, the Soviet Army was also deployed for reactionary purposes, such as the suppression of the 1956 Hungarian workers political revolution. But in Schreiber's eyes the Soviet Army under Stalinist command could only be a reactionary force. This view mandates a *defeatist* position toward the Soviet Army in any conflict. Thus Schreiber denies the class basis for unconditional military defense: the collectivized property forms on which the Soviet workers state was based.

Central Museum of the Revolution, Moscow

Planeta

Bolshevik Revolution led to enormous advances for women of traditionally Muslim East. Left: Women in Soviet Central Asia learning to read, 1924. University students in Soviet Kalmyk republic in early '80s.

Schreiber sneers at our "boasting" that we stood on the red side in Afghanistan. But the fact that other self-proclaimed "Marxists" found themselves in the camp of imperialist-inspired counterrevolution provides a measure of the falseness of any claims they might make to offer leadership to the proletariat's struggle for the liberation of humanity. As a former member of Socialist Action's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, at UCLA wrote in her membership application to the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club, quoting Leon Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism*: "It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted hy the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones." She continued, "Furthermore, if you are not actively defending the gains of the past, you are supporting defeats of the working class in the future. Such was the realization I had to make, that my problems with the YSA were not just a difference of opinion or 'ideas' hut the difference between revolution and counterrevolution."■

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 3)

hour. They can be thrown off the welfare rolls completely if they even miss a single day of work to care for a sick child.

The 36,000-strong TWU Local 100 is potentially one of the most powerful unions in the country, with the ability to shut down New York City and bring the financial capital of America to a grinding halt. A small taste of this power was seen earlier this month at the East New York TA facility, where just the threat of a walkout was enough to win back the jobs of four bus maintainers who had been disciplined by management for not working fast enough. With a heavily black and immigrant membership, Local 100 is in a strategic position not only to fight for its own members but to lead all the city labor unions and the millions of unorganized working people and minorities who are hit the hardest by the widening recession and axing of social services.

But a direct obstacle to wielding this enormous social power is the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, which "demands" only what is acceptable to the racist ruling class. Even to defend thc most basic right of the working class—the right to a job at decent pay—leads directly to challenging the capitalist profit system. As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program (1938) during the devastation of the Great Depression: "The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token, of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish."

We oppose the destruction of welfare and other social programs benefiting the working class and poor. But our goal as Marxists is not simply to defend programs that were designed to sustain the unemployed in permanent poverty. Ours is the fight for proletarian revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian socialist economy where everyone will have a place in social and economic life.

Labor Tops: Overseers of "Workfare" Slavery

The capitalist rulers have not only deployed desperately impoverished welfare recipients as a source of cheap labor, but in a modern-day version of the chain gang they are also bringing in prisoners on "work release" programs. The use of prisoners as a wedge against the unions has been seen in the Chicago transit system, where Amalgamated Transit Union officials agreed to having convicts on misdemeanor charges do "community service" clean-up work—under the watch of armed sheriff's deputies—first at bus turn-arounds and later at terminals and repair shops.

In our 1996 article, we warned that the effect of "workfare" would be "to pit the union *against* predominantly black and Hispanic welfare recipients. This would inflame racist reaction, which the capitalist rulers have long used to divide the working class in order to drive down wages and increase the rate of exploitation of all workers." In the Parks Department, Theresa Caldwell-Benjamin, a black woman, was terrorized on the first day of her WEP assignment when a racist caricature and a noose were hung up in her workplace. When she complained, her supervisor refused to have this filth removed. The unions must fight every manifestation of racism and bigotry!

Far from fighting against the bosses' divide-and-rule schemes, the TWU tops agreed in the 1996 contract to a provision barring WEP laborers from "comingling" with regular TA workers. Forced to work in separate areas from unionized cleaners and barred from crew rooms, WEP cleaners are made to wear green vests so they won't be mistaken for TWU cleaners, who wear orange ones. The 1996 contract also called for promoting 150 union members to "lead cleaner" positions in which they act as straw bosses supervising WEP crews.

Before taking over the Local 100 leadership, New Directions, which occasionally likes to posture as "militants," produced a flyer stating "We demand Union wages with Union rights for WEPs." But what kind of "fight" did ND wage? ND called for a provision in the 1999 contract not to organize "workfare" laborers as union hrothers and sisters but to *exclude* them from the TA workforce. Now in power, the Toussaint regime has done nothing to organize the WEP crews but instead is in the position of having to oversee the bosses' union-busting program.

Toussaint & Co. are against mobilizing the membership in struggle—the only way to win. Instead, they beg capitalist politicians for concessions in exchange for their services in lining up the membership behind the capitalists' war drive, repression and austerity. Making clear where their allegiance lies, the Local 100 tops hosted Democratic Senator Hillary Clinton at a mass union membership mecting in December. When Giuliani and Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer hit transit workers with anti-strike injunctions in the 1999 contract fight, Clinton hailed New York State's Taylor Law banning public workers strikes. At the December meeting, when a union member held up a sign reminding workers that "Hillary Supported Injunctions Against Us in 1999," Local 100 officers quickly dispatched a goon squad to stop the "disruption." And now, following the victimizations at East New York, Local 100 has issued a leaflet criticizing management for violating the anti-strike Taylor Law!

Class collaboration is nothing new for the fake militants who formed New Directions, which repeatedly dragged the union into the capitalist courts to settle disputes with the former James leadership that should have remained internal affairs to be settled by the membership. Labor must clean its own house! The precondition for any real struggle against the bosses is the complete independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state. The union tops can't and won't wage a fight for the memhership when they invite the class enemy into the house of labor, whether it's the courts or the Democratic Party politicians whose role, along with the Republicans, is to enforce the rule of the racist capitalist class.

Every transit worker, every city worker has a stake in the fight to organize WEP laborers, linking the unions to the defense of the black and Hispanic inner-city masses and of immigrants caught in the cross hairs of the capitalists' "national unity" drive. The bosses would like to impose on all workers the same degree of brutal exploitation and humiliation that those forced into WEP endure. We need a revolutionary workers party that leads all the exploited and oppressed in a struggle to overthrow this capitalist system of exploitation, racism and repression. Those who labor must rule!■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office
Box 1377 GPO,
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan (Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
Public Office:
Tues. 6:30-8:30 p.m.
and Sat. 1-5 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 395-9520
Public Office:
Tues. 6-8 p.m.
564 Market Street
Suite 718

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

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Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

WORKERS VANGUARD

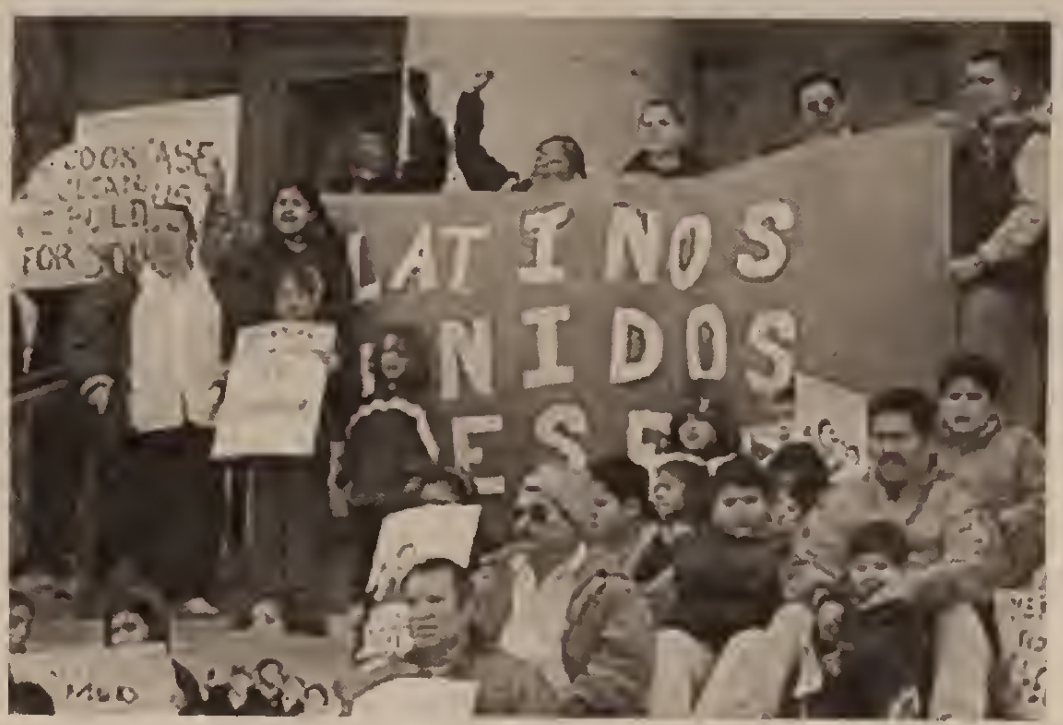
Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Down With Anti-Immigrant Purge of Airport Workers!

The domestic "war on terrorism" is a war against the working class. This reality is being driven home by a nationwide campaign of attacks on immigrant workers, coordinated by the Justice Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). As the chauvinist spectacle of the Winter Olympics was made a showcase of "security" repression, on December 11 hundreds of federal agents and state and local police swarmed through Salt Lake City. They rounded up 271 workers, mostly Latinos, jailing 69 who had worked in "secured" areas and getting all of them fired for the "crime" of being undocumented. "This has been an injustice of Olympic proportions," declared Mark Alvarez, an attorney defending some of the workers.

Coming amid a deepening recession and the capitalists' declining demand for labor, the raid sought to terrorize the entire Latino immigrant population in the area. In its wake, Latino workers in other industries have also faced victimization and firing. In a statement of solidarity to the February 9 labor-centered immigrant defense rally in Oakland, California, Alvarez said: "It is wrong for the government to give a wink and a nod to workers when they are needed only to give those same workers a smirk and a kick when labor is not in such high demand."

The Salt Lake City raid was part of a federal campaign known variously as "Operation Tarmac" and "Operation Safe Travel." Among the raids carried out at other airports across the country: 29 Mexican dishwashers and janitors arrested and deported in Denver on September 19; 30 detained in Portland, Oregon in late December; 20 arrested at Seattle's Sea-Tac Airport in mid-January; 27 charged and 19 arrested, mostly Latinos, in Las Vegas; 20 seized at Boston's Logan Airport on February 27. Similar operations are being prepared in Los Angeles and San Diego. We call upon workers and defenders of minority rights and the democratic rights of all to demand: *Drop the charges against the airport workers! No deportations!*



Rick Egan/Salt Lake Tribune

Salt Lake City, January 26: Demonstrators outside Utah state capitol call for unionizing immigrant workers after hundreds of undocumented immigrants were fired during Olympic "security" hysteria.

In Salt Lake City, the government initially imposed a $5,000 cash-only bail bond, an amount many of those arrested could not possibly raise. Both parents of young children were often imprisoned at the same time. Furthermore, many airport companies refused to give the families of jailed workers the back pay owed them.

The heavily working-class Latino community, roughly 20 percent of the city's population, responded with a strong sense of solidarity. Thanks in good part to their generous financial support, almost all of the workers have since been released on bail. A series of defense rallies has been held in the downtown area. Some workers have pleaded guilty and face deportation; 23 have been faced with trial, while others are still being sought by police. The 202 other workers fired, while not now facing prosecution, are condemned to desperate economic straits with almost no chance of getting another job. We demand the immediate release of the imprisoned airport workers. We demand as well the release of all the prisoners, primarily of Near Eastern and South Asian origin, who have been swept up in the government's anti-immigrant witchhunt!

However, Latino and other immigrant workers, including "illegals," are not simply defenseless victims of the capitalist exploiters and their state. They are an integral and increasingly important part of this country's multiracial and multiethnic working class, and a precious link to workers in other countries. Anyone who has made it to this country should have the same rights as those born here. The labor movement must take up the fight for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

Mobilizing labor's social power in defense of all immigrants is not only a matter of urgent self-defense of the entire working class. By wielding their immense social power as the producers of wealth in this society in defense of all those ground down under the capitalist heel, the organized workers can place themselves at the head of all the oppressed in a struggle to sweep away the common class enemy and reorganize society on a socialist, egalitarian basis: Those who labor must rule! *Down with the anti-immigrant witchhunt!*

No Discrimination—Defend Immigrant Airport Screeners!

Alongside the airport raids, in December the Federal Aviation Administration mandated criminal background checks by the FBI, INS and other federal agencies for current and prospective employees requiring access to a "secure area." This device to weed out immigrants, blacks and union activists comes on the heels of the Aviation and Transportation Security Act, signed into law the previous month, which "federalizes" airport security. The law's stipulation that airport security screeners have to be U.S. citizens is an open attack on basic democratic rights, threatening mass firings of thousands of immigrants from the Philippines, Latin America, South Asia, Africa and elsewhere.

This provision aims to extend to "legal" immigrants the kind of repression, like calling in the INS, already routinely used against the undocumented. Such discriminatory measures against noncitizens are of a piece with—and reinforce—the all-sided oppression of black people which is built into this society from the bottom up. Not least, the background checks will have an immediate impact on the many black workers who at some point in their lives were ensnared in the "war on drugs," which is in reality a war on the ghetto masses.

Big airport subcontractors like Argenbright, Global, International Total Services and Haynes compete for lowest-bidder contracts to provide security and a range of other airport services. Just as black people are often compelled to take low-paying jobs as security guards, immigrants are often the only ones desperate enough to take jobs as screeners, which offer low pay and no benefits. With wages averaging little more than $6 an hour nationally, turnover is predictably high, with airport screeners staying on the job

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Cops, Security Guards, Screeners Out of the Unions!

Wyatt Gallery

Airport "anti-terror" crackdown. ISO, shown addressing February 19 Oakland rally, hails union organizing of screeners who serve as auxiliaries of capitalist state.

WV Photo

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 778

5 April 2002

No U.S./UN/EU Intervention in the Near East!
U.S. Hands Off Iraq!

Defend the Palestinian People!
All Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!

AFP

AP

Left: Israeli army assault on Palestinian Authority headquarters in Ramallah, March 29. Palestinian men rounded up in West Bank as Zionists reoccupy Palestinian ghettos.

APRIL 1—Following an Arab League meeting that refused to endorse U.S. plans for an attack on Iraq, Washington dispensed with its recent pretense of "even-handedness" toward the Palestinians, tacitly approving Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon's invasion of one West Bank town after another. In Ramallah, home to 200,000 Palestinians and unofficial headquarters of Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority (PA), whole areas have been reduced to rubble, 700 people arrested and dozens killed, at least five apparently executed "with a single coup de grace administered to the head or throat" (London *Observer*, 31 March). As Israel further tightens the noose around Arafat, now imprisoned in his darkened office with little more than a handful of supporters and a dying cellphone, Bush cynically chastises him for not doing enough to stop Palestinian terrorism! Now, Sharon has issued an open declaration of war against the Palestinian people.

Coming from the butcher of Sabra and Shatila, the Lebanese refugee camps where over 2,000 men, women and children were methodically slaughtered in 1982, Sharon's statement is truly chilling. Israeli defense minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, a leading spokesman of the supposedly "dovish" Labor Party, warns that the only alternative to a "settlement" (i.e., complete submission by the Palestinians) is total re-occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. This would entail a bloodbath unprecedented even by the very bloody standards of Zionist repression during the 18-month-long Al-Aqsa *Intifada*, which has already seen over 1,100 Palestinians killed. Punctuating such warnings is the report in the Israeli press that a General Staff commander "said lately that the army could learn from the way the German troops operated in the Warsaw Ghetto" (*Ha'aretz*, 1 April)!

The Zionist rulers certainly have "learned" from the Hitlerite exterminators of the Jewish people in Europe. The Nazi-like mentality of Sharon & Co. is of a piece with their genocidal aims—to lord it over a "Greater Israel," if necessary, through the forcible expulsion or slaughter of the Palestinian Arabs. Mirroring this chauvinist outlook are the petty-bourgeois Palestinian nationalists and Islamic reactionaries who do not limit their attacks to the Israeli occupation forces—the military and their armed settler auxiliaries—but also carry out indiscriminate attacks against innocent Israeli civilians. Suicide bombings and the like are an expression of the Palestinians' powerlessness and desperation in the face of the overwhelming might of the Zionist garrison state. Nonetheless, suicide attacks like Hamas' bombing on Sunday of a Haifa restaurant managed by an Arab family and frequented by Jews and Arabs exemplified the hostility of nationalism and religious fundamentalism on both sides to what little social integration currently exists under apartheid-style Zionist rule.

As we stress in a 30 March Spartacist League/U.S. statement distributed at demonstrations that day in Washington, D.C. and other U.S. cities, the only road forward for the Palestinian Arab people lies through the *internationalist* mobilization of the Near Eastern proletariat, Arab and Jewish alike, as well as workers in the imperialist countries. Reformist groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) instead look to the American imperialists to "Stop Funding Israeli Terrorism," in the words of an ISO sign at the Los Angeles demonstration. Who is the ISO appealing to? When it comes to support to the Zionist regime, Democrats like New York Senators Charles Schumer and Hillary Clinton are even more rabid than Bush, while California Senator Dianne Feinstein is co-sponsoring a bill to shut down the PA's office in Washington and to seize its assets.

In Europe, fake-left groups like the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire explicitly call on the European Union (EU) imperialists or the United Nations to organize a "peace and protection force" or to impose economic sanctions against Israel. That is the aim of the civilian "protection force" now in Ramallah (headed by French anti-globalization campaigner José Bové), though those participating are undoubtedly personally courageous.

Those who call for imperialist military intervention or economic sanctions serve only to push workers, immigrants and other minorities into the embrace of their class enemy. What is urgently necessary is international protest action drawing on the power of the proletariat, from the heavily Arab and black auto workers in the Detroit area to the multiethnic industrial working class of France with its strategic Maghrebin (North African) component, to demand: Defend the Palestinian people! All Israeli troops and settlers out of all the Occupied Territories now!

It is a measure of desperation in the face of untrammeled Zionist terror and the evident impotence of secular nationalists like Arafat that Islamist influence has grown among the Palestinian people, historically among the most cosmopolitan in the Near East. Many women at the March 30 protests in the U.S. and Canada, as well as at a 9,000-strong rally in Berlin, wore the *hijab*, the Islamic headscarf. Islamic fundamentalists like Hamas are deadly enemies not only of the Hebrew-speaking people but also of the Palestinian working masses. Just look at Algeria, where Islamic fundamentalists have carried out a reign of terror against trade unionists, secular intellectuals and unveiled women. The goal of Hamas is to subject women to the enslavement symbolized by the veil and *purdah* (seclusion in the home) and to otherwise impose a regime of religious reaction akin to Iran or Afghanistan.

Many supporters of the Palestinian

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Mass Labor Protest in Rome

The following report was written for Workers Vanguard *by our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, section of the Internationol Communist Leogue.*

In the largest demonstration in Italy since the end of the Second World War, some ***3,000,000 people*** took to the streets of Rome on March 23 to protest government attacks on the country's trade unions. Italy's largest union federation, the Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGIL), which called the protest, helped organize over 9,000 buses, 61 special trains, four ships, five airplanes and countless cars.

The right-wing government of media boss Silvio Berlusconi, Italy's richest man, is seeking to overhaul the country's labor laws, particularly going after Article 18, which provides workers some protection against arbitrary firings. Berlusconi is also proposing further pension cuts and threatening to privatize the country's schools and health care system. At the same time, an ominous racist law has been proposed by Gianfranco Fini of the Alleanza Nazionale—currently primarily an electoral vehicle but also heir of the historic party of Mussolini's fascism—and Umberto Bossi of the fascistic Lega Nord, both governmental partners of Berlusconi. If approved, this law will make it impossible for immigrants without a job to stay in Italy, speed up deportations and severely restrict family reunifications. Most recently, the government issued a decree on March 28 giving it the authority to fire on any ship it suspects to be carrying "illegal" immigrants.

Against these fierce attacks, which target the majority of the population, hundreds of thousands of workers, including a significant sector of the immigrant workforce, have held militant strikes and demonstrations in the past few months. The stability of the Berlusconi government is seriously in question, as an anti-Berlusconi movement has been burgeoning in the country for some months. Attendance at demonstrations against government austerity has continually exceeded expectations by many magnitudes, stunning their organizers as well as the government. Now, an eight-hour general strike by Italy's three biggest union federations, representing over 12 million workers, is projected for April 16.

The situation shifted abruptly following the March 19 assassination of Marco Biagi, an economist who was working as an adviser to the Labor Ministry in instituting its new anti-labor legislation. The Italian bourgeois press claims that the assassination was carried out by an offshoot of the leftist Red Brigades. In fact, many in Italy believe the assassination was a provocation by the government. Not only is there a long history of such provocations in Italy, but this particular killing has served as a convenient rallying point for the Berlusconi regime, which has used it to intensify the campaign of repression against leftists, particularly in Florence and Rome.

In response to the assassination, the CGIL trade-union bureaucrats changed the slogans of the March 23 Rome demonstration from opposition to government attacks on the unions to "Against Terrorism, For Democracy, For Rights" (referring to union rights currently under assault). The demonstration itself began with the playing of the Italian national anthem and the observance of a moment of silence in memory of Biagi. Earlier, the trade-union tops had called a reactionary strike against "terrorism" the day after Biagi's assassination in honor of this class enemy.

In reponse to the Rome protest, Umberto Bossi blamed the unions for Biagi's assassination, ranting: "First they killed him, now they are appropriating to themselves the victim." This statement has sparked outrage among workers throughout the country. Enraged union officials canceled talks with the government scheduled for March 26 and called for more demonstrations. CGIL head Sergio Cofferati is demanding that the government retract its accusation that the labor movement breeds terrorists. Reflecting worries in the bourgeoisie that Berlusconi & Co. are provoking upheavals, Italian president Carlo Ciampi praised the Rome demonstration as "the salt of democracy."

AP

Rome, March 23: Three million protest government attacks on unions.

The capitulation of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy as well as mass reformist organizations like Democratici di Sinistra (DS—Democratic Left) and Rifondazione Comunista (RC) to Berlusconi's "anti-terror" campaign is deadly dangerous for the proletariat. The government's purpose is to divide and weaken the workers movement by targeting immigrants, anarchists and other leftists as "terrorists." A direct assault on the most militant sectors of the labor movement, the "anti-terror" drive is ultimately aimed at the whole of the working class.

The LTd'I intervened into the Rome protest with our revolutionary Leninist program, raising placards with slogans including, "Break the National Unity Against Terrorism!" and "For the Revolutionary Unity of the Working Class Against the Bourgeoisie!" In our discussions with workers and youth, we underlined how the trade-union tops did not raise the call for a strike when anarchist protester Carlo Giuliani was killed by the "carabinieri" police during last year's protests against the G-8 in Genoa.

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TROTSKY

Marxism and Religion

Friedrich Engels, in his 1878 polemic Anti-Dühring, *traced the material origins and historicol development of religion from early human societies through to capitalist class rule. As Engels argues, religion, which serves both as solace for the miseries produced by closs society and as an ideology justifying class domination, will disappear only with the realization of a classless communist society, the product of internationol proletarian sociolist revolution.*

LENIN

All religion, however, is nothing but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life, a reflection in which the terrestrial forces assume the form of supernatural forces. In the beginnings of history it was the forces of nature which were first so reflected and which in the course of further evolution underwent the most manifold and varied personifications among the various peoples.... But it is not long before, side by side with the forces of nature, social forces begin to be active—forces which confront man as equally alien and at first equally inexplicable, dominating him with the same apparent natural necessity as the forces of nature themselves. The fantastic figures, which at first only reflected the mysterious forces of nature, at this point acquire social attributes, become representatives of the forces of history. At a still further stage of evolution, all the natural and social attributes of the numerous gods are transferred to *one* almighty god, who is but a reflection of the abstract man.... We have seen repeatedly that in existing bourgeois society men are dominated by the economic conditions created by themselves, by the means of production which they themselves have produced, as if by an alien force. The actual basis of the reflective activity that gives rise to religion therefore continues to exist, and with it the religious reflection itself. And although bourgeois political economy has given a certain insight into the causal connection of this alien domination, this makes no essential difference. Bourgeois economics can neither prevent crises in general, nor protect the individual capitalists from losses, bad debts and bankruptcy, nor secure the individual workers against unemployment and destitution. It is still true that man proposes and God (that is, the alien domination of the capitalist mode of production) disposes. Mere knowledge, even if it went much further and deeper than that of bourgeois economic science, is not enough to bring social forces under the domination of society. What is above all necessary for this, is a social *act*. And when this act has been accomplished, when society, by taking possession of all means of production and using them on a planned basis, has freed itself and all its members from the bondage in which they are now held by these means of production which they themselves have produced but which confront them as an irresistible alien force; when therefore man no longer merely proposes, but also disposes—only then will the last alien force which is still reflected in religion vanish; and with it will also vanish the religious reflection itself, for the simple reason that then there will be nothing left to reflect.

—Friederich Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (1878)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is 2 April.

No. 778 **5 April 2002**

Spartacist League/SYC Forums

All Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinian People!

Wed., April 10, 6:30 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd floor
Oakland
(near 19th St. BART)
For more information: 510-839-0851
BAY AREA

Sat., April 27, 4 p.m.
Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Ave., Hollywood
(near Vermont/Sunset Red Line station)
For more info and readings: (213) 380-8239
LOS ANGELES

The End of Welfare: Race, Sex, Class and the Capitalist War on the Poor

Saturday, April 6, 2 p.m.
Columbia University, Hamilton Hall, Room 602
116th Street and Broadway (#1 train to 116th Street)
NEW YORK CITY
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Religion and the Development of Capitalism

New York
28 March 2002

To: *Workers Vanguard*

Dear comrades,

"Salman Rushdie's Verses for Imperialism" (*WV* No. 772, 11 January) is a powerful polemic against the liberal opponents of Islamic fundamentalism in the Near East and Asia who have signed on to U.S. imperialism's "war on terror." However, in asking "how does one explain the vast socioeconomic gulf between the United States and Canada on the one side and the countries of Latin America on the other," the article wrongly posits that the differences in economic development between these countries have no roots in the doctrines and cultural attitudes of Catholicism. Such an assertion is ahistorical and one-sided, ignoring the connection between religious ideology and the development of capitalism.

Writing in the 1892 Introduction to the English Edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Friedrich Engels noted that as Europe emerged from the Middle Ages the nascent bourgeoisie collided with the feudal system and that:

> "The great international centre of feudalism was the Roman Catholic Church. It united the whole of feudalised Western Europe, in spite of all internal wars, into one grand political system, opposed as much to the schismatic Greeks as to the Mohammedan countries. It surrounded feudal institutions with the halo of divine consecration. It had organised its own hierarchy on the feudal model, and, lastly, it was itself by far the most powerful feudal lord, holding, as it did, fully one-third of the soil of the Catholic world. Before profane feudalism could be successfully attacked in each country and in detail, this, its sacred central organisation, had to be destroyed."

Engels goes on to note that the class most directly interested in the struggle against the Roman Church was the bourgeoisie and that the struggle against feudalism took on a religious guise. This battle led to the Protestant Reformation, the rise of Calvinism and the English Revolution, and culminated in the great French Revolution. In contrast, Catholic reaction, wholly embraced by the Spanish monarchy, played a ***mâjor*** role in retarding capitalist development in Spain and its colonies.

Spain was the first of the great unified absolutist monarchical states to arise in Europe. But unlike the other great monarchical states in Europe, the Spanish monarchy did not serve to pave the way to the rise of the middle classes. As Marx noted: "In Spain, on the contrary, while the aristocracy sank into degradation without losing their privilege, the towns lost their medieval power without gaining modern importance" (Karl Marx, *Revolutionary Spain*, 1854).

The long struggle (La Reconquesta) over almost eight centuries against Moorish domination imbued Spanish Catholicism with a messianic crusading militancy not to be found in the rest of Western Europe. The first monarchs of unified Spain (Aragon, Castile and Granada), Ferdinand the Catholic and Isabella I, relied on Catholicism as the ideological glue to unify and cement the nation to the new monarchy. Abandoning the feudal nobility, the church threw its lot in with the monarchy, and through the instrument of the Spanish Inquisition became a powerful tool for enforcing monarchical absolutism. The Jews (1492) and then the last of the Moors (1609) were expelled, with the forced converts to Christianity, the so-called "New Christians," being the main objects of Inquisitorial persecution. The country was thus deprived of much of its economically vital and cultured populace, and subjected to a reign of terror that stultified intellectual life. While most of the expelled Jews made their way to the Ottoman Empire, others wound up in the Low Countries (which were soon to become heavily Protestant) where Joseph de la Vega, a Dutch Sephardic Jew, penned the first book on the workings of the stock market in the 1600s. Spanish mercantile capitalism was stunted and decisively subordinated to the parasitic, tribute-extorting and reactionary Catholic monarchy.

The consolidation of the Spanish state took place under the reign of the Hapsburgs, beginning with Charles V (1516-56), also crowned the Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, and continued by his son Phillip II (1556-98). These were the glory days of the Spanish state, when the Inquisition and the colonization of Latin America marched hand in hand. The ambitious Hapsburg monarchs spearheaded the Counter Reformation across Europe, a rearguard action against the rise of capitalism expressed religiously in the Reformation. Under the Hapsburg monarchs Spain waged war across Europe for empire and Catholicism, an enterprise acknowledged by the Papacy's custom of addressing the Spanish king as his "Most Catholic Majesty."

Spain waged wars in the Mediterranean against the Ottoman Turks, in Italy and France (assisting the Catholic cause in the wars of religion and also waging wars against the Catholic French monarchy), against the Protestant Reformation in Germany, in the Low Countries and against England. Under Phillips III and IV this continued, with Spain participating in the Thirty Years War. But by the reign of Phillip III Spain was in a decline. For a century Spanish blood and treasure (extracted from its New World colonies) had been drained by the Hapsburg monarchs in pursuit of their wars to maintain and extend empire and defeat the Protestant powers. The drain of capital was ultimately so acute that Spain's internal circulating currency was copper—at a time when Spain controlled Potosí, one of the world's most productive silver mines, in what is now Bolivia! At sea, powerful Spanish Armadas were crushed by both the English and the Dutch. On land the Spanish *tercios* were the most feared infantry in 16th-century Europe. But by 1643 they were definitively defeated by French troops at Rocroi. Ultimately, the archaic political economy of Spain and its retrograde monarchical power were unable to reverse the country's decline.

It was the legacy of Spanish economic and political backwardness, complete with the Inquisition, that Spain bequeathed to its Latin American colonies. Thus, at the beginning of the 19th century the populations of Mexico and the United States were about equal. But that was all that was equal. In America, as Engels noted, "feudalism was unknown, and society at the very beginning started from a bourgeois basis." Mexico in contrast was mired in semi-feudal backwardness. The Mexican Revolution of 1810-1821 did not mark the victory of bourgeois trends over outmoded and essentially semi-feudal modes of production, but instead had to content itself with the removal of all vestiges of Spanish colonial tributary despotism and its attendant bureaucratic monarchical centralism.

In the 1860s, Lincoln won in the American Civil War and Juarez was the victor in the war against the French occupation of Mexico. But the outcomes were very different. The victory of the North in the American Civil War opened the road to an explosion of immigration and capitalist industrial development. The victory of Juarez (whose earlier revolutionary struggle was aimed at ending the impediments to capitalist development by forces centered on the reactionary Mexican Catholic church) was merely the antechamber to the rule of Porfirio Díaz, who in his decades-long reign sold as much of Mexico as he could to the highest imperialist bidders.

The false assertion that ideology cannot serve as a brake on capitalist development effectively cancels out any notion of interaction between ideological superstructure and material base, and is anti-Marxist. In his battles with anti-Marxist opponents—who falsely equated Marxism with vulgar economic determinism—pioneer Russian Marxist Georgi Plekhanov wrote very intelligently and persuasively on the role of superstructure and its interaction and effects on the course of historical development and its underlying motor force—the corresponding productive forces of society.

For capitalism to take root you needed at least an accommodating ideology and consciousness. Writing on Calvinism, Engels noted in his introduction to *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*:

> "Calvin's creed was one fit for the boldest of the bourgeoisie of his time. His predestination doctrine was the religious expression of the fact that in the commercial world of competition success or failure does not depend upon a man's activity or cleverness, but upon circumstances uncontrollable by him. It is not of him that willeth or of him that runneth, but of the mercy of unknown superior economic powers, and this was especially true at a period of economic revolution, when all old commercial routes and centres were replaced by new ones, when India and America were opened to the world, and when even the most sacred economic articles of faith—the value of gold and silver—began to totter and to break down. Calvin's church constitution was thoroughly democratic and republican; and where the kingdom of God was republicanised, could the kingdoms of this world remain subject to monarchs, bishops and lords?"

"In Calvinism," Engels went on to point out, "the second great bourgeois upheaval found its doctrine ready cut and dried." Engels was referring to the English Revolution and attendant civil war (1642-1649), whose whole course bears out his analysis. There is a very rich body of historical studies that illustrates and elucidates these developments, most notably the writings of Christopher Hill and also, for example, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* by R.H. Tawney.

But with the rise of imperialism in West Europe, America and Japan in the early 20th century the independent industrial development and modernization of the rest of the world was foreclosed. Instead the colonial and semi-colonial countries remain mired in economic impoverishment and cultural backwardness, all reinforced by imperialism. But as the Rushdie article notes, recognizing the role of imperialism in the Third World "does *not* exculpate the indigenous ruling classes of those countries."

From World War I on, and before in Egypt, Arab nationalism represented the attempt to modernize countries of the Near East. But that road was blocked by imperialism. Instead, the region became British and French protectorates and, later, objects of the world market mainly orchestrated from the United States. The imperialists, the nationalists and the Islamic fundamentalists *all* conspired against the working classes of these countries coming to power. The Stalinist-led Communist Parties of the region threw their lot in with the nationalists as part of the supposed "two stage revolution," leading to massive defeats and wholesale massacres of the proletariat.

The failure of Arab nationalism, and the continued brutal depredations of imperialism, led to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism with religion here serving as a solace for the seemingly unchangeable miseries and horrors of daily life.

Comradely,
George Foster

P.S. Today the most backward religious zealots populating Latin America are the fundamentalist Protestant missionaries from the United States. In contrast, "liberation theology" Catholics appear relatively benign. ■

University of California, Santa Barbara

Theodore de Bry

Lett: Spanish Inquisition's reign of terror stultified country's intellectual life, economic vitality. Pizarro (depicted above) and others extended legacy of Spain's backwardness to Latin America.

Down With Vigipirate!
Down With SP-CP-Green Government's Racist Campaign!

Open Letter to Lutte Ouvrière on French Elections

The upcoming May 5 French presidential elections are taking place in a context of social polarization in the country. Since coming to power in 1997, the popular-front government of Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin, which includes the French Communist Party (PCF) and the Green Party, has led a campaign of deportations of immigrants and brutal police repression against minority ghettos. After the September 11 attacks, the Jospin government immediately moved to intensify the despised "Vigipirate" campaign, a massive mobilization of the police and military to sow terror in minority communities. Both Jospin and his neo-Gaullist bourgeois opponent, current president Jacques Chirac, are pushing "security"—i.e., racist repression against immigrants and minorities—as the dominant theme. At the same time, the Jospin government is widely hated among working people in France for its austerity, layoffs and attacks on pensions and social services.

The fake-Trotskyist Lutte Ouvrière (LO) is running its presidential campaign on the basis of opposition to the popular-front government of Jospin. While opinion polls show Jospin and Chirac in a virtual dead heat in the run-up to the first round of voting on April 21, LO candidate Arlette Laguiller is credited with fully 10 percent of the vote, far outstripping the PCF which has 6 percent. The PCF is being punished by its working-class base for the party's continuing participation in a government of anti-worker austerity. In addition to declining electoral support, the PCF is also suffering splits and defections in its historic trade-union base, including among lifelong Stalinist cadre; the entire PCF fraction in the Renault plant in Cléon just publicly split to form its own independent group. In response to LO's electoral gains, the PCF has denounced Laguiller as a "spoiler," claiming that she is playing right into Chirac's hands. At the same time, the widespread hatred of the Jospin government has also profited the far right; the fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen is neck and neck with LO for the third place spot in the elections, also garnering about 10 percent of the vote.

We reprint below a 10 March open letter to LO by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League. LO is opposed to *this* exceedingly unpopular popular-front government, but has no opposition to class collaboration in principle. This is best expressed by Laguiller in her own words. At a March 17 campaign meeting of some 2,000 people in Paris, Laguiller concluded her remarks by urging her supporters "not to wait for the revolution" but to "impose it" because "the bourgeoisie is so rich right now and so powerful that if it is seriously challenged it would prefer to share than to lose it all" (*Libération*, 18 March). Thus, for LO, the purpose of socialist revolution is to share power and wealth with the bourgeoisie! In opposition to LO's reformist power-sharing schemes, in which the class interests of the workers will always be subordinated to those of their exploiters, we say that the working people who have created the wealth of this society can only enjoy the fruits of their labor when they achieve power through a socialist revolution and establish a society based on a planned collectivized economy and egalitarianism.

Reuters

"Anti-terror" patrol in Paris train station following September 11 attacks. Protest at St. Denis University in Paris against roundup of undocumented immigrant students, March 2000.

Le Bolchévik

The LTF open letter to LO explains that opposition to the racist oppression of the large "immigrant" population—which includes second and third generation minorities—is *key* to opposing class collaboration and the politics of the French bourgeoisie. LO's posture of anti-Vigipirate and reactionary cop mobilizations, the LTF cannot support their campaign.

Our letter to LO represents an important means of intervention into a situation where there is increased polarization and defiance of the implementation of capitalist austerity by popular-front or social-democratic governments which have held power throughout most of West Europe for the last five to ten years. Not only in France, but also in Germany, Britain and elsewhere, popular discontent, especially among the proletariat, has resulted in widespread disenchantment among workers and the emergence of a substantial minority casting their ballots with parties ostensibly to the left of the mainstream social democracy, such as LO in France. Our comrades in ICL sections throughout Europe have sought to intervene into these polarized arenas with our revolutionary program, fighting for the political independence of the proletariat and the forging of revolutionary workers parties to fight for workers power.

* * *

In this election campaign there is only one candidate who seeks to draw a crude class line against the capitalist government: it is Arlette Laguiller, spokesman for Lutte Ouvrière. We agree with her when she says that the Socialist Party (SP) leaders are from the same world as Seillière and other bosses who exploit the workers in the factories and that Jospin has the same policies as Chirac. In her plant bulletin editorial of 18 February Laguiller says unambiguously: "In the choice proposed to us, the workers do not have to lick the hands of their oppressors and they should vote neither for the right-wing politicians nor for the left ones" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 22 February). For these elections LO is breaking with its frequent history of supporting the popular front (a coalition of reformist workers parties with bourgeois parties to administer capitalism, a coalition which we on principle refuse to support) to "fight the right" or the "far right." In this same issue of their paper, they have a eulogy of their late comrade Pierre Bois, in which they recall that he had refused to obey LO's own line of voting for Mitterrand in 1981. This is in contrast with Olivier Besancenot, the candidate of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), who stated a month ago "that he would personally vote 'for the left' because 'there is a difference between the left and the right'" (*Le Monde*, 1 February). This is consistent with the political line of the LCR, which has always supported the popular front of Mitterrand and then Jospin for more than 25 years.

But LO does not oppose the government because they are opposed to class collaboration: they empty their correct opposition of all its content by their tacit support to Vigipirate and their explicit support to the reactionary mobilizations of cops in November. LO's attitude on this question is all the more crucial in that "security"—i.e., the government's racist campaign against immigrants and their families—is at the center of the electoral campaign. The SP launched Jospin's electoral campaign by calling on the cops to throw Younis Trabelsi, an undocumented Libyan who was on hunger strike, out of SP headquarters in Rouen. As for the PCF, they are asking for a doubling of the security budget for the *banlieues* [working-class and minority suburbs]. In this context, LO's refusal to fight against Vigipirate represents a loyalty oath to the racist bourgeois order and to the anti-working-class austerity of the Jospin government. But if, in its campaign, LO came out clearly against Vigipirate and the cop terror, we would envision calling for voting for LO, without muting our criticisms of their program.

Down With Vigipirate!

Racism against workers of immigrant origin, in particular those from North Africa, has always been poison used by the bourgeoisie (those who own the means of production—factories, machines, etc.—as their private property) to divide the working class. For the capitalists it's a good way to divide the workers—those who produce the wealth in the industry of this country—between "French" and "immigrants" (although many of the latter were born here). The French bourgeoisie seized on the criminal attacks of September 11 in New York to decree "national unity" against "terrorism" and to widen and deepen their racist campaign, and the working class is supposed to join in. In fact what's going on here is a racist war against all immigrants and above all against the substantial population of North Africans and youth of immigrant origin.

continued on page 8

AFP

Arlette Laguiller, presidential candidate of Lutte Ouvrière, is silent on government's Vigipirate campaign against minorities.

As Oakland Police Thugs Face Trial

Anger Mounts Over Cop Terror in Bay Area

OAKLAND—Three former cops face trial this month in what the Oakland *Tribune* (22 September 2000) called "one of the worst cases of Oakland police misconduct in decades." The scandal broke after a disaffected rookie cop unveiled a gang of police thugs who terrorized black West Oakland and called themselves "the Riders" in unmistakable reference to the murderous nightriders of the KKK. Even after prosecutors threw out dozens of charges in an effort at damage control, the three were charged with more than 60 counts stemming from their savage beatings of handcuffed victims, planting drugs to frame them up and covering it all up with falsified reports. One of the many victims who courageously came forward to testify during a preliminary hearing last year, Delphine Allen, told of a harrowing night during which the "Riders" arbitrarily arrested him and repeatedly beat him until he had to be sent to the hospital.

Oakland's black police chief, Richard Word, fired the three and their reputed ringleader, who has reportedly skipped the country. Democratic mayor Jerry Brown subsequently joined Word in pushing for an official probe, which one city official held up as proof that the cops can "police and investigate themselves." Brown & Co. portray the fired cops as a few "bad apples." But the four had been set loose on West Oakland in a special police campaign in the racist "war on drugs." Altogether, 25 cops have reportedly been named in lawsuits by victims of Oakland cop brutality.

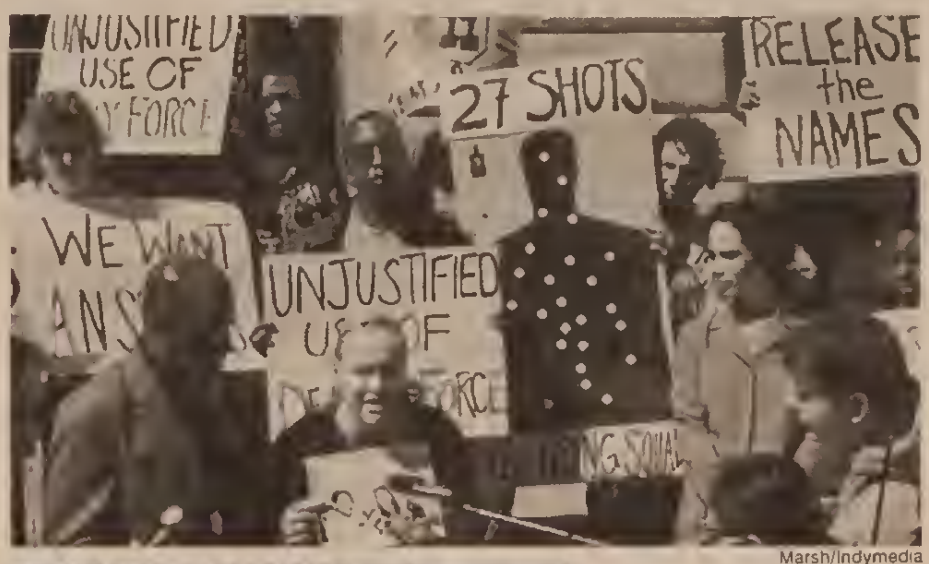
Far from being the exception, the racist terror exemplified by the "Riders" is the *norm* for the police, who are the hired thugs of the capitalist ruling class. Even as details of the "Riders" scandal were trickling out last April, Oakland cops beat to death a young black man, Jamil Wheatfall. Two months later in San Francisco, police gunned down Idriss "Scotty" Stelley, a mentally ill youth, in a barrage of more than 20 shots in a downtown theater complex.

Now, in the wake of the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center, the capitalist ruling class has dramatically escalated racist repression in the name of the "war on terror." Taking first aim at immigrants, the government has rounded up more than 1,200 people of Near Eastern descent or Muslim faith for indefinite detention. Hundreds of immigrant workers have been fired and arrested or deported; thousands have been harassed. Polls of layers of the black population following September 11 show support for "racial profiling" of Arab and other immigrants. Black antipathy toward immigrants is encouraged by racial and ethnic hostilities fomented by the capitalist rulers and often echoed by black political misleaders. But as the Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense wrote in their call for the February 9 labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrant rights in Oakland:

> "Assaults on the immigrant workforce have always gone hand in hand with stepped-up oppression of blacks and the persecution of the most militant workers. Don't forget—here in California the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 led directly to the racist, anti-affirmative action Proposition 209 two years later."

The Oakland protest mobilized more than 300 people—trade unionists, immigrants, blacks, youth and others—in opposition to the anti-immigrant witchhunt and the Maritime Security Act, which threatens a racist union-busting purge on the waterfront. In building this demonstration, we sought to tear through the straitjacket of the capitalist rulers' "national unity" campaign, whose aim is to regiment the population in the service of U.S. imperialist depredations abroad and grinding exploitation of workers at home. We fought as well to break down the poisonous racial and ethnic divisions among the exploited and oppressed which the capitalists promote in order to maintain their power.

As the recent freeing of three of the four New York City cops jailed for the 1997 torture of black immigrant Abner Louima starkly shows, police terror against black people remains "as American as apple pie." This was chillingly brought home in San Francisco on January 21, Martin Luther King Day, in an incident that has provoked widespread outrage locally. Shortly after midnight, police with drawn guns assaulted five black youth aged 12 to 14 outside their homes in heavily black Hunters Point, throwing them to the ground, groping two girls and severely beating 14-year-old Jerome Brown for daring to question them. As frantic parents and neighbors gathered, one cop snarled at the mother of one of the victims: "As long as you people are here, we will act like this."



Marsh/Indymedia

Twin/Indymedia

Mother of Idriss Stelley, killed in hail of cop bullets, addresses September 2001 press conference outside SF City Hall. Oakland protest against police killing of Jamil Wheatfall, May 2001.

Like the "Riders," the SFPD thugs were simply "doing their job" as a racist occupying army in the inner cities. Along with the courts, prisons and armed forces, the police are at the core of the capitalist state, whose role is to protect the property, profits and rule of the capitalist class. And in racist America, this necessarily means terror against black people. Two years ago in New York, following the acquittal of the cops who gunned down African immigrant Amadou Diallo, the New York Spartacist League and Labor Black League issued a statement pointing out:

> "There will be no end to police brutality short of the destruction of the system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression which the cops serve as armed guard dogs. But a protest based on the organized muscle of the labor movement would give the cops and their capitalist masters some pause. More importantly it would serve to imbue the working class with the understanding that its interests are inseparably linked to the defense of the ghettos and barrios and the fight for black freedom."

has organized a series of public hearings on police abuse designed to let angry residents let off steam, announcing that "it is not our mission to have a beat-up-on-police session" (*Montclarion*, 22 February). In San Francisco, the MLK Day assault came two weeks after "an agreement for better cooperation between the Police Department and black community leaders" spearheaded by the NAACP was signed (*Oakland Post*, 13 January).

For its part, the liberal People United for a Better Oakland (PUEBLO) has been pushing to revamp Oakland's discredited civilian review board, whose real job is to whitewash the cops. Outrage over the rampant racist terror of the Oakland police in the 1960s, out of which the Black Panther Party developed a large following, led to the creation of the city's first review board. As continued police atrocities eroded its credibility, the board has been repeatedly "reformed"...until again discredited. PUEBLO now calls for "independent" investigations to "restore the public's faith and trust in the Oakland Police Department."

PUEBLO and other reform outfits like the Ella Baker Center, with its associated groups PoliceWatch and Let's Get Free (formerly Third Eye Movement), preach that the cops can be something other than paid enforcers of the racist capitalist order. PUEBLO is aided in sowing this illusion by fake-left groups like the self-proclaimed "revolutionary communists" of the Progressive Labor Party (PL).

In its rhetoric, PL often comes off as revolutionary opponents of liberalism. Its newspaper *Challenge* (16 February 2000) correctly noted that "PUEBLO's reformist leadership tries to divert all efforts into working within Oakland's CPRB (Civilian Police Review Board)." In its 23 May 2001 issue, PL made the rudimentary Marxist assertion that "racist cop terror is a necessary part of capitalist rule." *Challenge* (20 June 2001) took to task an "Oakland Comrade" who submitted a letter baldly proclaiming: "I have also seen a few 'good cops,' those willing to stand up for principle.... What about police reform? Is it possible to organize within the police? What did the Bolsheviks do? What should be our strategy in mass organizations like PUEBLO?" *Challenge* correctly replied, "The primary function of all police departments is to protect the bosses' criminal attacks on the working class, not to fight 'crime.' It's almost like saying there were a few decent Gestapo cops; it really didn't matter."

But PL tramples all over the basic Marxist understanding of the police by actively working *within* PUEBLO, whose Web site unambiguously proclaims its intent "to offer a progressive alternative to overly punitive and ineffective public safety policies." PL thus provides a left cover for those who reinforce bourgeois consciousness by preaching the reformability of the police. Such illusions can only disarm the struggle to sweep away the system of racist police repression.

Much of the black population understands that the institution of the police is not in place to serve them. On the other hand, the race-caste oppression of black people in this society ensures that many live in ghetto hellholes where life is cheap and the "enemy" is the gang-banger, the pimp and the dealer. Today's liberal reformers of ghetto life are frequently black activists who have been co-opted by the bourgeois powers that be to keep things cool. Waves of outrage against cop terror are followed by penny-ante, meaningless liberal "reforms," with the ghetto masses receding into bitterness and despair.

The only successful working-class socialist revolution to date, the October Revolution of 1917, was led by the Bolshevik Party of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, which fought to raise the consciousness of the working class by *combatting* the illusion that the capitalist state machinery can be wielded in the interests of the toilers. Of no less importance, the Bolsheviks recruited strongly from among the oppressed minorities in the tsarist "prison house of peoples" and had among its cadres and leaders Jews, Poles, Georgians and Azerbaijanis. Under Bolshevik leadership, the multiethnic working class seized power, smashing the capitalist state and forging a workers state that laid the foundations of a planned, collectivized economy, the prerequisite to social equality and progress.

In the U.S., where the bedrock of capitalist rule is the special oppression of black people, it is doubly important that black militants play a central role in leading a revolutionary workers party. Without such leadership, it will not be possible to decisively break the political ties that bind the working people and oppressed black and Hispanic masses to the capitalist Democratic Party. It is precisely through such a leadership that the power of labor can be welded to the anger of the ghettos and barrios in order to uproot this whole system based on exploitation and oppression and enforced by racist cop brutality. When those who labor rule, we will begin to build an egalitarian socialist society where racist terror and oppression will be eliminated once and for all, and the tremendous wealth of this society will be used to provide a decent life for all.■

Young Spartacus

Big Brother's Little Sisters Run to "The Man"

Feminists Ban Marxists from Chicago Conference

INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, a national feminist organization founded two years ago, held its second "Color of Violence" conference from March 15-17 at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle Center. Called on the theme of "Building a Movement," the conference attracted hundreds of people, but the INCITE! leadership made certain it didn't include any reds.

INCITE! may appear to the left of the typical bourgeois feminist group simply by numbering racial oppression, police terror and imperialism among the forms of "violence against women of color."

Reuters

"Woman of color" Condoleezza Rice, member of Bush team busy directing "war on terror" at home and abroad.

But like the Black Radical Congress and Critical Resistance with whom they share supporters (such as rad-lib academic Angela Davis), INCITE's radical rhetoric doesn't go one step beyond the bounds of Democratic Party pressure politics. Tellingly, conference organizers wasted little time before contacting the cops and building administrators to remove Spartacist supporters from the premises after our revolutionary program for women's liberation received a warm welcome from a number of people at the Saturday workshops, including one—ironically enough—on "State Violence Against Women of Color."

The next morning, the SYC hit the pavement outside the Circle Center with a statement protesting the cop-enforced censorship of our political views. Six conference organizers scurried outside to shepherd the incoming crowd away from us. Still, we distributed some 300 copies of our statement, asking people to read it and decide for themselves why the cops were called on conference attendees. Much to the dismay of INCITE's junior McCarthys, many did. Our statement is printed below.

* * *

Did you buy a *Workers Vanguard* this weekend? Then you better watch out for Big Brother (and Sister) who have declared this revolutionary newspaper of the Spartacist League illegal, unsafe and just not nice! Accused of the "crime" of telling people that bourgeois feminism is no answer in the fight for women's liberation (guilty as charged), the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club were banned from the conference Saturday and physically escorted out of Circle Center! Hiding behind the lie that our Marxist discussions were creating an "unsafe environment" for the conference attendees, the organizers called the campus cops and had our interracial team of women and men thrown out! "Unsafe environment?!" Calling the cops into a conference attended by many non-citizens caused a genuine threat to the conference participants. The liberal organizers were threatened when attendees snapped up over 100 pieces of our communist literature, thus being exposed to a revolutionary perspective (GASP!). By calling in the state, they put scores of women in the cross hairs of the capitalist state! But that's what happens when you seek common cause with the powers-that-be against the communists. The haunting spectre of a 19-year-old red selling a paper sent them running to the "man." So much for "empowerment of women!" Anti-communist expulsion is a statement of loyalty to the capitalist, imperialist order at home and abroad. John Ashcroft would be proud.

As part of their absurd justification to ban us, the Carrie Nation wannabes accused one of our male comrades of "smelling like alcohol." This provocative smear serves to hide the fact that this exclusion was political, plain and simple. It is no accident that the only people banned from the conference this weekend were the revolutionary Marxists. For instance, a fundamentalist Muslim organization, IMAM, was welcomed. Like all religions, the Islamic religion is anti-woman to its core. Politics breeds strange bedfellows. Let's be clear, their attempt to silence us is based on the politics that we put forward. In 1979, we hailed the Soviet Red Army intervention into Afghanistan. For the first time the question of bringing Afghanistan into the twentieth century was posed, laying the basis for extending the gains of the Russian Revolution for women. Women were educated, allowed into the workforce and given guns to fight for their own liberation against the CIA-backed mullahs. The Stalinist bureaucracy's pullout of the Red Army was a betrayal of the people of Afghanistan, women in particular. Internationally, the feminists and fake left sided with their own bourgeoisie against the Soviets. RAWA, part of today's conference, has been in the forefront of the pro-imperialist outcry. Today they call for the reinstatement of the monarchy and denounce the Soviet imposed rights of "having a boyfriend or dancing in a nightclub" (*Z Magazine*, January 2002).

As the brutal bombing campaign rages against Afghanistan, we say: U.S./UN/NATO Out of Afghanistan and Central Asia Now! For Class Struggle Against the Imperialists at Home! "National unity" is a lie because it ties the exploited with their exploiters. The capitalist system is based on the ruthless exploitation of the many by the few. Bush and company have seized on the criminal attack of the World Trade Center as a way to terrorize the American population. The "war on terrorism" means war on blacks, immigrants and labor! As Bush jigs into town for St. Patrick's Day, those leading the conference are doing their part in silencing revolutionary opposition to racist American imperialism.

What the conference organizers find particularly hard to swallow is our opposition to the Democratic Party, a capitalist party of war and racism and our forthright program of revolutionary action. It is not enough to criticize Bush. That's easy. It was the Clinton administration that axed welfare and threw tens of thousands of single mothers out onto the streets, that incarcerated more people than any other administration before them and that filled the streets with hundreds of thousands of additional cops to terrorize the ghettos and barrios. The Republicans are the party of repression, the Democrats of hypocrisy. What is needed to even begin to address the genuine liberation of women, blacks and all the oppressed is the fight against the capitalist system. We need our own party, a multiracial, revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government. Capitalism cannot be reformed into a just society. Imperialism is not an administrative policy subject to pressure. The feminist organizers of this conference feel "unsafe" because we expose their support to capitalism, expressed in the pipe dream that the imperialists can be pressured into acting in the interests of the oppressed. Bourgeois feminism obscures the main division in society, which is the division between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie not men versus women. Sorry, but "woman of color" Condoleezza Rice, helping to carry out the brutal war against Afghanistan is not *our* sister. We seek to mobilize our *class brothers and sisters* in the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution. Not until we build an egalitarian, socialist society can you even begin to truly lay the materialist basis for the liberation of women.

The same is true for the brutal oppression of blacks in this country—the bedrock of American capitalism. Segregated at the bottom of society, blacks are integrated at the point of production and are fated to play a strategic role in leading the American working class on behalf of all the oppressed. Oppression cannot be compartmentalized into "sectors," and to do so only plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie. Every attempt to separate these specially oppressed groups from their economic roots leads to reliance on the class enemy in the form of the Democrats and the capitalist state. They preach "separate but safe." We seek to unite all the oppressed under the common banner of revolutionary Trotskyism. The real question at hand is how to get rid of the system that breeds oppression, the capitalist system, and mobilize the social power of the working class. *Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*

Our demonstration in Oakland on February 9 gave a taste of a workers party in action. This was the first time anywhere that organized labor was mobilized to flex its muscle in defense of its immigrant brothers and sisters under the U.S. rulers' "war on terrorism." Hundreds of unionists, blacks, Latinos and youth came out under the slogans "Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks and Labor!", "No to the USA-Patriot Act and Maritime Security Act!" and "Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!"

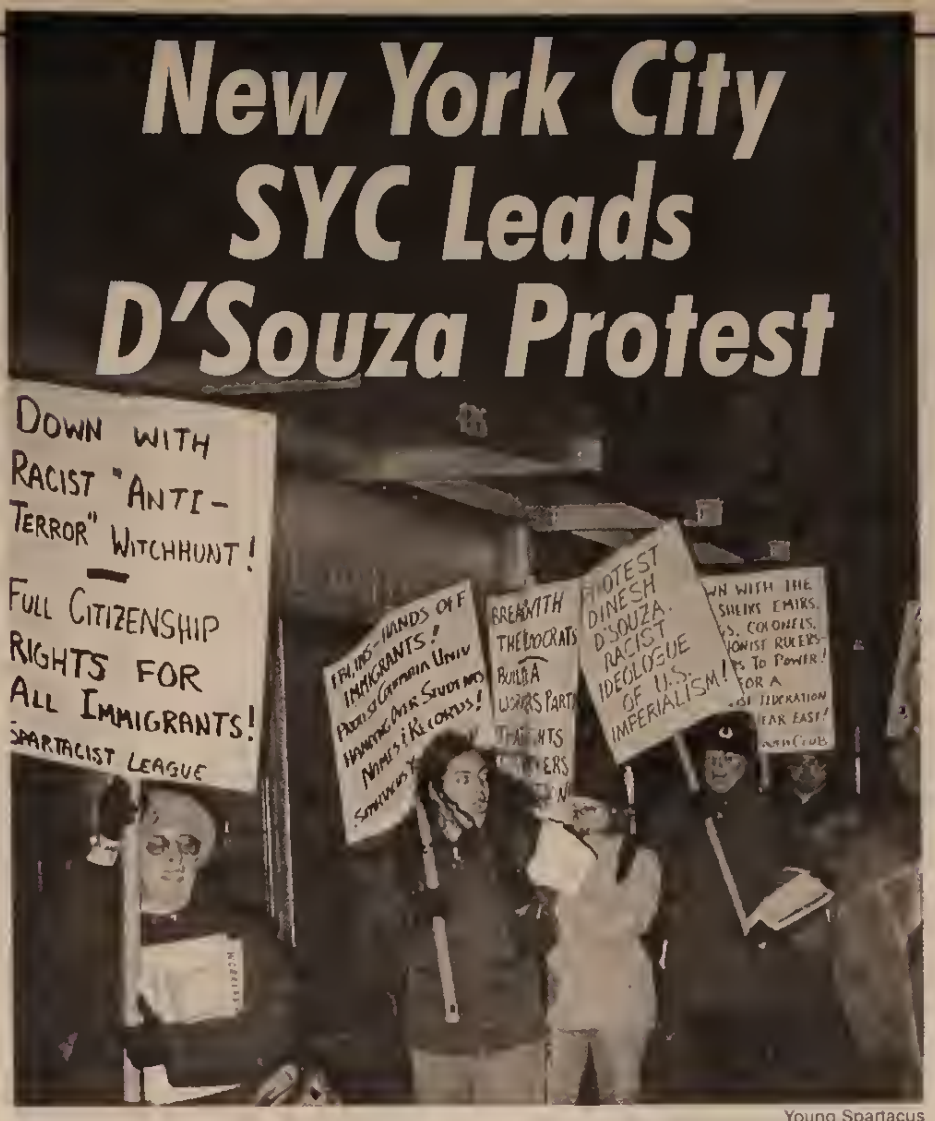
Everything the working class and oppressed have ever won was the result of militant class struggle. Women and blacks will be a key component of the revolutionary leadership of a multiracial, Leninist vanguard party on the road to a socialist future. We urge those of you interested in Marxism and leading a fight against capitalism to check out the Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club. Join us—we have a world to win! *Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! Down With the Anti-Communist Expulsion!* Subscribe to *Workers Vanguard*, the paper they don't want you to read! ■

VAAP

Women workers demonstrate in Petrograd, 19 March 1917. Banner reads, "As Long as the Woman Is a Slave There Can't Be Feedom—Long Live Women's Equality." After working class took state power in October, Bolsheviks moved rapidly on pledge of full social equality for women.

Columbia University

New York City SYC Leads D'Souza Protest



Young Spartacus

Dinesh D'Souza, slavery apologist and all-purpose Reaganite pig, appeared at Columbia University's Law School on February 27 to push U.S. imperialism's "war on terrorism" in a speech titled "Why They Hate Us: America and Its Enemies." To refute the racist, pro-imperialist filth he spews, the Spartacus Youth Club called for a united-front protest outside the Law School based on the demands: *"Protest Dinesh D'Souza, Racist Ideologue of U.S. Imperialism! U.S./UN/NATO Out of Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Near East! Down With the Racist Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt! Defend Black Rights!"*

The SYC built for the protest on campus and in work throughout the city. Campus activists and student organizations, including the president of Liga Filipina at Columbia University and the African Student Union of Hunter College, professors and left groups endorsed our united-front call. Notable for its refusal to endorse was the International Socialist Organization (ISO), whose actions during this campaign are a case study in opportunist accommodation to liberalism.

At a protest organizing meeting it had called, the ISO ludicrously objected to the inclusion of anti-imperialist slogans among the united-front demands we put forward because this would "raise the bar too high," frightening away liberals who might oppose D'Souza but not the imperialist slaughter that he cheers. This might seem strange to those who heard an ISO spokesman at a February 20 speakout at Columbia state, "I think it's really important that everyone who's interested in fighting racism fight the war abroad because that's a war allowing racist attacks." The D'Souza protest leaflets that ISO members did distribute failed to raise any slogan against U.S. imperialism, even though this was the topic of D'Souza's speech!

In its press, the ISO can pontificate on "Why we oppose all U.S. interventions" (*Socialist Worker*, 2 November 2001), but on the ground the ISO "fights" against the war in Afghanistan by building liberal "peace" coalitions that aim to pressure the imperialists to be kinder and gentler. For example, the ISO endorsed the April 20 "Stop the War" march on Washington. This mobilization centrally calls for "a U.S. foreign policy based upon social and economic justice, not military and corporate oppression," a demand premised on the deadly illusion that the racist American ruling class can act in the interests of workers and the oppressed.

Our protest, exposing the vile bigot D'Souza, was also aimed at winning students to the understanding that only international workers revolution can end racist oppression, class exploitation and imperialist war. The very purpose of a united front is to mobilize in common action around specific demands, while each organization puts forward its own political program. Such political debate advances the development of revolutionary consciousness. Fear of confronting communists politically is exactly why the reformist ISO tries routinely to exclude the SYC from their "public" events.

Clearly, the ISO was bothered by the widespread attention and support accorded our campaign against D'Souza. Showing they felt pressure from our criticism of their dive on the war, the ISO came to our protest with slogans that took up imperialism: "D'Souza's racism feeds the war machine" and "The D'Souza agenda: racism, imperialism, war." These slogans sound rather more militant than the ISO's perennial call for "Money for jobs, not for war," which treats imperialist wars as some kind of aberration or excess that the capitalist system could choose to eliminate in favor of other, more humane "priorities." The ISO contingent briefly joined the demonstration, but fled when we chanted: "1, 2, 3, 4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5, 6, 7, 8—Forward to a workers state!"

The ISO's gyrations over our D'Souza protest are a measure of the contradiction this group faces when they seek to posture as opponents of American imperialism. The ISO's staunch anti-communism led them to line up in the first place on the same side as D'Souza in openly supporting the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats as "freedom fighters" against the Red Army in 1980s Afghanistan. Later, the ISO would declare they "welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan" (*Socialist Worker*, May 1988).

In contrast, we hailed the Soviet military intervention, which represented the only hope for emancipation of the hideously oppressed women of Afghanistan. This action by the Moscow Stalinists was one of their few truly progressive acts, both as a basic measure in defense of the homeland of the October Revolution and as the first step to extending the gains of the USSR's planned, collectivized economy to the Afghan peoples. Despite gross mismanagement by the repressive Stalinist regime, collectivized property and the planned economy were the material basis for guarantees of full employment and social benefits for the whole of the working people.

Opposition to imperialism means defending those gains the international working class already has made. The Stalinist bureaucratic caste sitting atop the workers state sabotaged that defense by conciliating imperialism but was constrained in its actions by its mortal fear of the proletariat. We Trotskyists fought politically, to the limits of our small forces, to rally the working class of the former USSR and East Europe to defend the social gains embodied in these states, to rise in political revolutions to oust the sellout Stalinists who declared "communism has failed" and in the end handed power back to the imperialists. Today, we defend the remaining deformed workers states of Cuba, China, North Korea and Vietnam against imperialist attacks and internal counterrevolutionary forces.

The ISO (and many others) proved to be "Cold War socialists." Alongside the U.S. State Department, they rode the coattails of reactionary forces, like Solidarność in Poland and the Afghan *mujahedin*, that tried and ultimately did succeed in fomenting counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union. That the ISO is not now in a hurry to boast of its contributions to this outcome testifies to the devastating effects of counterrevolution: massive impoverishment of the working class, hideous "ethnic cleansing," frontal assaults on the rights of women, wholesale destruction of basic health care and public education.

We stand in the tradition of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, in which the working class, led by the Bolshevik Party, amid the bloody chaos of imperialist war took state power away from the capitalist class and established its own class rule. Today, we fight to break the grip of the imperialist system around the globe once and for all as we seek in struggle to cohere a worldwide revolutionary party to lead new October Revolutions.■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA

Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.

April 6: **Revolutionary Opposition to Imperialism**

1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor, Oakland
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

LOS ANGELES

Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.

April 6: **The Fight for a Revolutionary Workers Party**

April 20: **The Russian Revolution Betrayed and the Struggle of the Left Opposition**

3806 Beverly Blvd., Suite 215
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
slsycla@cs.com

CHICAGO

Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.

April 9: **Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

University of Illinois at Chicago
104 Stevenson Hall, 701 South Morgan St.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
spartacist@iname.com

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

April 9: **Defend China Against Imperialism, Counterrevolution! For Workers Political Revolution!**

Columbia University (116th and Broadway)
Hamilton Hall, Room 306
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

Young Spartacus

Harvard Protest Against Racist Ideologue

The united-front picket against racist ideologue David Horowitz, a cohort of Dinesh D'Souza, initiated by the Boston Spartacus Youth Club at Harvard University on March 14, was joined by some 20 people. The protesters, including individuals from the Black Men's Forum and the Harvard Living Wage campaign and two members of Progressive Labor, mobilized outside Horowitz's speech at the Science Center under the demands: "Protest David Horowitz, Racist Ideologue for U.S. Imperialism! Defend Black Rights! Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt! U.S. and All Imperialist Troops Out of Afghanistan and Central Asia!"

The SYC's call for the protest sparked widespread debate on campus, especially among black students, which escalated when Horowitz took out a paid ad in the *Harvard Crimson* on March 11 with the outrageously racist title: "Harvard U: No Republicans Or Conservatives And (Few) White Christians Need Apply." This revolting screed echoed Horowitz's grotesque claims from his campus tour last year that blacks actually benefited from slavery and that racism no longer exists (except against "Whitey").

Horowitz's current speaking tour is part of a calculated ***provocation***, a neo-McCarthyite campaign by right-wing organizations to witchhunt all those who oppose U.S. imperialism's war on Afghanistan. By exercising our right to free speech and defending the targets of his vicious "fifth column" terrorist-baiting, the SYC led a militant, organized protest that politically refuted Horowitz's right-wing garbage and sought to win youth to the cause of black freedom through socialist revolution.

France...

(continued from page 4)

The LTF reacted immediately after September 11 by opposing domestic repression and upcoming imperialist "reprisals." In a 13 September leaflet we denounced the implementation of reinforced Vigipirate. When the war against Afghanistan broke out we called for breaking the reactionary and racist national unity and for class struggle at home against the capitalists and their government. We defended Afghanistan against imperialist attack and today we say: *U.S./French/UN troops out of Afghanistan!* The anti-woman reactionaries of the Taliban were from the beginning the protégés of imperialism; in 1979 we hailed the Soviet intervention against the fundamentalist *mujahedin*, because the Soviet intervention opened up a real possibility of liberation for the oppressed masses of Afghanistan, especially the women. In contrast, our opponents enlisted in the anti-Soviet Cold War campaign, with LO going so far as to characterize the Soviet intervention in headlines as "Russia's Vietnam," thus putting it on the same plane as the bloody war lost by the French and American imperialists.

One strike here against imperialism, against Vigipirate and in defense of the population of North African origin would have more impact than a thousand demonstrations calling for the racist French imperialists to support the Palestinian Arabs. But what did LO say on Vigipirate? Nothing. Not a word in their press for six months. When we queried Arlette Laguiller about it recently, far from saying that she opposed Vigipirate, she tried to mininize Vigipirate by saying that this was the "normal" functioning of capitalism. As Trotskyists we fight against "normal" police terror, while LO minimizes it to justify its economist refusal to mobilize the working class against this cop terror. Beneath its silence LO hides a capitulation to the special powers of the capitalist state represented by Vigipirate, the Law on Daily Security and the "anti-terrorist" agreement of the European Union. Try telling the youth in the *banlieues* that nothing changed for them after September 11! Try telling it to the undocumented immigrants, for whom deportations have increased by at least 30 percent! All those who would really want to fight for the interests of workers and oppressed peoples must oppose this growing terror and racist state repression. All these "anti-terrorist" measures ultimately target and serve to intimidate the working class, which is fed up with layoffs, privatizations, threats to pensions, speedup, etc.

Cops Are Not Workers in Uniform but the Watchdogs of Capitalist Order

While being silent on Vigipirate, LO enthusiastically and promptly stated its solidarity with the police "strikes" last fall. These were reactionary strikes against the Guigou law on presumption of innocence. As we noted in our polemic against LO on this subject (*Le Bolchévik* No. 158, Winter 2001-2002):

> "LO explains: 'the police, but also the gendarmes, carry out functions that are useful to society as a whole, by doing security tasks that are necessary to collective life, for lousy wages' (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 7 December 2001). One would think we are in a scene from 'Cordier, Judge and Cop' [TV show]! The 'usefulness' of the cops is to attack picket lines, terrorize youth of immigrant origin in the *banlieues* and hunt down the undocumented immigrants. What 'usefulness' can the moral enemies of the workers movement have except to guarantee capitalist 'security' and private property?"

In response to our arguments on this question, Arlette Laguiller in her forums in Le Havre and Creil claimed that LO's support to the police was a Bolshevik tactic straight out of the Russian Revolution of 1917. She maternalistically advised us to re-read Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*. What chutzpah! It is in this book in particular that Trotsky explains the difference between the army and the cops, during the February 1917 revolution:

> "Toward the police the crowd showed ferocious hatred. They routed the mounted police with whistles, stones and pieces of ice. In a totally different way the workers approached the soldiers.... The police are fierce, implacable, hated and hating foes. To win them over is out of the question."

And in *What Next?* (1932), Trotsky added: "Consciousness is determined by environment even in this instance. The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker." The LTF says: *Cops out of the unions!* LO, on the other hand, in their election propaganda, promises cops bulletproof vests. If LO wants to improve their working conditions, will LO also demand automatic rifles next time? Are they courting the police in the hope that the cops will vote for Arlette?

Another aspect of LO's fundamental revisionism on the question of the state is that they accept money from this very bourgeois state that they claim they want to destroy (in small type). In her forum at Creil, Laguiller said she would accept money from Geneviève de Fontenay who organizes the Miss France beauty pageant, since that money would be deducted from the subsidy LO gets from the state for the elections. And that is a considerable amount. According to *Le Monde*, LO's electoral budget for the presidential elections only, for which they expect to be reimbursed by the state, is 12 million francs. This is the equivalent of their members' dues for two and a half years, according to the detailed account they send to the Minister of the Interior (see for example the *Official Journal of the French Republic*, 9 November 2000). They claim to oppose Jospin but accept his money! He who pays the piper calls the tune!

September 2001: LTF protests imperialist intervention in Afghanistan. Sign at right reads: "Down With Vigipirate! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!"

The Struggle Against Racist Oppression Is Central in the Struggle Against Capitalism

In her electoral speeches Arlette Laguiller stated that she stands for social and political rights for the undocumented workers and immigrant workers in France. Very well. We say: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families!* We fight for this in the framework of our revolutionary perspective. Papers for everyone is a basic democratic right which must be fought for, but this must be broadened into a fight against the systematic racism which is rooted in the functioning of the capitalist system, originating in the French colonial domination of North Africa and its consequences. But for LO the cause of the undocumented immigrants is simply a question of democratic rights that their dear Republican France must grant. For us it is a question of addressing the systematic racial discrimination and segregation of the North Africans as manifested in chronic, astronomical unemployment in the ghettos, racial discrimination in hiring, jobs and housing, lack of schools and social services, and the whole legal system of "justice" with its police and courts who kill and jail dark-skinned immigrants and their children. It is the capitalist system itself that is at issue. What is necessary is to forge a real Bolshevik party to lead the proletariat in a struggle to defend all the oppressed against the capitalist system, a Leninist party that will be a tribune of the people, denouncing all forms of oppression.

As long as "French" workers accept the oppression of their dark-skinned class brothers, they will not be able to fight for their own historic interests. Racist oppression is at the heart of the French bourgeoisie's policies to divide and weaken the multiethnic working class and maintain its own rule. Workers of North African, African, Caribbean and other origin continue to be integrated in industry, particularly in private industry like automobile and construction, where they play a crucial role. Far from being only "victims," workers of immigrant origin have key social power for revolution here, and also represent a living bridge toward revolution in their countries of origin.

Here again, LO's speeches on immigrant rights and their participation in demonstrations for undocumented immigrants are nullified by their silence on Vigipirate and their support to the cop mobilizations. Indifference to racial oppression is the direct consequence of a perspective of *class collaboration*. The fundamental method of reformists is to look for allies in one or another sector of "their" national bourgeoisie. In any case they are not looking for allies among the layers of the working class who are victims of special oppression.

Reforms or Revolution?

It is striking that in Laguiller's electoral speeches and in her recent book, *Mon communisme* [My Communism] she never talks about workers revolution. Her whole program can be summed up as a series of measures that the government (of the left or of the right, but in any case capitalist) should take under the pressure of the workers. Her most famous slogan is to ban layoffs in companies making profits. This demand openly accepts the notion that capitalism could be rational, although as any Marxist knows it is a profit-driven system driving to reduce wages and impoverish the proletariat, a system which leads to periodic crises of "overproduction," i.e., mass unemployment. Capitalists resort to what Marx called "the reserve army of the unemployed" as a weapon against the workers movement and to drive wages down.

Against the reformist illusions sowed by LO in the capitalist state we demand: *A sliding scale of wages and working hours! All the work on hand should be divided among all existing workers without any reduction in wages! Organize the unorganized in unions! For professional training organized by the unions for oppressed youth and oppressed minorities!* In fact, demands such as these would mean extraparliamentary class struggle with factory occupations and establishment of factory committees. As Trotsky said in the Transitional Program (1938):

> "'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

To "Always Side with the Workers" It Is Necessary to Break with the Racist Policies of the Government!

LO's positions on special oppression have been poisonous for a long time. With their bourgeois moralism they excluded the ACT-UP group from their fête in 1992, a typically homophobic action. They line up with the state against youth by opposing legalization of cannabis, a question which is used as a pretext for racist repression in the *banlieues*. They are indifferent to the fascist danger represented by Le Pen and the National Front: on February 4 Laguiller participated in a televised debate with Le Pen, thereby contributing to legitimizing his calls for racist murder, as if these were ideas one might "discuss."

There are times when such questions are in the center of political debate. Today Vigipirate and police repression, especially against *banlieue* youth, are at the center of French politics. Before the 1981 presidential elections, we considered giving PCF candidate Georges Marchais critical support because at that time the Union of the Left had collapsed and Marchais was running alone against the bourgeoisie (moreover, he was refusing to condemn the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan). So a vote for Marchais could have represented a class vote. But when the PCF attacked a dormitory housing immigrant workers from Mali with a bulldozer in Vitry-sur-Seine, we necessarily withdrew our critical support because a vote for Marchais would have meant support for this racist atrocity which was

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Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan (Buzzer 23)

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Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
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Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
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Tues. 6:30-8:30 p.m.
and Sat. 1-5 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

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Box 29497
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San Francisco
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San Francisco, CA 94107
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Palestinians...

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people were stunned by the Arab League's refusal even to allow Arafat to address their summit by phone from his Ramallah prison. For all their lip service to the Palestinian cause, the Arab bourgeois regimes are bloody oppressors of their own working people and historic enemies of the Palestinians. Protests in solidarity with the Palestinians in Egypt, Jordan and Syria were suppressed with police batons, teargas and water cannons. In Jordan, the tiny Bedouin-derived ruling elite lords it over a population that is majority Palestinian, while in Lebanon and elsewhere hundreds of thousands of "stateless" Palestinians have languished in squalid refugee camps for three generations, denied even the right to work.

The inherently oppressive Zionist bourgeois state must and can only be swept away from within, through a proletarian revolution uniting Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking workers against the common class enemy. But social and national emancipation for the Palestinian Arab people requires as well the overthrow of the bourgeois order in Jordan, Egypt and the other Arab countries. In the struggle to forge the revolutionary internationalist workers parties needed to fight for a socialist federation of the Near East, the Hebrew-speaking proletariat must be broken from the reactionary chauvinism of the Israeli rulers and won to the defense of the Palestinians, and the Palestinians and other Arab workers must be broken from petty-bourgeois nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism.

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The following statement of the Spartacist League/U.S. was issued on March 30.

The international working class must urgently rally to the defense of the Palestinian people against the Zionist military terror machine. Seizing on the killing of 22 innocent Israeli civilians at a Passover Seder in the working-class town of Netanya by a Hamas suicide bomber—a criminal attack worthy of the murderous nationalist mindset of the Zionist rulers—Israeli prime minister Sharon unleashed hundreds of troops, dozens of tanks, and helicopters in an assault on Palestinian Authority headquarters in Ramallah, where Yasir Arafat has been confined since December. After a fierce firefight, Israeli troops occupied Arafat's compound, forcing the PLO leader into almost complete solitary confinement in a windowless room. Meanwhile, Israeli troops have made other incursions into Palestinian towns throughout the West Bank.

The Zionists' genocidal impulses were captured in the headline for an op-ed piece by former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu in the 29 March *Jerusalem Post*: "End Game." Sharon has called up more than 20,000 reservists for active duty in the Occupied Territories. Taking aim at the Palestinian Authority, which was created by the sham Oslo "peace" accords in order to police the Palestinian ghettos for the Zionist rulers, Sharon's bloody incursion into Ramallah could very well be a first step toward a complete Israeli re-occupation of the entire West Bank and Gaza Strip. The logic of reactionary Zionist nationalism has always been equivalent to Hitler's *lebensraum* ("living space"), i.e., the clearing of areas occupied by Israel of all Palestinians. The fascistic settlers, armed to the teeth, are the advance guard of this policy. ***The Spartacist League stands in defense of the Palestinian people against the Zionist occupiers! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories now!***

WV Photo

Los Angeles: SL contingent at emergency March 30 protest in defense of Palestinians.

The response of Palestinian spokesmen to this desperate situation has been to mount impotent appeals to everyone from the Arab bourgeois regimes to the United Nations, the European Union and the U.S. imperialists to rein in the Zionist butchers. In building for today's nationwide demonstrations in support of Palestinian rights, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee makes a direct appeal to the Bush administration to "be actively engaged in the full implementation of International Law and UN Resolutions calling for an end of the Israeli Occupation and self-determination for the Palestinian people." It is a measure of the utter bankruptcy of any nationalist solution to the plight of the Palestinians to appeal to the U.S. imperialists who have bankrolled and armed Israel to the hilt and who, at home, are rounding up and detaining hundreds of Arab and Muslim immigrants as part of the "war on terror."

It is widely recognized that Bush's recent turn to a diplomatic solution is purely in the service of a massive U.S. attack on Iraq. The latest Israeli attacks come in the wake of the Arab League meeting which opposed any U.S. attack on Iraq.

The United Nations is hardly an "alternative." It was the UN that ratified the very foundation of the state of Israel; whose troops oversaw the disarming of Palestinian militants who were then slaughtered at the hands of fascistic Lebanese militias mobilized by Sharon at Sabra and Shatila in 1982; and which has sanctioned the more than decade-long starvation blockade of Iraq that has killed over one million people. As for the European powers, their current objections to Israeli and U.S. policies are simply in the service of trying to reassert their own imperialist interests in the region they once controlled. ***All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Near East now!***

While the Arab League meeting in Beirut passed empty resolutions supposedly in defense of the Palestinians, the policy of the Arab regimes has always been to suppress Palestinian refugees in their countries. In 1970, some 10,000 Palestinian militants were slaughtered by the Jordanian monarchy in the "Black September" massacre. In fact, such support that exists for the Palestinian "right of return" by these regimes is aimed at driving the Palestinians out of these countries. Immediately following the 1991 Gulf War, the Kuwaiti regime expelled nearly 200,000 Palestinian workers and their families.

The Zionist occupiers and their imperialist backers have destroyed any semblance of a livable life for the Palestinians entrapped in the ghettos. Many feel like they have nothing left to lose and are prepared to strap their bodies with explosives to get the perceived "enemy," which in the minds of anti-Semitic outfits like Hamas includes the entire Israeli Jewish population. Indeed, the Zionists look to these atrocities to advance their aims. In fact, until Sharon's provocative visit to Al-Aqsa Mosque/Temple Mount, which set off the current *Intifada*, the wave of suicide bombings had all but disappeared. Now, not just Islamic fanatics but secular Palestinians, including women, see no other option than to immolate themselves and random others in suicide bombings. But such attacks only serve to seal any fissures in Israeli society, such as the recent protests among Israeli army reservists and their supporters against the occupation, and drive the Hebrew-speaking population into the arms of the Zionist nationalist madmen.

Various putative leftists such as the International Socialist Organization and Workers World Party have called for a secular democratic state in Israel and the Occupied Territories. Positing a democratic solution within the framework of capitalism (with socialism removed to some far distant future) recalls the program of the Stalinist-led Communist parties in the region which posited a "two-stage" revolution—the first being to install the local ruling class in power supposedly to set the stage for socialist revolution. In reality, this played out in the Communist parties allying with the Arab nationalists, who subsequently massacred the Communists and their working-class followers. In contrast, Trotskyists have always fought for the political independence of the working class, which, as the tribune of all the oppressed, is the only force that can open the road to liberation from imperialist subjugation in the "Third World."

There can be no justice for the Palestinian people within the framework of capitalist rule. On the contrary, the system of private property and private ownership of the means of production necessarily contains within it the components of nationalism and religion, which make impossible the settlement of the conflicting national claims of the Palestinian Arab and the Hebrew-speaking populations. Only through the overthrow of both the Israeli bourgeoisie and all the Arab ruling classes can the right of national self-determination for these peoples and the many other peoples of the region be equitably realized. This necessarily calls for the leadership of internationalist Marxist workers parties, not least to defeat the intruding foreign imperialisms, particularly the American. ***Defend the Palestinian people! For a socialist federation of the Near East!*** ■

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a pledge given to the bourgeoisie so that the PCF could again find its place in Mitterrand's popular front.

More recently, last year our British comrades gave critical support to the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) of Arthur Scargill. This was the only party openly campaigning against any support to Blair's Labour Party governing British imperialism. (The misnamed Socialist Alliance, supported by, among others, the British co-thinkers of LO—Workers Fight—and of the LCR, called for voting Labour wherever the Socialist Alliance was not themselves running.) Our comrades distributed the SLP's election propaganda door to door and on the street, calling for a vote to the SLP, while intervening in the SLP's public election meetings to polemicize against Scargill's narrow national reformism and Stalinism.

We are not anarchists who refuse on principle to consider participating in elections; in this way the anarchists evade the fight against workers' parliamentarist illusions, thereby abandoning the workers to Jospin, Hue and Laguiller. At the Creil meeting Arlette Laguiller told us that we had a contradiction because we considered giving LO critical support if they would oppose Vigipirate while at the same time characterizing LO as reformist. If the condition for critical support was having a revolutionary program, we wouldn't be able to support anyone unless we could immediately fuse with them! It may be appropriate to give critical support to a reformist party when that party is running independently of and in opposition to the bourgeois parties and bourgeois formations (which includes popular fronts). Critical support allows a Leninist organization to solidarize with workers who want to draw a class line, while showing these workers the crucial difference between a revolutionary program and a reformist program. Such a tactic can raise the consciousness of the working class toward a communist understanding of its historic task of *overthrowing* capitalism—a task to which reformism is an obstacle.

In spite of its call to oppose the government, LO finds itself tailing Jospin and Chirac when it capitulates to the climate of racist hysteria they fuel and which dominates the political life of this country. So long as LO does not oppose Vigipirate and the reactionary and racist cop mobilizations, the LTF cannot support LO's campaign. There is no party running in these elections presenting a candidate who represents in any real sense the workers' interests. We will nevertheless intervene in this election campaign fighting to win the working class, minorities and youth to the understanding that they need a revolutionary internationalist workers party fighting to unite the workers struggles throughout the whole world to put an end to capitalist exploitation and racism once and for all. ■

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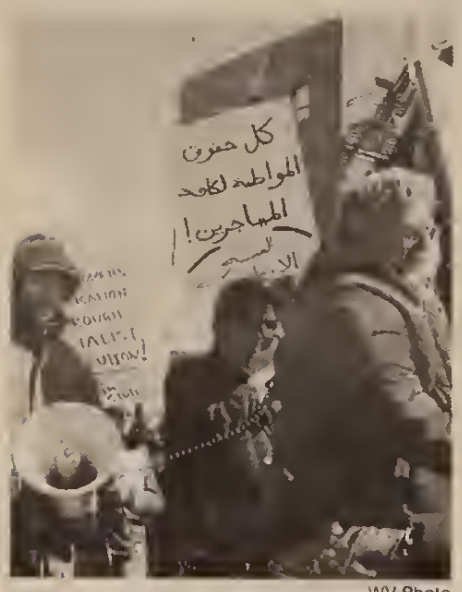
Detainees...

(continued from page 12)

This understanding was key to mobilizing organized labor in defense of immigrants in Oakland on February 9 in a united-front rally initiated by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee, a social and legal defense organization associated with the Spartacist League. As the call for the protest explained:

> "Just as the fight for black freedom is central to the liberation of all working people, the labor movement can only defend itself if it defends the rights of immigrants. In this country, the raw exploitation of labor has always come wrapped in the envelope of racial and ethnic-religious hostilities fomented by the capitalist rulers. Black oppression is the cornerstone of American capitalism. But black and immigrant workers are not helpless victims; they're a vital component of the multiracial working class."

The February 9 Oakland demonstration was the first time in the U.S. that organized labor was mobilized in defense of immigrants victimized in the U.S. rulers' "war on terror." Several unions from the U.S., Canada, Mexico and elsewhere



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at March 23 demonstration in Brooklyn, NY. Sign in Arabic demands "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!"

endorsed the rally, including the powerful ILWU Local 10 longshore union in Oakland. Since then, several other demonstrations in defense of immigrants have been held, including a March 23 "NYC Labor Solidarity with Immigrant Detainees" rally. The protest was an adjunct to weekly rallies held outside the Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn which prominently featured black Democratic Party liberals like city councilman Charles Barron and Congressman Major Owens. In a particularly gross expression of acceptance of the framework of the racist immigration laws and the "war on terror," participants at these rallies have raised the call to charge the detainees or let them go!

Significantly, a number of unions endorsed the March 23 protest, including AFSCME District Council 1707 and AFSCME Local 1407 city workers, SEIU New York State Council, Mailhandlers Union Local 300, CWA Local 1180 and NYC Labor Against the War, a group that includes several union locals and officials. Labor officials who spoke at the rally included Larry Adams, president of Mailhandlers Local 300, and Brenda Stokely, president of AFSCME Local 215, DC 1707.

The union endorsements and the presence of union tops at the rally reflect disgruntlement among the ranks against the domestic impact of the "war on terror." But to mobilize the multiracial proletariat in defense of immigrants, black people and all the oppressed requires a conscious struggle against the million and one ways the capitalist exploiters foster the racial and ethnic antagonisms that divide the proletariat and undermine its fighting strength. This also requires that the working class be mobilized independently of the parties of capitalist exploitation and racist reaction. This was hardly the perspective of the labor tops at the March 23 rally. However "progressive" their veneer, their worldview is defined by what is possible or "practical" within the confines of the capitalist system. Inevitably this means a program of class collaboration tying the working class to the parties of its capitalist class enemy, particularly the Democrats.

In contrast, in building for the Oakland February 9 demonstration we sought to imbue the working class with the understanding that its interests are irreconcilably counterposed to those of its capitalist masters, and that for labor to be mobilized in its own defense, it must actively champion the defense of immigrants, blacks and all the oppressed. As the Spartacist League speaker at the February 9 rally explained:

> "The trade-union bureaucrats are the agents of the capitalists, and you can see that in particular by the role of the trade-union bureaucrats tying the working class to the Democratic Party. You cannot have a government that serves two masters. The workers and the capitalists have irreconcilable interests: the capitalists want to extract as much profit as possible, drive down wages, etc. The capitalists have a state to help them do this—the cops, the courts, the prisons—and then they try to scam you and say this is democracy. Well, it isn't a democracy, it's a ball and chain, and the trade-union misleaders telling you to vote for the lesser evil, they're the chain tying you to the ball. A class-struggle leadership in the trade unions must be forged, a leadership that knows who our friends are and who our enemies are. We need a workers party to fight for a workers government."

Hands off Arab/Muslim immigrants! Anyone who has made it to this country should have the same rights as those born here. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Free the detainees!

For Class Struggle Against Capitalist Rulers!

Shortly after September 11, the Injustice Department of Attorney General John Ashcroft expanded provisions for secret hearings in immigration courts in "special cases," closed to all but the victim and his attorney. In December Ashcroft, an open admirer of the Confederacy, announced that when it chooses, the government will just ignore an immigration judge's order to release someone arrested on immigration violations. Among the hundreds still imprisoned are dozens jailed on minor visa violations who agreed to "voluntarily depart" the U.S. months ago. To maintain a war atmosphere in which any rights may be forfeited, the government still refuses to even provide the names of those being held.

McCoy/U.S. Navy

Prisoners captured by U.S.-led imperialist forces in Afghanistan and elsewhere face humiliating treatment, indefinite detention in U.S. prison camp at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

Scores of foreign nationals have already spent over 100 days in jail, with no end in sight. Among them is Rabih Haddad, a Muslim cleric and community leader living in Ann Arbor, Michigan, who has been held in solitary confinement at the Metropolitan Correction Center in Chicago for over four months. Haddad was picked up in December for overstaying his visa and denied bail, despite the fact that his application for permanent residency had been pending for eight months. Although Haddad had been outspoken in condemning the September 11 attacks, the government claims he has connections to a charity which supposedly provided aid to "terrorist" organizations.

The cruelty of the government's anti-Arab witchhunt was exemplified by the recent discovery of the remains of one young man, a volunteer paramedic, who died after he rushed to the WTC to help those trapped there. Upon seeing his name on flyers of potential terror suspects, his family desperately hoped that he had been detained in the dragnet. At the time, the gutter rag *New York Post* ran vile articles witchhunting this man who turned out to be a hero.

The pretext for the Gestapo-like raids against many immigrants is alleged connections to Al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations. But as the *Washington Post* (22 March) pointed out concerning the recent roundups of Arab immigrants in Virginia, government sources "cautioned that proving the case and any direct links to terrorism will be difficult." That comes as no surprise—nor is it of any concern to Bush & Co. who see no need to "prove" any case. Shortly after September 11, Bush announced that "terrorist" suspects can be tried in military tribunals where the format rights accorded someone accused of a crime are nonexistent. This threat was directed not only at those detained in the U.S. but also at those captured in Afghanistan and elsewhere and currently detained at Camp X-Ray at the U.S. Naval Base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

In response to outrage at the tribunals from across the American political spectrum, the Bush administration somewhat retreated from highlighting the tribunals, though not renouncing their use. Nonetheless, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld announced two weeks ago that the government has no intention of releasing the rare individual who might get acquitted in one of these kangaroo courts. Instead, they will rot in prison until the "war on terror" is concluded, i.e., forever. This is the fate in store for the hundreds imprisoned at Guantánamo Bay. Many of the prisoners have resorted to hunger strikes to protest their brutal conditions, which include being held in open cages, manacled hand and foot, tortured and humiliated.

While today vulnerable immigrants are the main victims of the new draconian measures, these laws are aimed at the entire working class—indeed, potentially anyone who raises an oppositional voice. They are an indication that the bourgeoisie would seek to cast off any democratic trappings in the face of a perceived threat to its interests and class rule. Yet the reformist left and "progressive" trade-union tops peddle illusions that capitalism can be reformed to serve the interests of the workers and oppressed.

Several speakers at the March 23 "Labor Solidarity" rally in New York promoted the April 20 demonstrations called for Washington, D.C. to protest "war and racism." The protest headed by the Workers World Party's International ANSWER coalition pleads for "money for jobs, education, housing and health care—not war." These demands are based on the illusion that the capitalist rulers can be pressured into serving the interests of poor and working people. This is put more baldly by the other coalition mobilizing for April 20, which includes everyone from the ISO to the Green Party, whose demands peddle the pipe dream of "a U.S. foreign policy based upon social and economic justice, not military and corporate oppression."

No amount of reforms can fundamentally change the racist and oppressive nature of capitalism. To end racist oppression, exploitation and war and place the vast wealth of this society at the service of human needs requires establishing workers rule and abolishing the bloodsoaked capitalist system. Our February 9 rally in Oakland represented on a small scale what's needed: a revolutionary workers party that acts as a "tribune of the people" to defend all the oppressed, which is possible only with the understanding that we need to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery. ■

CORRECTION

In "Socialist Action: Hate Red Army in Afghanistan" (*WV* No. 777, 22 March), we incorrectly referred to the youth group of Socialist Action as the Young Socialist Alliance. Its name is Youth for Socialist Action.

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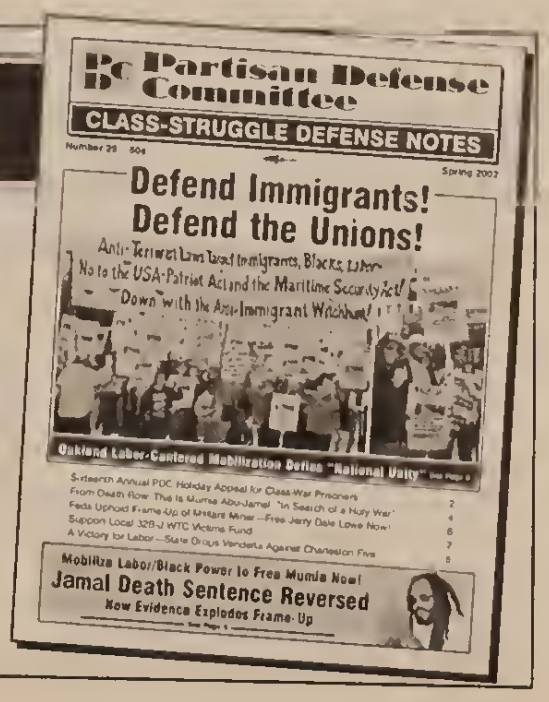

Woomera Protest: Refugees Escape Australian Concentration Camp

Drop the Charges Against Protesters and Detainees! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants and Refugees!

SYDNEY, April 1—In a stunning blow against the Australian government's barbaric treatment of asylum-seekers, 50 refugees from Iran, Afghanistan and elsewhere escaped from Australia's Woomera detention center on Friday, March 29, as hundreds of their supporters demonstrated outside. One fleeing detainee called out, "After two years I'm free!" Thirty-six have now been captured and could face prison terms of up to five years. Of 29 protesters facing charges, 15 are accused of "harboring" an escapee, which could bring a four-year prison term. All those who champion the rights of refugees and immigrants must demand: Drop the charges against all Woomera protesters now! Full citizenship rights for refugees and all immigrants! Close the concentration camps! No deportations!

The Woomera protest is a dramatic example of the sharp polarization in Australian society over the government's brutal incarceration of asylum-seekers, which has caused hundreds of desperate refugees to threaten suicide, go on hunger strikes or even stitch their lips together in protest. Demonstrations against the mandatory detention of asylum-seekers have erupted throughout the country, and thousands have announced their willingness to shelter escaped refugees.

The Spartacist League/Australia and Spartacus Youth Club were among the 1,000 leftists, trade unionists and student activists from across the country who travelled to the Woomera concentration camp, located in a vast military "Prohibited Area" in the harsh South Australian desert. On Thursday night, before most protesters had arrived, cops attacked the "Woomera 2002 Festival of Freedom" camp, pulling up tents and threatening to force protesters into an enclosed sports oval. When the activists refused to move, the cops declared their protest "illegal" and in dead of night invaded the camp. But their Gestapo raid was foiled and they were driven off; the camp stayed put.

Late Friday afternoon, hundreds converged on the prison's five-metre-high perimeter fence. As the fence collapsed under their weight, protesters swarmed toward the detention center, using sand bags to weigh down the fence and cover the razor wire that topped it. When the third and final fence was breached, refugees flooded out, chanting "Freedom, freedom!" Fleeing to the protesters' camp, they were sheltered and given new clothes.

Riot police on horseback rode into the swarm of protesters, bloodying many. Cops sealed off the protesters' camp and imposed a virtual state of siege on the surrounding area, setting up roadblocks and searching the camp and cars. Inside the detention center, sadistic screws employed by Australian Correctional Services (owned by the union-busting Wackenhut firm) tear-gassed and beat detainees and reportedly put sleeping pills in their food to quell their protests.

AP photos

Left: Refugees break out of Woomera Detention Center as supporters rally outside, March 29. Cops retaliated with brutal attack on demonstrators.

The right-wing Liberal government of John Howard and his viciously racist immigration minister, Philip Ruddock, are threatening to deny visas to any who sought to escape. Joining in denouncing the protesters' "illegal action" was Australian Labor Party (ALP) leader Simon Crean, who reaffirmed his support to mandatory detention, a policy initiated by the Labor Party. The South Australia Labor government has vowed to use videotape footage to track down protesters. We demand immediate asylum for the thousands of imprisoned refugees!

In debates and discussions at Woomera, and in our public meeting there titled "A Revolutionary Strategy: For Working-Class Struggle to Defend Immigrants," our comrades put forward the perspective of mobilizing the social power of the organised working class, with its strategic immigrant component, to defend the refugees. Several trade unions donated money and equipment to the Woomera protest. These unions should be urgently mobilizing against the anti-refugee campaign. A political strike combining defence of immigrants with opposition to union-busting would be a major step in pushing back the bosses' anti-labour attacks and proposed "anti-terror" laws, which are in the first instance aimed against immigrants but ultimately against the entire working class.

Our comrades also raised the urgent need to mobilize protest against the Zionist military terror machine, raising a motion in a "spokescouncil" meeting to defend the Palestinian people and demand that Israeli troops and settlers get out of the Occupied Territories. While claiming to support the motion, the International Socialist Organisation, along with the refugee advocacy group No One is Illegal, shunted it to the end of the meeting, ensuring that this necessary act of internationalist solidarity would be buried.

Even as its members engage in courageous protests, the reformist left's program is to appeal to the racist Australian capitalist state—through the agency of the ALP—to adopt more benevolent and "humane" policies. The capitalist rulers won't be swayed by appeals to their "morals," for their only "moral" calculus is the bottom line of profit. They whip up anti-immigrant racism to divide the working class, going after the most vulnerable first, so as to paralyse workers' ability to struggle.

Woomera captures in a concentrated form the brutality of this racist capitalist society. The town was built in 1947 during the Cold War as a site for rocket testing and tracking devices like the Nurrungar spy station. These facilities served the imperialists' drive to destroy the former Soviet Union and became part of their machinations against the deformed workers states of North Korea, Vietnam and particularly China. Aboriginal communities around Woomera are terribly impoverished, while in nearby Maralinga, atomic bomb testing in 1950 irradiated the region and poisoned the Aborigines who lived there. This powerfully underscores the link between the fight against the vicious oppression of Aborigines and immigrants and the need to defend China and the other deformed workers states against imperialism.

Seizing on the "war on terror" to jack up its repressive apparatus, the Australian ruling class, like its counterparts everywhere, viciously witchhunts refugees and immigrants while using them as scapegoats for the unemployment inherent in capitalism. As *Workers Vanguard* No. 775 (22 February) wrote in "ICL Sections Mobilize Against Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Labor Attacks": "Our purpose is to win workers to the understanding that they must sweep away the entire capitalist system, to forge through education and struggle the vanguard party of the proletariat needed to achieve that goal. Our defense of immigrant rights is a vital part of our revolutionary internationalist program."■

Rome...

(continued from page 2)

And we ran across many workers and others who agreed with us. For example, a contingent of metal workers in a factory in the northwest Piemonte region told us that they had opposed the strike against "terrorism" and refused to participate in it.

We also distributed a supplement of our paper *Spartaco* headlined "Mobilize the Power of the Working Class to Defend Immigrants! Break with the Parliamentary Reformism of RC—Build a Revolutionary Vanguard Party!" Our call for "full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families" was well received, especially by the contingents of immigrant workers.

In spite of the class-collaborationist politics of the reformist leaders, large sectors of the working class and youth are in fact quite cold toward the perspective of "national unity" with the Berlusconi regime. Rifondazione Comunista demonstrated together with Alleanza Nazionale in Bologna the day after the killing of Biagi, but the rallies "against terrorism" organized by all the unions on March 26 in nearly every major Italian city saw the participation of less than 20 percent of the numbers in the Rome demonstration, and many of those who protested came out only because they believed the killing had been organized by the secret services or some other state agency.

The Italian proletariat has fresh experience of what unity with the bourgeoisie means. In 1994, similar working-class struggle led to the fall of the first Berlusconi government and opened the way to governments led by DS and supported for a period by RC. These anti-working-class popular-front bourgeois governments rolled back many gains the Italian working class had achieved in the aftermath of the "Hot Autumn" strikes and protests of 1969. These governments also participated in the U.S.-led NATO war against Serbia in 1999, cut pensions, introduced prison camps for immigrants and used all their authority to suffocate working-class resistance. In doing so, they paved the way for the current reactionary government.

During the Rome demo, one demonstrator, pointing his finger at a pole without a banner, said: "That's the current flag of the political left." He was expressing the very common feeling that none of the historic parties of the left represents the interests of the workers today. The LTd'I is committed to building a revolutionary workers party that will fight for the interests of the working class and oppressed, a party based on the experience of the most important victory ever achieved by the proletariat so far: the Russian Revolution of October 1917.■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Bush, Ashcroft Step Up Anti-Immigrant Crusade

Free the Detainees!

The Feds come in the dead of night and in the bright light of day. Sometimes they knock, other times they just break down the door before hauling their victims off to a prison hell. The detained have no inkling of what, if anything, they are charged with. Their families have no idea where they are. It is considered "lucky" to get kicked out of the country—if not, you're destined to spend who knows how long behind bars. For thousands of young men of Arab and South Asian descent, this is life in post-9/11 America.

Bolstered by the September 14 War Powers Resolution, the racist roundup of these immigrants was the first step of the open-ended "war on terror" at home. Less than a month later, the U.S. imperialists began the military onslaught against backward, impoverished Afghanistan. For the U.S rulers, the attack on the World Trade Center became the launching pad for asserting their dominance abroad and pushing through laws, orders and directives to be wielded against workers, immigrants and all the oppressed at home. Last December's jailing of over 200 striking New Jersey teachers, whose spokesman was vilified as "the representative of the Taliban," is a harbinger of what is to come for workers, just as the freeing of three of the NYPD cops involved in the 1997 savage beating of Abner Louima signals what's in store for black people.

At the heart of the government's draconian new measures is the USA-Patriot Act, which provides for indefinite detention of non-citizens deemed to be a threat to national security; expands the legal ability of the FBI to break into homes and offices to conduct secret searches; eliminates formal restrictions on CIA spying within the U.S.; gives the government power to designate domestic organizations as "terrorist" and deport any non-citizen who is a member or provides financial support; and authorizes broad wiretapping and Internet surveillance, allowing the government to monitor what Web sites an individual visits. Postal strikers who mobilize to stop scabs or who disable a scab truck could fall under the law's definition of "terrorists" as those who commit unlawful acts that "appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population" or "to influence a policy of a government by intimidation or coercion."

Now the government is massively reorganizing its immigration agencies and laws to hunt down desperate immigrants who have been in this country for years, laboring in the most menial jobs. The Justice Department has issued orders to expel thousands of immigrants on the basis of deportation orders from many years back, creating a new computer database to facilitate deportations. This has created a climate of fear and terror among millions of immigrants in the U.S.

In the past month, hundreds of immigrants—janitors, dishwashers, cleaners and security screeners—have been arrested in airport "security" dragnets and lost their jobs. Pending in Congress is the Maritime Security Act mandating background checks in the name of "security"—a law aimed at purging the waterfront of blacks, Latinos and other immigrants and at undermining union power. With unemployed workers easily available, many private firms are summarily canning those with the smallest misdemeanors on their record. Last week, the United States Supreme Court gave a nod to virtual slave labor by overturning a National Labor Relations Board decision ordering back pay for undocumented immigrants fired for taking part in a union organizing drive, ruling that they were forbidden by law to hold those jobs in the first place. This starkly highlights that the fight for immigrant rights is crucial to organizing the unorganized and building the labor movement.

More than 1,200 immigrants have been rounded up in the racist dragnet following September 11. Hundreds are still behind bars. After initially calling in 5,000 young men from Muslim countries for "voluntary" interviews, the Feds recently announced plans to interrogate 3,000 more. Two weeks ago, Treasury agents of the IRS and Customs bureau, assisted by local cops, raided 16 Islamic organizations and individuals in northern Virginia. In one case, agents broke into a woman's home and searched the house, handcuffing her and her daughter while holding them at gunpoint for five hours.

Administrations at more than 200 campuses have handed over foreign students' files to the FBI or INS. The City University of New York is implementing an anti-immigrant purge of the campuses by charging extortionate out-of-state tuition fees to those who can't prove their legal status. One City College student was arrested along with her entire family. Not surprisingly, the government vendetta has spurred on racist attacks on immigrants, especially Arab Americans, across the country. In the last three months, attacks in the New York City area have included the firebombing of several Pakistani delis and the racist murder of a Yemeni man in Staten Island. In Brooklyn, cops brutalized a Pakistani man as they taunted him with cries of "Talihan."

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at Brooklyn protest against detention of Arab and Muslim immigrants, March 23.

For a Workers Party That Fights for All the Oppressed!

Labor Must Fight the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!

As sinister as the new "anti-terror" measures are, what the government is actually able to get away with will be determined by the level of social struggle. What is crucial is to mobilize labor's social power in defense of immigrants, which requires tearing through the straitjacket of "national unity" promoted by the U.S. capitalist rulers and breaking down the poisonous racial and ethnic divisions they promote to weaken the labor movement and maintain their rule.

continued on page 10

Jersey Journal

Paul Buck

Immigrant detainees at Hudson County Correctional Center in New Jersey. Hundreds have been rounded up in Ashcroft's racist "anti-terror" sweeps.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 779 X-523 19 April 2002

No U.S./UN/EU Intervention in the Near East!

Zionist Bloodbath in Jenin

Defend the Palestinian People!

Photos: Reuters, Fremson/NY Times

Unprecedented Israeli onslaught on Palestinian people has reduced much of West Bank to rubble, like Jenin above.

U.S. Hands Off Iraq!
Down With Zionist and Arab Bourgeois Rulers!
For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

APRIL 16—Ramallah, Nablus, Bethlehem, Jenin, Qabatya, Qalqilya, Yatta, Samua, Ber Zeit: the roll call of Palestinian communities devastated by Israeli troops, tanks and helicopter gunships encompasses almost all of the West Bank. Upwards of 200 Palestinians have been slaughtered in the Jenin refugee camp alone—where nearly 15,000 people are crammed into little more than a third of a square mile—as defiant fighters armed with automatic rifles have tried to defend homes and families against the Israeli juggernaut. Likening Jenin to Vietnam, carpet bombed by the U.S., one Israeli soldier said, "There's nothing left there now."

Over 4,000 Palestinians have been arrested, including Marwan Barghouti, second only to Palestinian Authority (PA) leader Yasir Arafat in the Fatah party. The PA now exists in name only. Estimates of the death toll range to 500—on top of more than 1,200 killed and 50,000 wounded over the previous 18 months. The full extent of the slaughter will only be known, if ever, after the Zionist stormtroopers pull out. Journalists have been barred from besieged towns. In Jenin, Israeli troops have reportedly dug mass graves to conceal the actual number killed. In most cases, Palestinians are not even allowed to bury their dead. In Ramallah, nearly 30 decomposing bodies were buried in a hospital parking lot in order to make room for more in the morgue. Scores of wounded have been left to die because ambulances were not allowed through or their drivers were shot.

Cities and towns that once had a semblance of an economy and life have been reduced to ruins. Old towns and casbahs, some of them with walls dating back to the Roman Empire, have been turned to dust. The West Bank is now a massive rubble of twisted metal and destroyed lives, with nearly two million Palestinians effectively imprisoned in their homes by Israeli curfews. It will take years, if not decades, to rebuild what the Israelis have destroyed: homes, businesses, shops, libraries, hospitals, paved roads, electrical plants, sewage mains, water pipes—the entire infrastructure of the West Bank. The looming health disaster may well claim many more lives.

As the Palestinian people are subjected to an unprecedented onslaught, imperialist spokesmen engage in hypocritical hand-wringing and the Arab regimes recite their usual litany of empty United Nations resolutions. But in cities throughout the Near East, and elsewhere, hundreds of thousands march in outrage, desperate for some way to put an end to the savage Israeli assault.

What is urgently necessary is the mobilization of the working class, in the Near East and internationally, in defense of the Palestinian people against Zionist state terror. From black and Arab workers in Detroit to the proletariat of France, with its key North African component, to the port workers of Egypt and the oil workers of Iran, working people throughout the world must take up the cause of the Palestinian people as their own through demonstrations, protest strikes and other class-struggle actions.

In Morocco, upwards of a million people marched through the streets of Rabat making a zero sign with their fingers to express their contempt for the Arab regimes that do nothing to stop this new catastrophe against the Palestinians—but the Arab bourgeoisies have always been enemies of the Palestinian national struggle. Arafat and an array of pseudo-socialist groups in West Europe and the U.S. appeal to the UN or the European Union (EU) or even the Zionist state's American patrons for an "international protection force"—but it was just such a force that paved the way for the 1982 Sabra/Shatila massacre. EU powers Britain and France once had forces in the Near East—as colonial overlords of the Arab masses. It was under the auspices of a UN intervention force that the U.S. perpetrated its 1991 slaughter of the Iraqi people.

Particularly now, calls for imperialist military intervention serve to legitimize and facilitate Washington's plans for a new war against Iraq. Secretary of State Colin Powell's "mission of peace" is a transparently cynical attempt to quell the popular Arab outrage that stands in the way of even nominal support from client states like Egypt for the drive to smash Saddam Hussein.

The current White House cabal has been itching to "finish the job" begun by Bush Sr. in 1991, when tens of thousands of Iraqis were slaughtered. In the intervening years, one and a half million people, mainly children and the elderly, have died as a result of the starvation embargo imposed under UN sanctions. Now, under the rubric of the "war on terror," Bush has

continued on page 8

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at April 11 UCLA protest in defense of Palestinians.

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Ashcroft's "Anti-Terror" Frame-Up of Leftist Lawyer

Hands Off Lynne Stewart!

On April 9, New York City attorney Lynne Stewart and three Arab men—Ahmed Abdel Sattar, Yassir Al-Sirri and Mohammed Yousry—were indicted on charges of supporting "terrorism." Stewart is facing up to 40 years in prison for the "crime" of being an attorney for blind Egyptian sheik Omar Ahmed-Rahman, who is imprisoned for life on "seditious conspiracy" charges stemming from the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. Yousry is included in the indictment for having acted as Rahman's interpreter. The other two are alleged to be members of Rahman's Islamic Group. All four are charged simply for having communicated with Rahman or with each other. They were indicted under the USA-Patriot Act enacted last October, which broadens the definition of "terrorist" to include just about anybody deemed an opponent of the government. We demand that all charges against Stewart, Sattar, Al-Sirri and Yousry be dropped now!

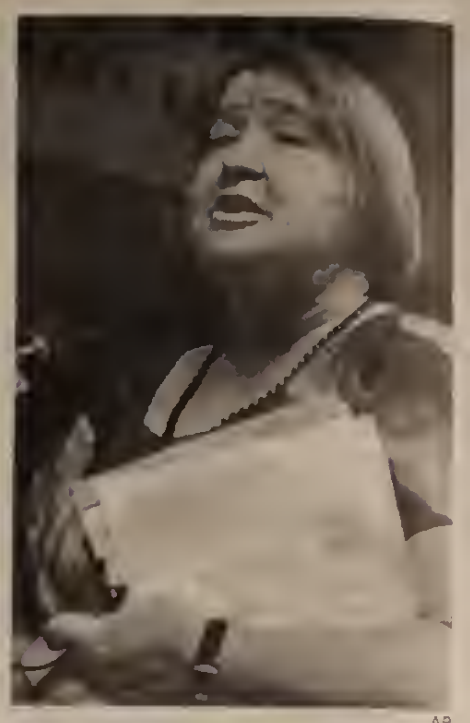
Supported by dozens of attorneys who filled the courtroom, the 62-year-old Stewart pleaded "emphatically not guilty." Outside the court she defiantly stated, "My whole entire career has been about the government expanding its powers to make more and more criminal what could be considered political. This is an example of that." In going after Stewart, who for three decades has represented leftists, black activists and others deemed enemies by the racist rulers, Ashcroft is seeking to make a sinister amalgam between leftist political activity and "terrorism." As we warned in "'Anti-Terror' Law: Shredding Your Rights" (*WV* No. 770, 7 December 2001): "The purpose of the new measures is to revive and deepen the broad-ranging repression and intimidation that marked the Cold War McCarthyite witchhunt of 50 years ago. The aim today as then is to coerce the entire population into ideological conformity, with the government wielding the spectre of seemingly pervasive 'Islamic terrorism' as a surrogate for Communism."

It was the witchhunt atmosphere whipped up by the government following September 11 that made Stewart's prosecution possible. The flimsy nature of the charges against her are evident in the fact that the alleged "crime" took place over a year ago, and the Feds did absolutely nothing. In fact, what they claim she did wasn't even illegal at the time. Only by violating the constitutional proscription against *ex post facto* prosecutions (passing laws to outlaw something that has already taken place) could the government charge her under the USA-Patriot Act.

Ashcroft claims that Stewart provided "material support and resources" to Rahman's Egyptian-based Islamic Group during a prison visit with the sheik two years ago, during which Stewart purportedly made "extraneous comments" in English to "mask" from prison guards a conversation between Rahman and Mohammed Yousry. Following her arraignment, Stewart remarked: "They have now arrested the lawyer and interpreter. Are they going to arrest the lady that cleans the sheik's cell?" Her other "offenses" were to announce to the press that the sheik no longer supported a cease-fire in terrorist activities and to publicly state that he was being denied medical treatment by prison officials.

Stewart has announced her hope that the indictment become "a touchstone case...something that points out the limits the government can go through in prosecuting people they don't like." The frame-up of the four is part of the frontal attack on civil liberties that accompanies the U.S.-led "global war on terror." Using the fear born of the attack on the World Trade Center as a pretext, the Bush administration, with most Democrats in tow, pushed through a package of legislation, executive fiats and Justice Department regulations which marked a qualitative diminution of democratic rights.

The USA-Patriot Act gives the government the authority to declare almost anyone it wants a "terrorist" and enumerates the multitude of ways the Feds will destroy their lives—wiretapping, indefinite detention, rifling through financial records, breaking into homes and deporting non-citizens. The law's definition of "terrorists" as those who commit unlawful acts that "appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population" or "to influence a policy of a government by intimidation or coercion" could be applied to postal strikers who mobilize to stop scabs or who disable a scab truck. At least 1,200 immigrants, mostly young men from Arab and South Asian countries, have been rounded up in the "anti-terror" witchhunt so far, and although none have been charged with anything to do with the World Trade Center attack, hundreds remain in jail. We say: Free the detainees now!



AP

The government's vendetta against Stewart reveals the lengths to which the capitalist rulers will go to chill any efforts to defend those caught in the "anti-terror" dragnet. Testifying to the significance the government places on the prosecution of Stewart, Attorney General John Ashcroft personally announced the indictment. The 11 April *New York Post* ran a scurrilous attack on Stewart's lawyer, Susan Tipograph, trying to connect her to the prison break of the Puerto Rican nationalist FALN leader William Morales... *23 years ago!* For Bush & Co., model lawyers for those in the government's gun sights are the kind who typically represent death row inmates in Texas—lawyers who get tanked up on Jack Daniels and sleep through the trial.

Equating lawyers with the alleged crimes of their clients is nothing new. In the 1950s, when the Communist Party was declared an illegal organization and its members and anyone having contact with them were dragged before the House Committee for Un-American Activities (HUAC), their lawyers were vilified or indicted as well.

While Ashcroft proclaimed that Stewart and the others helped Rahman "direct the terrorist activities of the Islamic Group from his prison cell," the 24-page indictment points to not one single terrorist act resulting from such contact—or any criminal act for that matter. The charges of conspiring to "provide material support" to Rahman stem purely from the fact that the State Department designated the Islamic Group a "terrorist" organization (although Rahman and his Islamic reactionaries had earlier received plenty of support from the CIA, which deemed him a "valuable asset" in the anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan).

The Feds claim that Stewart violated the "Special Administrative Measures" she allegedly agreed to in 1999 which allowed her access to her client Rahman only on the condition that she not convey

TROTSKY

LENIN

Against American Imperialist Militarism!

In the name of the "global war on terror," the Pentagon has dispatched troops to, among several other countries, the Philippines, an American neocolony and until the end of World War II an outright colony of the U.S. At its founding conference in 1938, the then-Trotskyist American Socialist Workers Party emphasized the reciprocal relationship between the struggle of the colonial and semicolonial masses against American imperialist domination and the fight for proletarian revolution in the U.S.

United States imperialism, exploiting the masses within its national boundaries, at the same time and to an even greater degree, exploits the peoples of Latin and Central America, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Liberia, the Philippines. These people are thus the potential allies of the American workers in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, and neither they nor the American workers can expect to win freedom except in joint combat against the common enemy. The SWP supports every progressive struggle of these peoples. It stands for the immediate and unhampered right of self-determination for them, free from military, political, or economic intervention or pressure by the U.S. government. It stands for the immediate and unconditional independence of all the territories, colonies, and dependencies of the U.S. and for the withdrawal of all troops from them. It is opposed to any attempt by American imperialism, open or masked, to infringe upon the right of self-determination of any nation or people.

The revolutions in the colonies, semicolonies, and spheres of influence of United States imperialism are integrally and reciprocally related to the revolutionary struggle against that imperialism at home. A successful revolution in the United States would be decisive for the emancipation of the toiling masses throughout Latin America; while, on the other hand, a revolution beginning in one of the Latin American countries, or in one of the colonies or semicolonies of the U.S., could spread throughout the continent and powerfully accelerate the development of the class struggle and the revolution within the United States. The SWP regards it, therefore, as a central task to aid and support the revolutionary movement in these nations and colonies, and to establish the closest relations with the revolutionists and revolutionary organizations within them.

—Socialist Workers Party, *Declaration of Principles* (1938); reprinted in *The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party* (1982)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is 16 April.

No. 779 **19 April 2002**

Spartacist League/TLC Forums

All Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!
No U.S./UN/NATO Intervention in the Near East!
U.S. Hands Off Iraq!
For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Defend the Palestinian People!

Thurs., April 25, 7:30 p.m.
Columbia University,
Hamilton Hall, Room 517
116th Street and Broadway
For more information: (212) 267-1025
NEW YORK

Sat., April 27, 4 p.m.
Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Ave., Hollywood
(near Vermont/Sunset Red Line station)
For more information: (213) 380-8239
LOS ANGELES

Sat., May 11, 7:30 p.m. Trinity-St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor Street West (just west of Spadina subway)
TORONTO
For more information: (416) 593-4138

Welcome *Spartacist Ireland*

We send internationalist greetings to the comrades of the Spartacist Group Ireland on the occasion of the first issue of their press. We reprint below the introductory article from the newspaper dated Spring/Summer 2002. Forward to the reforging of the Fourth International!

We are proud to announce the publication of the first issue of *Spartacist Ireland*, newspaper of the Spartacist Group Ireland (SGI)—formerly the Dublin Spartacist Group—Irish section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). As stated in our international "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* No. 54, Spring 1998), the ICL "is a proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist tendency which is committed to the task of building Leninist parties as national sections of a democratic-centralist international whose purpose is to lead the working class to victory through socialist revolutions throughout the world."

The establishment of this journal is a modest but real step in the consolidation and construction of an Irish section of the ICL. As V.I. Lenin explained in *Where to Begin* (May 1901), the intervention of the revolutionary party is necessary to make the working class conscious of its historic task to overthrow capitalism. Lenin underscored the importance of a newspaper in building such a party:

> "The role of a newspaper, however, is not limited solely to the dissemination of ideas, to political education, and to the enlistment of political allies. A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser. In the last respect it may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction, which marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, enabling them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organised labour."
>
> —*Collected Works*, Vol. 5

SPARTACIST IRELAND

For an Irish workers republic, part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles

No 1 Spring/Summer 2002 70c/40p

Unions protest murder of Catholic postal worker

Imperialist "peace" fraud fuels Loyalist terror

We print below an article which first appeared in Workers Hammer no 179 Winter 2001-2002 along with an introduction adapted from Workers Vanguard no 773 25 January.

The killing of 20-year-old Catholic postal worker Daniel McColgan by Protestant Loyalist paramilitaries in Belfast provoked a rare display of united protest action by Catholic and Protestant workers in Northern Ireland. McColgan's murder by the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) as he arrived at work in the early morning of 12 January is the latest incident in a dramatic upsurge of Loyalist terror against Catholics in the context of the imperialist-imposed "peace process." The Red Hand Defenders, a cover name often used by the UDA, subsequently threatened to kill Catholics working in Protestant areas including postal workers, teachers and transit workers.

When they heard about McColgan's murder postal workers organised by the Communication Workers Union (CWU) walked off the job across Northern Ireland refusing to return to work for five days in response to the threats against Catholic workers. Trade unions representing both Catholic and Protestant workers condemned the murder and threats. On 14 January, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) called a half-day public sector strike against sectarian attacks and organised mass rallies in Belfast, Derry and several other cities.

Upwards of 15,000 attended the rally in Belfast and thousands more demonstrated elsewhere. Trade-union contingents included the CWU, NASUWT and INTO teachers unions, National Union of Journalists, AMICUS (an aerospace and other workers), UNISON (hospital and school workers) and Northern Ireland Public Services Association. The rally represented a broad swathe of Northern Irish society. Protestants and Catholics, old and young, men and women showed up to express their revulsion at the murder of McColgan and the upsurge in anti-Catholic terror.

The proletarian response to the Loyalist murder campaign

continued on page 3

Postal workers union contingent at 18 January Belfast protest of Loyalist murder of Daniel McColgan.

British troops out of Northern Ireland now!

Subscribe now to *Spartacist Ireland*! 4 issues/€4, order from: Dublin Spartacist Group, P.O. Box 2944, Dublin 1, Republic of Ireland. For single issues, $1, order from: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10013.

The banner of the ICL was first planted in Ireland in Autumn 1990 with the founding of the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group (DSYG). Key to the founding of the DSYG was the intervention of the ICL into the nascent political revolution which unfolded in the East German deformed workers state in 1989-90. We fought for unconditional military defence of the DDR and for a red Germany of workers councils, for revolutionary reunification through proletarian political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The restoration of capitalism led to massive immiseration of the working class, attacks on the rights of women and the rise of racist attacks and communalist wars throughout Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Today we uphold the Trotskyist programme of unconditional military defence of the remaining deformed workers states: China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam. We stand for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies whose policies of conciliating imperialism threaten the gains of the social revolutions in these countries—the collectivised economy, central planning and monopoly of foreign trade.

In addition to the devastating consequences in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the counterrevolution emboldened the imperialists to undertake new imperialist interventions from Serbia to Afghanistan and beyond. Although Ireland is a very small, weak capitalist country, nevertheless its position at the western Atlantic approaches to Britain and continental Europe gives it strategic military significance. Despite the nationalist myth of Irish "neutrality," pushed not least by the fake left, Ireland has never been neutral. The Irish bourgeoisie has deployed troops as part of UN imperialist "peacekeeping" missions from Lebanon to the Balkans and East Timor and regularly makes Shannon airport available for refuelling by U.S. military aircraft including in the recent war against Afghanistan. During that war we raised the demand for class struggle at home and called on the working class to defend Afghanistan. *Irish/UN troops out of the Near East, Balkans and East Timor!*

Against Labourite chauvinism and Green nationalism, the SGI is committed to raising the banner of proletarian internationalism, not least in the context of Northern Ireland. As stated in the ICL's 1977 "Theses on Ireland" (reprinted in *Ireland: Workers to Power!* [1991]) the key components of a revolutionary working-class perspective include: For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British Army! Full democratic rights for the oppressed Catholic minority in Northern Ireland! Not Orange against Green, but class against class! No forcible reunification! For an Irish workers republic in a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles! This leaves open the question of where the Protestants will fall and highlights the relationship of the proletarian revolutions throughout the British Isles and the virtual impossibility of a resolution of the Irish question on a working-class basis outside this framework.

James Connolly, the internationalist socialist workers leader, aptly characterised women in Ireland as the "slaves of the slaves." We are including in our newspaper a regular section dealing with the fight against women's oppression under the *Women and Revolution* (*W&R*) masthead. This is continuing in the tradition of the Bolsheviks who published the paper *Rabotnitsa* (*The Woman Worker*) and our own journal *W&R* which was published by the Spartacist League/U.S. from 1971 to 1998. The ICL continues to publish articles under *W&R* mastheads in our international theoretical journal *Spartacist* and in the press of various ICL sections.

The fight for women's liberation is strategic for socialist revolution in Ireland where social policy, education and healthcare basically remain in the grip of the Catholic church hierarchy. Conditions for women in Northern Ireland are little better: Protestant fundamentalists routinely join the Catholic church in opposing the extension of Britain's 1967 abortion law. The revolutionary party must champion struggles against every form of social oppression to become a "tribune of the people": combating not only the oppression of women but also that of gays, Travellers and immigrants.

We fight to forge a Bolshevik party to lead the working class in its historic mission to liberate all the oppressed and establish a planned economy based on socialised property forms. We, along with our comrades in the Spartacist League/Britain, fight for workers revolution on both sides of the border and both sides of the Irish Sea. *For a reforged Fourth International that Trotsky would recognise as his own!* ■

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any communications to or from him. Stewart's indictment is being used to justify Ashcroft's fiat last fall allowing prison authorities to violate attorney-client confidentiality by eavesdropping on their discussions. In dictating what defendants and attorneys can say to each other, Ashcroft is effectively denying the right to any real legal defense.

Such moves flagrantly violate the rights of prisoners and attorneys alike. But already the nearly two million men and women entombed in America's prisons, over half of them black and Hispanic, have virtually no rights. The courts have repeatedly declared that prison officials can read inmates' mail, censor their speech, restrict visits from and communications with family. Class-war prisoners such as Mumia Abu-Jamal, Ray Luc Levasseur, Hugo Pinell and dozens more are held in "super-max" prisons, locked up 23 hours a day, with rigid restrictions on the literature they can receive and access to the press.

The U.S. rulers have a long history of resorting to conspiracy laws against their perceived opponents when they can't pin any illegal activities on them. The early trade unions in this country were outlawed as "criminal conspiracies." Leftists, union organizers and opponents of America's entry into the First World War were imprisoned on charges of "seditious conspiracy," and in 1943, 18 Trotskyists and leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters were thrown in jail under the Smith Act for conspiracy because of their opposition to U.S. imperialism in World War II.

Today, the capitalist rulers sell their assault on civil liberties with the watchword of "national unity," claiming that only a small and vulnerable sector of the population would be affected by the "anti-terror" roundups. But as we warned in December, "In the government's gun sights, however, is just about everyone perceived as an opponent by the capitalist rulers—from those who oppose U.S. imperialist wars abroad to those who speak out against racist oppression or fight to defend their unions and livelihoods against attacks by the employers." As we noted in that article, what the government is able to get away with will be determined by the level of social struggle. The labor movement, fighters for black rights and all opponents of capitalist injustice have a direct interest in joining in defense of Lynne Stewart, Ahmed Abdel Sattar, Yassir Al-Sirri and Mohammed Yousry and in calling for freedom for all those detained in the anti-immigrant witchhunt. ■

Spartacist League/SYC Forum

The End of Welfare: Race, Sex, Class and the Capitalist War on the Poor

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Young Spartacus

From Korea Through the Vietnam War

The U.S. Left and the "American Century"

Wide World

Part Four: The Impact of the Vietnam War on the Left

We print below the fourth and final part of an educational on the American left given over two days by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour to a gathering of Spartacus Youth Club members and youth from throughout the International Communist League in New York last summer. The first three parts were published in WV *Nos. 773, 775 and 777 (25 January, 22 February and 22 March) and are available for order at $.50 each from the Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.*

Before discussing the left and the Vietnam antiwar movement, I want to say a few words about the *non*-left in the antiwar movement because it was a lot bigger than the left. Today, there is a generally held *false* conception of the Vietnam antiwar movement, a conception that is perpetuated by all sides of the bourgeois political spectrum. Liberals claim the antiwar movement as their own and credit themselves with ending the war. Right-wingers claim the U.S. could have won the war in Vietnam but lost it on the home front due to the opposition of bleeding-heart liberals and hippie peaceniks.

Some months ago, I was watching a TV biography of the film actor Gregory Peck, a liberal Hollywood icon, who was one of the first big-name movie stars to speak out against the war. He explained he had done so because the U.S. was "destroying a nation" in the name of saving it from Communism. I have no doubt that Peck was sincerely motivated by humanitarian concerns for the Vietnamese people.

However, the bulk of the hundreds of thousands of people who by 1968 were involved in the antiwar movement were not primarily concerned with stopping the killing of Vietnamese by Americans, although they certainly wanted that to happen. They were primarily concerned with stopping the killing of Americans by Vietnamese. The U.S. then had a draft army. At the height of the war, half a million U.S. troops were in Vietnam, and they were constantly being recycled. So millions of young American men risked being killed, wounded or captured in the war. It was they, their girlfriends, their brothers and sisters, their parents and grandparents who took to the streets demanding an end to the war. For example, in 1970 the working-class Chicano community in East Los Angeles staged a mass antiwar protest that was murderously attacked by police. Comrade Victor G. was an eyewitness to this event, called the Chicano Moratorium.

Publication of Spartacist supporters in U.S. Army during Vietnam War sought to intersect growing opposition to war among soldiers forced by imperialists to kill and be killed.

G.I. VOICE

G.I.s and Black Power

More generally, the large majority of those participating in the big semiannual "peace" demonstrations were *not* leftists or liberal activists; they were so-called "ordinary people." We were selling *Spartacist* at antiwar protests to contingents from Methodist congregations in small New Jersey towns. A few years earlier or a few years later, we would have had to have gone to suburban church bazaars to intersect the same people. The main popular slogan of the Vietnam antiwar movement was "Bring Our Boys Home," to which we said, "Our boys are the North Vietnamese and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front." When the American "boys" were brought home in 1973 and the draft was abolished shortly thereafter, the size of the antiwar protests plummeted from hundreds of thousands to a few tens of thousands.

Nonetheless, it's important to appreciate the large-scale youth radicalization caused by the Vietnam War, not only on the campuses but also in the armed forces. In 1968-69, we did some antiwar work in the military, putting out a newsletter called *G.I. Voice*. One of the few people recruited through this work was a young navy medic named Eric, a very nice, very likable guy. He had no prior background as a leftist or liberal activist. He was drafted, or perhaps volunteered, trained as a medic and sent to Vietnam. There he saw his best friend killed up close. This experience was so traumatic that it made him willing to join a very small revolutionary Marxist propaganda group. We were not able to keep Eric. But the war was propelling tens of thousands of previously apolitical youth like him toward the far left.

I noted previously that the first major national antiwar protest took place in Washington, D.C. in the spring of 1965 and was organized by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). At the invitation of the SDS leaders, the rally was addressed by two liberal U.S. senators. One of them, the Democrat Ernest Gruening of Alaska, denounced the "expansionist" policies of Communist China while also calling for a negotiated solution to the war in Vietnam. A few years later, it would be inconceivable for the SDS leadership to invite Democratic senators to one of its antiwar protests, and anyone who spoke of Chinese "expansionism" would have been booed off the speaker's platform. By 1968, a favorite chant among leftists in the antiwar movement was "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh—NLF is gonna win!"

The leftward radicalization within the antiwar movement was mirrored in the propaganda we directed at that movement. Our first antiwar leaflet—titled "What Gives in Vietnam?"—was put out for the 1965 SDS rally. We here addressed a left-liberal position on the war. Thus, we argued for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam in opposition to the negotiated withdrawal advocated by the liberal bourgeois politicians speaking at this rally.

By 1968, in a *Spartacist* supplement for one of the big antiwar demos, we were taking on the widespread illusions in the revolutionary virtues of Vietnamese Stalinism:

> "There has been an understandable but nevertheless unfortunate tendency on the part of the American left to idealize Ho Chi Minh and the leadership of the NLF [National Liberation Front], and for radicals to turn their correct demands for military victory against imperialism and its puppets into uncritical political support for these leaders and their politics. This is a grave error, for not only do these would-be revolutionaries not understand the deformities of those they support—and are extremely likely to feel personally betrayed when the inevitable occurs—but are likely to carry over the Stalinist hallmarks of class-collaboration and murderous opportunism into the American revolutionary movement."

The transition from the New Left liberalism of the mid 1960s to the New Left Maoism of the late '60s was not a sudden and inexplicable conversion but rather was an organic evolution. When paleontologists study the evolution of species, they look for the fossil remains of an intermediate species. This species has some of the distinctive characteristics of both its forerunner and its successor.

I'm pretty sure few youth have heard of Carl Oglesby. Yet, in my opinion, he was a significant figure in the intellectual history of the American left in this period because his political ideology was

Doan Cong Tinh

Parade outside Hanoi in October 1973 displays might of Soviet-armed North Vietnamese military. America lost the Vietnam War on the battlefield.

an intermediate species between New Left liberalism and New Left Maoism. Oglesby was a leader of SDS who in 1967 wrote a book on the Cold War called *Containment and Change*. In it, he came out for defense of the Asian Communist regimes and movements against American imperialism by arguing from radical democratic principles, centrally the right of national self-determination. Oglesby did not claim to be a Marxist-Leninist. In fact, he rejected Marxism, and especially Leninism, as an inadequate set of ideas for explaining the contemporary world.

Oglesby maintained that the Cold War, at least in the 1960s, was fundamentally a national conflict, not a conflict between capitalism and socialism. He viewed the Asian Communist countries of China and North Vietnam as the most radical expressions of the anticolonial revolution. He wrote, "One should be able to show somehow that the issue of the Vietnam war is not Western freedom versus Eastern slavery, but foreign versus local control of Vietnam." Similarly, he asserted that the Chinese Revolution "has nothing at all to do with communism, but rather with the independent organization of China and her acquisition of modern fire." Oglesby argued that Mao's China and Ho's Vietnam were fundamentally closer to (though more radical than) Nehru's India and Nasser's Egypt than to Soviet Russia.

Furthermore, he maintained that the Soviet Union and the United States were working together to keep in check revolutionary forces in the Third World:

> "With the Soviet Union, we have gone from confrontation to *détente*.... Direct military collision is feared and avoided equally by both sides, crises are referred to hot lines instead of war rooms, and one sometimes wonders if there is not something still springier in the air: a slow convergence of political aims...The European Cold War no longer finds Russians and Americans peering at each other through gunsights. Instead, we have had the experience of virtually integrated aid programs in Afghanistan and India. We are in open solidarity on the vexatious Kashmir question—and behind it, perhaps in essential agreement on the China question."

As is evident, Oglesby was not very prescient. The important point is that his identification of Asian Stalinism with modernizing nationalism and of Soviet Stalinism with American imperialism represented an intellectual bridge between New Left liberalism and New Left Maoism.

The Rise of New Left Maoism

The question remains: why did so many radical activists traverse that bridge? There are a number of explanatory factors, both negative and positive.

I already discussed one of the main negative factors: the demise of "revolutionary" black nationalism signaled by the split in the Black Panther Party. Political and organizational sopport to black nationalism was a core element of the New Left that distinguished it from "old left" radicalism. Defense of the Panthers, like defense of North Vietnam and the South Vietnamese NLF, was common

Howard Ruffner

4 May 1970: Ohio National Guard advances on student antiwar protest at Kent State University. Massacre of four students sparked nationwide wave of campus strikes.

to the entire spectrum of New Left radicals, from drugged-out anarcho-hippie types to earnest young would-be communists grappling with the pseudo-dialectics of Mao's *On Contradiction*. The manifest failure of black nationalist-inspired lumpen vanguardism impelled many white radicals, as well as black radicals, toward proletarian vanguardism.

Concurrently, "student power" demonstrated its impotence by its very success. What do I mean by this paradoxical statement? By 1969-70, antiwar sentiment among students and also faculty had become so widespread that campus-based leftist radicals were able to disrupt the normal functioning of the university system.

In the spring of 1970, U.S. president Richard Nixon ordered American troops in South Vietnam into neighboring Cambodia. This move was seen as a significant escalation of the war. In the ensuing campus protests, Ohio National Guardsmen opened fire and killed four students at Kent State University. Ten days later, white police and state patrolmen killed two black student protesters at Jackson State University in Mississippi.

These events triggered a nationwide antiwar strike which shut down hundreds of colleges in the country. Four and a half million students—***more than half*** the entire U.S. student population—were involved in these protests. Many colleges remained shot down throogh the end of the semester. Yet the war continoed as before. The more serious and intelligent movement activists recognized that after the Kent-Cambodia events "student power" could go no further. Other sections of American society had to be mobilized.

If the Kent-Cambodia events demonstrated the impotence of "student power," the May '68 events in France demonstrated the actual power of the working class. A leftist student protest triggered a workers general strike that shook the semi-bonapartist regime of Charles de Gaulle to its foundations. For over a month, France was engulfed in a prerevolotionary crisis. Finally, the French Communist Party managed to sell out the strike and bring it to an end in exchange for some comparatively minor economic gains.

What was important to the American left was that the "old left" traditional Marxist view of the working class was clearly and dramatically vindicated. To be sure, many American radicals, and especially black nationalists, maintained that France was not the United States. They argued that, unlike in France, the white majority of the American working class was racist because they benefited materially from the oppression of blacks. Nonetheless, the French May '68 events exploded one of the central premises of New Left ideology—that the working class in the advanced capitalist countries had become completely bourgeoisified and no longer had any revolutionary potential.

Furthermore, there also was in this period a heightened level of labor struggle in the U.S., in part conditioned by the war. Economically, the war was generating rapid price inflation, which meant an erosion of real wage value. Simultaneously, a layer of young workers—some Vietnam vets, some college dropouts, some both—injected a mood of rebellious militancy and hostility toward established authority into the labor movement. For example, in the spring of 1970 a nationwide postal strike took place, the first national strike of federal government employees in U.S. history. It was a big deal because it was illegal onder the government's anti-labor legislation prohibiting strikes by government employees. We wrote a leaflet on the strike that is included in the first boond volume of *Spartacist*.

The French May '68 events and the heightened level of labor struggle in the U.S. do much to explain why many New Left radicals turned toward the working class in the early '70s. But this do not explain why most of them—not all, but most—did so under the ideological and organizational banner of Maoism-Stalinism. Here the Vietnam War was of decisive importance.

By 1970, it was clear that the U.S. was likely to lose the war. U.S. forces would probably pull out of South Vietnam, which would then be taken over by the North Vietnamese and NLF. That was in fact what happened between 1973 and '75. With the looming defeat of U.S. imperialism, the Vietnamese Stalinist leadership acquired enormous political authority among young American leftist radicals. Ho Chi Minh, who died in 1969, and his colleagues were viewed as demonstrably the world's best revolutionaries. They had inflicted an unexpected historic defeat on American imperialism.

Whereas the leaders of the Cuban Revolution—Castro and Guevara—were New Leftists in the world Communist movement, the leaders of the Vietnamese Revolution were very much "old" leftists. Ho Chi Minh had joined the Communist International in Lenin's day. The Vietnamese Communists always had been orthodox Moscow-line Stalinists. Unlike Mao, Ho did not even claim to have made major original contributions to "Marxist-Leninist" doctrine.

The enhanced authority of Vietnamese Stalinism led to a resurgence in the authority of orthodox Stalinism among young American leftists. By the early '70s, it was common in Maoist organizations and circles to study the work of Stalin along with that of Lenin and Mao. In 1973, a major bourgeois publishing house, Doubleday, brought out a paperback edition of the selected theoretical writings of Stalin with an introduction by a Maoist intellectual. There was now a market for such a book. I remember some liberal academic complaining indignantly that while Harry Truman's memoirs were out of print, Barnes & Noble was displaying the works of Stalin. Incidentally, if you are ever in a masochistic mood and want to inflict mental torture on yourself, read Stalin.

The New Left Turns to the Labor Movement

The final chapter of our story can be called "the New Left goes to the working class." Most of these young radicals entered the factories with the expectation that they would soon be leading significant numbers of workers, just as they had been leading significant numbers of students. Also, many of them had college or even graduate degrees, so they could always pursue petty-bourgeois livelihoods if their careers as professional revolotionaries did not play oot as expected. In short, most yoong radicals joined the labor movement with a short time horizon, which made them especially sosceptible to opportunism.

The political culture of America's factories in the early '70s was very different than that of America's campuses. While the Vietnam War had become generally unpopular, the large majority of white workers and many older black workers were still American patriots. If they were liberals, they supported détente—that is, better relations—between the U.S. and

continued on page 6

WV Photo

Young Socialist

The SL and its youth group, the Revolutionary Communist Youth, put forward anti-imperialist program at march in Boston, 1972. Socialist Workers Party leader Fred Halstead (right) headed effort to build class-collaborationist "antiwar" bloc with liberal bourgeoisia.

U.S. Left...

(continued from page 5)

Soviet Russia and between the U.S. and Communist China. But they did *not* support North Vietnam and China against the United States. New Left radicals quickly figured out that if they wanted to be elected shop steward or to some other local union post, it was not a good idea to chant "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh—NLF is gonna win" at union rallies.

There was in this period also a sizable layer of young black and Latino workers who could have been won to an anti-imperialist perspective in solidarity with the oppressed nonwhite peoples of the Third World. These were the workers who a few years earlier, as high school students, might have joined the Black Panthers, the Chicano La Raza party or the Puerto Rican Young Lords. However, young black and Latino workers, like other workers of all ethnicities, generally had conventional if not reactionary views on many social questions. Women's liberation, not to speak of gay liberation, was not exactly a cause near and dear to the hearts of most young black and Latino males.

As a result, when they went to work in the labor movement, most left-radical groups dropped the anti-imperialist rhetoric, they dropped the sexual-revolution rhetoric and they sought to build support on the basis of shopfloor militancy and trade-union economism.

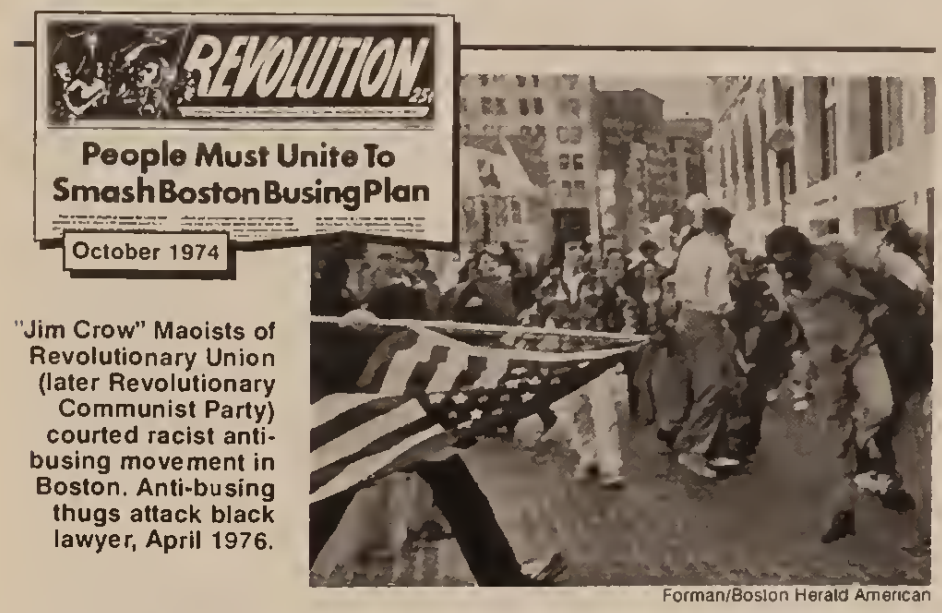
In terms of national union politics, most left-radical groups supported militant-talking, so-called progressive oppositionists like Ed Sadlowski in the United Steelworkers of America and Arnold Miller in the United Mine Workers. These were mainstream pro-Democratic Party liberals who supported the Cold War against the Soviet Union and China. Furthermore, the main tactic of out-bureaucrats like Sadlowski and Miller was to convince the federal government to intervene on their behalf against the incumbent union leadership. Leftist radicals who in the mid 1960s abandoned the liberal program of appealing for federal government intervention on the side of black people in the civil rights movement now returned to that program by appealing for government intervention in support of "progressive" union oppositionists.

I recall giving a public talk in 1972 in Chicago, where many left groups, including our own, had concentrated their forces in unionized industry. This talk covered a broad range of our positions on the main contentious issues of the day. The discussion period, however, was dominated by our principled opposition to government intervention in the unions. A leader of a small, eclectic left-Stalinist group called the Sojourner Truth Organization denounced this position as ultraleft and sectarian. From his standpoint, it was ultraleft and sectarian because most left groups were supporting union oppositions that were taking the incumbent leadership to court, in some cases working directly with the Justice Department.

I introduced this educational by emphasizing that the interaction between the American left and American liberalism is a two-way street. This development is a good example of what I meant. When young leftist radicals, mainly of the Maoist-Stalinist persuasion, entered the labor movement in the early 1970s, they encountered the bourgeois-democratic illusions prevalent within the working class. Liberal-minded workers, though dissatisfied with the existing pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, believed the government could and should intervene to help install "progressive," equally pro-capitalist, union oppositionists. So as not to alienate themselves from these liberal workers, almost all leftist groups likewise supported government intervention into the unions despite their formal adherence to Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the class nature of the state as an instrument for the exploitation of the working class.

While almost all left groups adapted to liberal prejudices in the American working class, there were also some cases of adaptation to reactionary prejudices. The most extreme case of which I know was that of Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Union—subsequently renamed the Revolutionary Communist Party—in the 1974-75 Boston busing crisis. The Revolutionary Union was a quintessential New Left Maoist tendency. In the late '60s, the Avakianites were ardent supporters of the Panthers and of black nationalism more generally. Yet a few years later, they were endorsing the actions of white racist mobs led by right-wing demagogues.

In 1974, a federal judge in Boston ordered the initiation of large-scale busing with the stated aim of integrating the city's de facto segregated school system. This provoked a violent racist reaction in white, predominantly Irish and Italian, neighborhoods. We agitated for labor/black defense of black schoolchildren against the white racist mobs. The Avakianites, who in Boston were presumably working mainly among lower-class whites, decided to compete for leadership of the anti-busing forces. Denouncing the busing plan as a "capitalist hoax," the front-page headline of the October 1974 issue of their paper *Revolution* raised the slogan: "People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan."



"Jim Crow" Maoists of Revolutionary Union (later Revolutionary Communist Party) courted racist anti-busing movement in Boston. Anti-busing thugs attack black lawyer, April 1976.

Forman/Boston Herald American

Had the ghost of Hegel bothered to monitor the evolution of the Avakian group, he would have recognized here a perfect example of dialectical logic. This tendency originated as petty-bourgeois liberal moralists who condemned the white working class for its racist prejudices. When they later decided they wanted to lead the very same white workers, they adapted to those racist prejudices. For New Left radicals like the Avakianites, workerism was simply the flip side of intellectual elitism. Both attitudes were premised on the belief that the mass of workers could not attain the lofty moral values and attitudes of intellectuals like themselves.

In retrospect, our 1972 "Trade Union Memorandum" (reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9) was an important document.

Helena Hermes

29 May 1968 was high point of prerevolutionary situation in France as 800,000 workers took to Paris streets in march called by the General Federation of Labor (CGT), trade-union arm of the Communist Party.

It registered a major change in the character of the American left and, therefore, in our relation to the rest of the left. During the 1960s, the American left was dominated by various forms of petty-bourgeois radicalism—black and Latino nationalism, student vanguardism, radical feminism. The Spartacist League was primarily distinguished from the rest of the left (the Progressive Labor Party was an exception in this regard) by our classic Marxist position that the industrial working class was the main social agency capable of overthrowing capitalism.

By the early '70s, almost all left groups formally claimed adherence to proletarian vanguardism and engaged in trade-union work to some degree. What now primarily differentiated us from the rest of the left was that we intervened in the workers movement with a revolutionary, not a reformist or economist, program. As we wrote in the '72 memorandum, "While the possibility exists, however, for a qualitative altering of the relationship of forces in the labor movement in favor of revolutionary leadership, the fundamental question is whether the bureaucracy will be defeated by communism or renewed labor reformism, i.e. by revolutionists or slicker fakers."

What are the main lessons to be drawn from all this for us today? First, it is important—indeed, absolutely essential—to recognize and respond to leftward motion and left-right differentiation in the workers movement, in the organizations of oppressed ethnic minorities and also among liberal student youth and intellectuals. But it is no less important to recognize that such motion is not necessarily and, especially in the U.S., usually is not in our specific direction, that is, toward Trotskyism as the present-day expression of revolutionary Marxism.

We recognized that when black militants raised the "Black Power" slogan in the mid 1960s, they were breaking to the left from pro-Democratic Party liberalism. But we also recognized that most of them were moving toward black separatism rather than revolutionary integrationism. We recognized that student radicals who in the late '60s were chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh—NLF is gonna win" had certainly moved left from when a few years earlier they supported or at least accepted calls for a negotiated withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. But we also recognized that most of the "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh"ers were supporters of Asian Stalinism, not Trotskyism.

To cite a present-day example, generally speaking the anarchists and anarchoid youth are on the left wing of the anti-globalization milieu. But they still are very distant from us, especially on the Russian question, the question of social revolution and its defense. Many hardline, doctrinaire anarchists are more hostile than some liberals to Castro's Cuba. The world of politics is not a neatly logical place in which all tendencies fit perfectly into a predetermined grid.

If you read the material in the first bound volume of *Spartacist*, you will see we were not at all given to sectarian abstentionism and what Engels denounced as "revolutionary phrasemongering." We were very active and interventionist. We were always attuned to changes on the left. Yesterday's pacifist became today's cheerleader for Third World guerrilla movements. Yesterday's intellectual elitist became today's workerist. We always sought to respond to new developments intelligently, even creatively. We engaged in political struggle with a broad range of organizations, movements and milieus.

In the favorable conditions of the early '70s, we underwent regroupments with former Black Panthers and former white radical feminists and somewhat later with former gay liberationists. We recruited from New Left Maoist groups and Progressive Labor, from the Socialist Workers Party and the International Socialists. We did so by honestly and intelligently confronting our basic differences with these tendencies. We didn't soften or blur our line to attract people from a given organization or milieu.

Especially in the present period, it is important not to fall into an attitude of sectarian disdain for the rest of the left, for the anti-globalization and other milieus in which we work. Almost all our contacts and the circles we encounter are going to be pretty distant from revolutionary Marxism. There are no unconscious Spartacists out there. Revolutionary politics does not consist of running up a red flag with the International Communist League's hammer-and-four and looking around to see who salutes it. Recruiting and assimilating youth is hard, time-consuming mental labor.

I suppose the basic point is that the road to an American socialist revolution is long and narrow. But it is a very interesting road if you stick it out. As we used to say in the 1970s, when you joined the Spartacus Youth League—in the present case the Spartacus Youth Clubs—we never promised you a rose garden. ■

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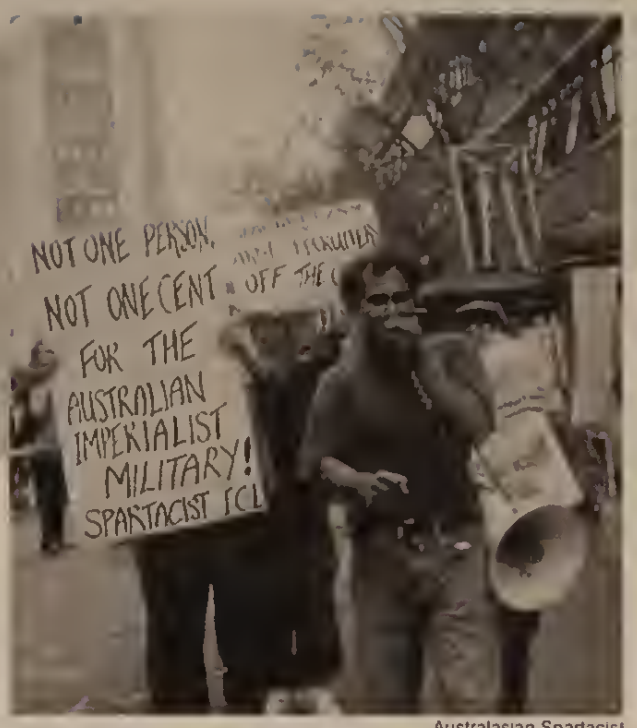
In Response to Spartacist Protest:
Army Recruiters Abandon Campus Stall



Spartacist-led protest against military recruiters on RMIT campus, Melbourne.

Australasian Spartacist

Australia

We reprint below the leaflet issued by our Spartacus Youth Club comrades in Sydney, Australia to build for a speak-out at the University of Sydney on March 20 to protest a city cop attack on leftists who were demonstrating against right-wingers and military recruitment stalls at the school. The speakout demands were "Cops/Military Recruiters Off Campus!" and "Down With Capitalist State Repression Against the Left—Drop the Charges Against Sydney University Protesters Now!" Earlier in the month, a Spartacist-initiated protest at RMIT, a Melbourne university, caused military recruiters to leave campus.

On March 6, the Marxist Spartacist League/SYC led a protest demanding "Army recruiters off the campus!" in response to the Australian army having a recruitment stall at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) on the "Big Festival Day." As our fiery red protest marched through campus, chants of "Army recruiters—imperialist looters—off the campus now!" and "Australian troops out of East Timor now!" rang out. Our placards included: "U.S./UN/Australia Get Out of Afghanistan, Persian Gulf and Central Asia Now!" and "Defend China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba! For International Socialist Revolution!"

Reuters

Australian soldier terrorizes East Timorese civilian in September 1999 as part of UN "peacekeeping" force that included U.S. military. Much of fake left, in Australia and the U.S., endorsed call for imperialist intervention.

Some campus workers, rank and file members of the Liquor, Hospitality and Miscellaneous Workers Union, encouraged our action. Later, student bureaucrats and their specially hired security guards complained that we had infringed on the army's "freedom of choice" and that they had felt "harassed" and "pressurised" by our protest and had to pack up and leave. Good!

The Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) pointedly did not join our protest, despite having people cringing behind their stall as we marched past. Of course, the DSP called for "Australian army in" to East Timor, so why would they protest it recruiting? Members of Workers Power (WP) and Socialist Alternative (SA) initially joined our protest, which we acknowledged. But we pointed out that in 1999, while claiming "Peacekeepers are not the answer," these fake-left groups, along with the International Socialist Organisation (ISO), joined chauvinist demonstrations calling for Australian troops into East Timor, helping to feed the climate of increased bourgeois militarism. In contrast, we protested *against* the Australian/UN imperialist occupation of East Timor. The main enemy is the capitalist class at home. Soon after our polemic, as security guards ordered SYN FM [campus] radio (who had turned music off for our protest) to turn their music back on to drown out our protest, WP and SA withered away.

The Laborite National Union of Students [federation of campus student governments, supporters of pro-capitalist Australian Labor Party (ALP)] had posters up on the campus against increased defence spending reading: "Join the army...gain self esteem...meet interesting people...then kill them." The RMIT student bureaucrats fervently claimed to agree with our opposition to militarism, then in the next breath they complained bitterly about the fact that we audaciously and loudly protested for army recruiters off campus!

Outrageously, a week earlier, cops attacked and arrested four leftists—supporters of the ISO, SA and [anarchoid] Love and Rage—at the University of Sydney's orientation week for protesting against Liberal Club [adherents of the governing right-wing Liberal Party] and army recruitment stalls. After a provocation by Liberal Club students, city cops, who were on campus to "train" their security guard mates, suddenly appeared and viciously attacked the leftists. They violently arrested a woman for "swearing"(!!), twisting her arm, and later strip-searched her. When the others went to her assistance, they too were summarily arrested. Three students face charges of indecent language, resisting arrest and assault. While the "troops in" DSP reported on the arrests in an article, they managed to omit any mention that the army was also a target of the protesters (*Green Left Weekly*, 6 March)! Despite our political differences, we defend the victimised students against the capitalist state. *Drop All Charges Now! Cops/Military Recruiters Off Campus! Campus Security Guards: Hands Off Leftists!*

These attacks against leftists are not an aberration. The job of cops *is* to violently suppress workers and leftists! Such capitalist state repression, along with racist attacks on immigrants, especially of Near Eastern background, has sharply intensified in the post-September 11 climate. The "war on terrorism" is lifting the usual cover of capitalist "democracy," revealing the imperialist state—the cops, courts, prisons and army—as nothing but the instrument of organised violence to protect the interests of the filthy-rich capitalists against the workers who produce society's wealth.

That our small communist protest at RMIT could cause the army to close down their stall indicates that the bourgeoisie is nervous that there are youth who are not too loyal to their state apparatus. Recent revelations of lies pushed by the government and cover-ups by the military over claims of refugees throwing their children overboard [a lie retailed by the Liberal Party on the eve of federal elections last November to justify its racist, anti-immigrant policies] have bred widespread revulsion amongst youth and somewhat discredited the armed forces.

The military has sought an increase in recruits to maintain and further the imperialist aspirations of Australian capitalism. The Australian bourgeoisie worries that its military is too small, and they constantly try to beef it up. Recruiting on campuses is part of that. While today they are recruiting volunteers, in the future working-class youth face being conscripted as cannon fodder for the imperialist bourgeoisie's wars, and to kill their class brothers and sisters in other countries. Not one person, not one cent for the Australian imperialist military!

The military is not a sports club signing up people to go on barbecues or harbour cruises, but trains killers to ensure that the super-exploitation of workers of the region continues to pour profits into the pockets of the Australian rulers. The racist, bloody, imperialist army is occupying East Timor and Bougainville, the navy patrols around Australian neo-colonies like Fiji, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands and kidnaps desperate refugees on the high seas. It also fulfills the Australian capitalists' commitment to broader imperialist adventures, helping enforce the starvation blockade which has already killed over a million Iraqis and with Australian SAS [Special Air Services] assassins involved in occupying Afghanistan, helping prop up the woman-hating imperialist-installed regime there and killing Afghanis.

As the U.S. imperialists and their allies' armies rain death on Afghanistan and strangle Iraq with embargo, now they announce openly their intention to target China and North Korea, bureaucratically deformed workers states where capitalism has been overthrown. For all their "No to War" sloganeering, the DSP, ISO, SA, WP and Love and Rage all refuse to defend China and North Korea against the "democratic" Australian imperialists and their ALP frontmen who aim to restore capitalism in those deformed workers states through a combination of military pressure and economic encroachment. The Trotskyist SYC and Spartacist League stand for the unconditional military defence of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. From that basis we fight for workers political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies and replace them with workers and peasants councils, led by a genuine revolutionary, internationalist party.

The SYC seeks to win youth to the side of the working class, rallying them to a *revolutionary* perspective in an effort to overthrow capitalism, which is based on exploitation and oppression. The SYCs are organisations of revolutionary education and action. Fittingly, we ended our RMIT protest with the chant "Break from the pro-imperialist ALP—workers need a revolutionary party!" Join us! ■

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April 27: **Revolutionary Leadership and the Russian Revolution**
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor, Oakland
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

LOS ANGELES
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3806 Beverly Blvd., Suite 215
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
slsycla@cs.com

CHICAGO
Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.
April 23: **For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**
University of Illinois at Chicago
104 Stevenson Hall, 701 South Morgan St.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
spartacist@iname.com

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
April 23: **For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**
Columbia University (116th and Broadway)
Hamilton Hall, Room 306
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

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Bloodbath...

(continued from page 1)

openly declared his intent to attack Iraq in order to topple Saddam Hussein and install a pliant client regime in Baghdad. Underlying the war plans against Iraq is the drive to strengthen U.S. imperialism's control over Persian Gulf oil fields in order to reinforce American strategic interests against its European and Japanese rivals.

A victory for American militarism in Iraq—or anywhere else—will embolden the power-mad U.S. ruling class to wreak more death and destruction around the world and will mean further misery for working people and the oppressed in the U.S. The international working class has a vital interest in the military defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack, without giving any political support to the anti-working-class, bourgeois-nationalist Saddam Hussein regime.

Defend the Palestinians! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories now! All U.S./UN forces out of the Persian Gulf and Near East! Down with the starvation blockade—U.S. hands off Iraq!

Protests Sweep Arab East, West Europe

From Cairo to the Jordanian capital of Amman to Ankara, Turkey, pro-Palestinian demonstrators have clashed with riot police. In Egypt, protests have spread beyond the capital to Alexandria in the north and Sohag in the south; thousands upon thousands have defied a nationwide ban on demonstrations, facing down cops firing tear gas and water cannon. Even the small, oil-rich Emirate of Bahrain—where the U.S. Fifth Fleet is based—has seen an upsurge of mass protest, with demonstrators demanding the closure of the U.S. naval base after one protester was killed while trying to approach the American embassy.

The Arab rulers could well seek to deflect this popular unrest by stepping up anti-Zionist and even anti-American demagogy, as they have done so often in the past. The solidarity of the Arab masses with the oppressed Palestinian people must be directed toward *proletarian revolution* against their *own* Arab rulers who, whether bourgeois nationalists or Islamic traditionalists, are fundamentally the political agents of Western imperialism. If this does not happen, the intense hostility toward Israel and its American protector will only continue to strengthen the forces of Islamic fundamentalism, which posture as the "radical" opposition to the mainly pro-Western Arab regimes.

Huge protests have also erupted throughout West Europe, and to a lesser extent in the U.S. In Paris on April 6, some 40,000 people took to the streets, shouting "Bush, Sharon—Assassins!" Though overwhelmingly Maghrebin (North African), the demonstration also included black African, Turkish, Kurdish and French protesters, among them the Union of French Jews for Peace. The Maghrebin population is besieged by unemployment, "terrorist"-baiting in the press and stepped-up cop repression. Yet among the thousands who marched in Paris were entire families, including children and grandparents, who overcame their fear and defied the segregation that keeps them restricted to the working-class suburbs (*banlieus*).

The Jospin government has seized on a series of reprehensible firebombings of Jewish schools and synagogues to justify its police-state measures against Maghrebin youth. It is not at all clear who is responsible for these heinous attacks, especially given the sizable fascist movement in France. What is clear is that the fascists benefit when justified hatred for the racist capitalist rulers of Israel is turned into vile anti-Semitism, the "socialism of fools." Commendably, as at previous pro-Palestinian protests, Arab community organizers on April 6 made public statements condemning the anti-Semitic attacks.

In contrast, a huge pro-Israel march the next day was an orgy of anti-Arab chauvinism, with mobs howling for Arafat's blood. Armed thugs from the Jewish Defense League and Betar, which identified with Mussolini's fascists in the 1930s, savagely beat any Arab or African that they could lay their hands on, also attacking a secular Jewish demonstration that included supporters of the Israeli army reservists who have refused to serve in the Occupied Territories.

Fake Lefts Plead for Imperialist Intervention

In appealing for imperialist "peacekeepers" or economic sanctions, the reformist and centrist left groups promote the illusion that their respective imperialist rulers can be pressured into serving the interests of the oppressed. In France, the fake-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), among others, calls on the same imperialist government that waged a colonial war of terror in Algeria and today rounds up and terrorizes Arab youth in the *banlieus* to protect Palestinian Arabs in the Near East.

The LCR and other left groups call for delegations of European and American civilian observers in the Occupied Territories. Many of the participants are undoubtedly courageous and are risking their lives out of humanitarian concern for the Palestinians. But such idealistic efforts are being used as a way of bringing about imperialist "peacekeeping" intervention.

In the U.S., with neither the Democrats nor Republicans even feigning to sympathize with the Palestinians, reformists like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Workers World Party (WWP) and Socialist Action focus on the call to end U.S. aid to Israel. These groups peddle the illusion that by changing its policy toward Israel, American imperialism can be a force for "peace" and "justice" in the Near East. Thus the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (5 April) declares: "We have a responsibility to stand up for justice—and demand that the U.S. government end its support for Israel's terrorist regime." The clear implication here is that the American government is somehow less of a terrorist regime.

Massive military and economic aid to Israel has been a cornerstone of American foreign policy in the Near East for decades. Israel today has a highly mechanized military apparatus that dwarfs those of the Arab regimes that surround it. And Sharon's recent rebuff to Bush's call for a truce demonstrates that while Israel is a junior partner of U.S. imperialism, it is a regional power with its own interests.

Marxists fight to mobilize labor in concrete acts of class-struggle solidarity with the besieged Palestinian masses, including political protest strikes and labor action to prevent the shipment of military goods to the Israeli rulers. But such a perspective can only be realized by mobilizing workers in the U.S. against their *own* rulers, not by fostering illusions in the potential benevolence of the American state. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1930s, when many leftists were demanding sanctions by the League of Nations (predecessor of the UN) against the Italian invaders of Ethiopia, "Workers' action can begin only by absolute opposition to the national bourgeoisie and its international combinations. Support of the League and support of workers' actions are fire and water; they cannot be united" ("Once Again the ILP," November 1935).

The campaign to get the American government to end aid to Israel is closely related to agitation for campus administrations—which have been handing over the names of Arab and Muslim students to the FBI or INS—to "divest" their stocks in companies doing business in Israel. This demand was raised in a recent building occupation by the UC Berkeley Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), whose main spokesman is a member of the ISO.

UPI

AP

Above: Survivors of 1970 Black September massacre of Palestinians by Jordan's King Hussein. Cops attack pro-Palestinian demonstration in Beirut early this month. Arab bourgeois regimes are enemies of Palestinian national rights.

The Israeli economy is dependent not so much on U.S. corporate investment but on direct aid from the American government, to the tune of over $5 billion a year. Thus the pathetic campaign promoted by the ISO over how best to manipulate endowment portfolios is ultimately aimed at redirecting American government policy and, implicitly, appealing for U.S. intervention in defense of the Palestinians. The SJP group at New York's Columbia University made this explicit by sponsoring an April 5 talk on "The Need for International Intervention to Hold Israel Accountable."

The Bankruptcy of PLO Nationalism

For its part, the Stalinoid Workers World Party, which is prominent in organizing Palestinian solidarity protests, has always been characterized by its enthusing over Third World nationalist movements. One will not find a critical word about Arafat or his appeals for imperialist intervention in *Workers World*. Moreover, following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the WWP organized a protest that called for "effective U.S. action to achieve Israeli withdrawal." A few months later, American and other imperialist "peacekeeping" forces went into Lebanon and took "effective action," disarming the Palestinian fighters and paving the way for the Israeli-organized massacre of some 2,000 refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps.

Today, *Workers World* (11 April) enthuses that in the wake of the first *Intifada*, in the early 1990s "Washington and Tel Aviv were forced to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization after 20 years of struggle," calling this a "victory they had won on the battlefield." The outcome of what the WWP hails as a "victory" was the U.S.-brokered Oslo "peace" accord between Israel and the PLO in 1993. We forthrightly denounced this accord as a "grotesque bargain over the subjugated Palestinian people" that "would place the PLO's seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses" ("Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto," *WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993).

Underlying this betrayal of the Palestinian masses was a world-historic defeat for the international proletariat, the destruction of the USSR through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. Without the diplomatic and financial support previously provided by Moscow, the PLO (like other Third World nationalist movements and regimes) quickly came to terms with U.S. imperialism.

The 1993 "peace" accord served only to deepen the oppression of the Palestinian people. The entire Gaza Strip was surrounded by an electrified fence, literally turning it into a glorified concentration camp enclosing over one million Palestinians. The Israeli capitalist rulers drastically curtailed access to low-wage jobs in Israel, which had been the source of income for most Gaza residents. The number of Israeli settlers—the heavily armed, ultra-chauvinist auxiliaries to the military occupation forces—has *doubled* since 1993. A series of internal checkpoints and fortified "Jewish only" highways has carved up the Palestinian population into a multitude of isolated ghettos.

The WWP particularly glorifies the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) as "the largest Palestinian Marxist organization" (*Workers World*, 10 January). Despite its occasional verbal opposition to Arafat's conciliationism, the PFLP is simply a petty-bourgeois nationalist formation fundamentally akin to Arafat's Fatah. Like Arafat, PFLP leader Ahmad Saadat looks to the UN, as he said in an interview in *Al-Hadat* last year, to "force Israel to implement United Nations resolutions." At Palestinian protests in Berlin, PFLP supporters have denounced our comrades for calling for class struggle on the grounds that that would divide the Palestinian people. In the early 1970s, the PFLP was notorious for airline hijackings and indiscriminate terror attacks against Israeli civilians.

While scorning any notion of proletarian class unity between Arab and Hebrew-speaking workers, the "Marxist" PFLP readily unites with Islamic fundamentalists like Hamas. And in its January article, WWP cheers that support "has been growing dramatically" for "nationalist, left and Islamic Palestinian organizations." The anti-Semitic reactionaries of Hamas and Islamic Jihad are a deadly threat to Palestinian leftists and especially to women who refuse to submit to the dictates of *sharia* (Islamic law). In fact, many Palestinians see imperialist intervention as a way of maintaining Arafat's rule in the Palestinian Authority as a lesser evil to Hamas. But it is precisely the utter bankruptcy of PLO nationalism that has driven so many among the historically cosmopolitan Palestinian people into the arms of the Islamic fundamentalists.

WWP's vicarious nationalism goes so far as to enthuse indiscriminately over Palestinian suicide attacks: "The determined campaign of suicide resistance bombings shows the determination to end the occupation has taken such deep root among the people, young and old, women, children and men, that after 35 years there is no way to eradicate the struggle" (*Workers World*, 11 April). In fact, these are acts of desperation in the face of an overwhelmingly superior

military force. Moreover, WWP draws no distinction between attacks on Israeli troops and settlers, who are part of the oppressive military occupation regime, and innocent civilians in Israel. Criminal suicide attacks on civilian populations are typical of nationalist struggles, just or otherwise.

As we noted in a 30 March Spartacist League statement titled "Defend the Palestinian People! All Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!" (*WV* No. 778, 5 April):

> "Now, not just Islamic fanatics but secular Palestinians, including women, see no other option than to immolate themselves and random others in suicide bombings. But such attacks only serve to seal any fissures in Israeli society, such as the recent protests among Israeli army reservists and their supporters against the occupation, and drive the Hebrew-speaking population into the arms of the Zionist nationalist madmen."

Popular support for the butcher Sharon among the Hebrew-speaking population climbed significantly in the wake of the recent series of suicide bombings, with an overwhelming majority supporting the current onslaught. Indeed, Sharon has always sought to provoke Palestinian terror attacks in order to have a pretext for his far more deadly campaign of terror against the Palestinians.

The "Mini-State": A Palestinian Ghetto

Behind the reformist left's appeals for imperialist intervention and support to Palestinian nationalism lies the utter incapacity to conceive of any solution to the Palestinian question outside the framework of the bourgeois nation-state system. They reject the prospect of Arab/Hebrew workers revolution to sweep away both the Israeli and Arab bourgeoisies as utopian. In fact, that is the only road to national emancipation for the Palestinian people. It is patently clear that the Palestinians cannot prevail in a military conflict with the Zionist state. Yet there can be no genuine expression of Palestinian self-determination without the destruction of that state, which is inherently oppressive to the Palestinian people. Every "solution" to the Palestinian national question under capitalism either perpetuates the oppression of the Palestinian Arab people or envisions a reversal of the terms of oppression, denying the legitimate national rights of the Hebrew-speaking people.

In 1974, the PLO leadership declared its support for the creation of a Palestinian "mini-state" in the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian left-nationalist leaders like George Habash of the PFLP opposed the mini-state solution, but could offer no alternative other than continued wars between the Arab regimes and Israel. This was premised on the perspective that the Arab regimes could be pressured to fight for Palestinian rights. The reality, however, is that the Arab bourgeois regimes are no less hostile to Palestinian national aspirations than the Zionist rulers.

Protesters in Arab cities have demanded, "Where are the Arab armies?" But when Arab armies went to war with Israel in 1948, it was not to "liberate" Palestine but to carve it up among themselves. And the Zionist leaders were well aware of this fact. In November 1947, Jewish Agency leader Golda Meir had secret negotiations with King Abdullah of Transjordan, who informed her of his plans to take over what was then eastern Palestine: "I want to annex the area to my kingdom. I don't want to create another Arab State that would ruin my plans. I want to ride, not to be ridden!" (quoted in Dan Kurzman, *Genesis 1948* [1970]). Indeed, between 1948 and the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, the West Bank and Gaza were occupied by Jordan and Egypt respectively. And the Palestinians there remained politically dispossessed and subject to brutal repression.

Stunned by their defeat at the hands of Israel in 1967, the Arab regimes had their authority sufficiently shaken to allow more freedom of maneuver for Palestinian nationalist forces. But the Arab regimes could not long tolerate independent armed forces operating on their territories. With occasional prodding by the Zionists, the Arab rulers suppressed the Palestinian resistance. In the decade following the 1967 war, *nearly 50,000 Palestinians were slaughtered by Arab governments*, including some 10,000 militants killed by the Jordanian monarchy in the 1970 Black September massacre.

When the PLO came out for a "two-state" solution in 1974, we declared "West Bank Mini-State No Solution," while acknowledging it as "a very partial and deformed expression of the Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination" (*WV* No. 57, 22 November 1974). Such a statelet under the stranglehold of Israel would have meant an impoverished existence for the Palestinians living there. But what has been on offer as an "independent" Palestine since the Oslo accords would not represent even the most deformed expression of self-determination. At best, it would resemble what former prime minister Ehud Barak offered Arafat at Camp David two years ago: the Gaza Strip and four isolated cantons in the West Bank, crisscrossed by "strategic highways" and surrounded by fortified settlements. This "mini-state" would be nothing more than a bantustan where neighboring states could dump their unwanted Palestinian populations—2.5 million in Jordan, 1.5 million in Israel and one million in Lebanon and Syria.

A "Democratic, Secular" Palestine?

While most American left organizations today reject the mini-state solution, the ISO, WWP, the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and others cling to the call for a "secular, democratic Palestine" proposed for many years by the PLO. For example, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (12 April) declares: "We must unconditionally support the struggle for self-determination for Palestinians—and fight for a democratic and secular Palestine in which Jews, Arabs, Muslims and Christians have equal rights."

To begin with, such a state would exclude the millions of Palestinians today living in Jordan, which is a majority-Palestinian country. More fundamentally, while a secular, democratic Palestine may appear to many Western leftists and liberals as a humane, rational solution, it preserves the essential core of the Arab nationalist position, which *denies* that the Hebrew-speaking people constitute a nation with the right to self-determination. Rather, they are to be treated simply as a religious minority.

Consonant with this outlook, the ISO, RCP, WWP et al. describe Israel as a "settler-colonial state." Behind this position is the argument that since the Israeli Jews are the oppressors, they have forfeited their own national rights as against the oppressed Palestinians. This argument is made explicit by the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), which declares in a 5 April leaflet, "All Israel is 'Occupied Territory'!" While speaking of "Jewish workers" and "class divisions within Israeli society," the LRP characterizes the whole of the Hebrew-speaking proletariat as a "labor aristocracy" and calls for "a single Palestinian workers' state." The logic of the LRP position is that if the Israeli working class is unwilling to live in a Palestinian-dominated state, then it has no right to live in the region at all.

This perspective rejects any possibility of winning the Hebrew-speaking workers to a program of *class unity* with their Arab brothers and sisters in a common fight around common class interests against all the exploiters and oppressors of the region. And without that, any talk of "revolution" or national justice is simply empty rhetoric that does nothing to advance the cause of the Palestinians.

The doctrine that an oppressor nation forfeits its right to self-determination has nothing in common with socialism and democracy; it is the ideology of genocidal irredentism. The Zionist state was created by crushing the national rights of the Palestinians. But securing national justice for the Palestinians does *not* mean reversing the terms of oppression and denying the democratic rights of the Hebrew-speaking people. Basic to the Leninist position on the national question—the only consistently democratic position—is that all nations have a right to self-determination.

For Arab/Hebrew Workers Revolution!

At the heart of the Palestinian question is the impossibility of achieving national justice for geographically interpenetrated peoples within a capitalist framework. Both Palestinian Arabs and Hebrew-speaking Israelis live in and lay claim to a small sliver of land in the Near East. Under capitalism, the exercise of national self-determination by either of the populations will necessarily be at the expense of the other. The national emancipation of the Palestinians—including the right of all refugees and their descendants to

continued on page 10

S.F. Labor Council Motion Bureaucratically Suppressed
Labor: Defend the Palestinians!

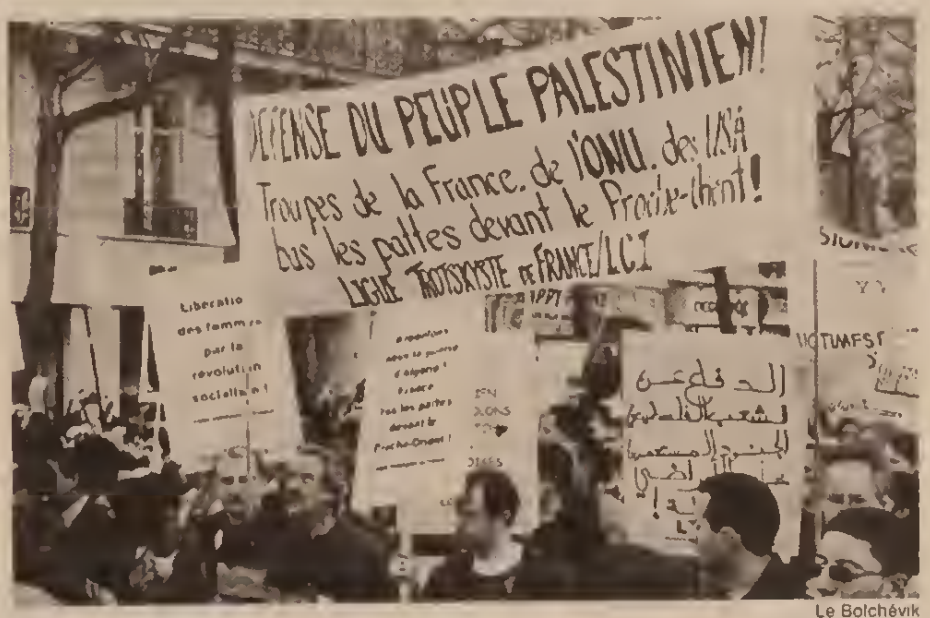
SAN FRANCISCO—In a rare and welcome act of labor solidarity with the besieged Palestinian masses against Israeli state terror, on March 11 the San Francisco Labor Council passed a motion that "condemns the bombing of civilian and political targets, most specifically, but not limited to, the Palestinian trade union offices in Nablus, Palestine and remind(s) the U.S. government that this is both a moral and legal crime." Noting that the February 17 bombing of the Nablus union headquarters was carried out by American-supplied F-16s, the resolution decried the U.S. for "supplying the Israeli state billions of dollars in arms to suppress the Palestinian struggle for both Statehood and ancestral lands while oppressing and dividing the Jewish and Arab worker for the benefit of national and international capital."

Introduced by Charles Minster of National Parks and Public Employees (LIUNA) Local 1141, this resolution was an important statement of international working-class solidarity as against the pro-imperialist "national unity" front promoted by the Democrats and Republicans in their "war on terror." Predictably, it provoked a storm of opposition from the Zionists, who cited their "close and longstanding relationship" with the Labor Council tops in an article in the *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California* (29 March) and vowed to "undo" the resolution. The labor tops do indeed have close ties to such staunchly pro-Zionist local Democratic politicians as Senator Dianne Feinstein and Congressmen Nancy Pelosi and Tom Lantos.

Describing how the bureaucrats spiked his resolution to the audience at a Bay Area Spartacist League forum on the Near East on April 10, Minster said: "The Democratic Party politicians and the bosses' politicians called: when they bark, the labor lieutenants snap to. And that's exactly what happened. I'm sure Pelosi, and Lantos especially who is among the most arch-Zionist in the Congress, probably went rabid and told Johnson: you'd better do something about this, or we're going to cut off your luncheon dates." S.F. Labor Council head Walter Johnson told the *Jewish Bulletin* that he "isn't exactly thrilled" about the resolution, but had to sign and submit it as it had been "taken care of in a democratic manner." But Johnson & Co. soon took care of that, overturning the resolution as soon as they could.

Minster reported that an Executive Committee meeting devoted an hour and a half to mapping out a strategy to rescind the resolution. At the Labor Council's next meeting on April 8, the Executive Committee pushed through a move to rescind the resolution in violation of the council's own bylaws. After two and a half hours of debate, Minster told the SL forum, "if it was a delegate count, the pro-resolution people won." But the Labor Council tops got their way by pushing through a per capita vote, according delegates not one vote each but a weighted vote depending on the number of workers they represented.

For the labor movement to go forward, a struggle must be waged against the pro-capitalist misleaders and for the political independence of the unions from the class enemy, especially the Democratic Party. The urgent need remains for international protest action drawing on the power of the proletariat to demand: Defend the Palestinian people! All Israeli troops and settlers out of all the Occupied Territories now!



Le Bolchévik

Palestinian solidarity demonstration in Paris, March 24. Banner carried by our comrades reads: "Defend the Palestinian People! French/UN/U.S. Troops Hands Off the Near East!" Workers action internationally in defense of Palestinians is vital.

Philippines...

(continued from page 12)

were trapped in the crater of an extinct volcano. Mark Twain denounced this imperialist butchery in a scathing essay titled "Grief and Mourning for the Night." The expropriation and marginalization of the Muslim population intensified in the post-colonial era, escalating particularly under the dictatorial regime of Ferdinand Marcos. We say: ***Down with right-wing and anti-Muslim state terror! Down with the military occupation of Mindanao! U.S. and Philippine troops out now!***

Filipino Left Pushes Nationalism, Class Collaboration

The presence of United States troops has not gone unchallenged. Marches and rallies continue to erupt in several cities, with protesters calling Arroyo a lapdog of the imperialists. On several occasions, protesters have scuffled with cops. With restiveness over layoffs, the high cost of food and utilities and other austerity measures dictated by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund bloodsuckers, the Philippine bourgeoisie has all the reason to fear the outburst of protest. Terrified that these could ignite a plebeian explosion similar to the bloody May Day unrest last year, Arroyo has publicly baited opponents of the *Balikatan* war games as "terrorist lovers." She even banned AKBAYAN and BISIG, two fake-left outfits that supported her rise to power, from the government-sponsored rally commemorating the 16th anniversary of the first "People Power" revolt, which led to the downfall of Marcos in 1986.

Arroyo's determination to strengthen military ties with U.S. imperialism was known well before she came to power. Yet the alphabet soup of organizations that make up the Philippine left—from Sison's CPP to its breakaway groups, including the Socialist Party of Labor (SPP)—hailed "People Power Two" as a "victory for the people" (see *WV* No. 763, 31 August 2001). Bayan Muna even campaigned for Arroyo's senatorial ticket during last year's ballot.

Now such groups are channeling protests against the American military into a tug-of-war for the red, white and blue mantle of Filipino nationalism instead of a class-struggle challenge to the Philippine bourgeoisie and its imperialist backers. This is evident in the position taken by the Sisonite-influenced Junk VFA Movement. In a 19 January Junk VFA Movement press release, its spokesman, a retired Philippine Navy officer, decries the U.S. military deployment as "an insult to the fighting capability and competence of the Filipino soldier"—the same troops that are hunting down leftists and Muslims! A subsequent press release dated 26 January raised the call for withdrawal of all U.S. forces and demanded instead that "non-commissioned officers be allowed to conduct unimpeded combat operations against the Abu Sayyaf in Basilan." It is also significant that no Philippine left group raised the call to oppose the 500-strong Philippine contingent that is taking part in the imperialist occupation of East Timor.

By taunting Arroyo as "anti-Filipino" and engaging in cheap anti-Yankee potshots, the Sisonites and others are merely pitching for an "anti-imperialist united front" with those members of the bourgeoisie who are uncomfortable with Arroyo's hawkish posture and the government's closeness to Washington. Teofisto Guingona, Arroyo's vice president and secretary for foreign affairs, has been bickering with her and her generals over the U.S. military involvement in Mindanao and the signing of the MLSA. Sison, in his role as "chief political consultant" of the National Democratic Front—which is engaged in on-and-off peace negotiations with the government—has made a clear overture to Guingona. From his exile in the Netherlands, Sison predicted Arroyo's "peaceful removal" from power within a year on the basis of a broad united front—provided the vice president is willing to succeed her.

Sison's followers have launched the OUT NOW! Coalition with mainstream Protestant and Philippine Independent churches, while their rivals have grouped themselves in the Gathering for Peace. The latter melange includes SANLAKAS —which is aligned with the politics of Felimon Lagman, the Philippine Workers Party (PMP) leader assassinated last year —as well as the SPP, AKBAYAN, various social democrats and the rump Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas-1930. The common thread that runs through these fake lefts is their bent for class collaboration on the basis of Filipino nationalism.

The Lagmanites and SPP (who have announced plans to merge) and others seek to "unify different pluralist forces in the country" and to "forge the broadest unity," including with bourgeois Liberal Party politicians Jovito Salonga and Wigberto Tañada, Catholic religious organizations and the anti-abortion bigots of Pro-Life Philippines. The SPP et al. joined with Pro-Life Philippines in co-signing a Gathering for Peace declaration that opposed the U.S. military presence and worried about "driving away in the process thousands of potential tourists and investors."

In this 80 percent Catholic country, the woman question is a central and explosive issue. The 1987 constitution includes one of the most severe anti-abortion laws in the world, and a bill to legalize divorce last year provoked howls from the Catholic hierarchy and Arroyo. Religious backwardness—whether Catholic, Muslim or any other—serves to bolster the family, the key institution for the oppression of women in class society. Marxists call for free abortion on demand and strict separation of church and state, opposing every manifestation of discrimination against women, homosexuals and ethnic, national and religious minorities. But to even begin to emancipate women from domestic slavery and all-sided oppression, the system of capitalist exploitation must be swept away through socialist revolution.

This perspective is counterposed to the Menshevik-Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution" put forward by the SPP, as was made clear at a conference in Sydney in late March sponsored by the SPP's Australian co-thinkers, the Democratic Socialist Party. A Spartacist League/Australia comrade challenged SPP leader Sonny Melencio over the SPP's support for the Gathering for Peace declaration—with its concern over imperialist investment—and argued instead for a program of workers revolution to expropriate the capitalists. In response, Melencio avowed a two-stage program and talked of the need for tactical alliances. But what the SPP leader describes as a tactic is in fact a *program* that subordinates the proletariat to a mythical "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" wing of the bourgeoisie in the fight for "democratic" capitalism, leading to a second "stage" not of "socialism" but of the slaughter of workers and leftists.

By chaining the working class and the oppressed masses to one or another wing of the Philippine bourgeoisie, these fake leftists will not and cannot lead the masses to break free from imperialist enslavement. And history has proven this, one lesson being Indonesia in 1965, where the capitalist rulers massacred a million Communists, workers and ethnic Chinese. As Leon Trotsky outlined in the theory of permanent revolution, the bourgeoisies in countries of belated capitalist development are more fearful of the super-exploited masses than they are of the imperialists, on whom they depend to secure their class rule. Democracy, freedom from the imperialist yoke and emancipation of the oppressed can only be realized through a socialist revolution that overthrows bourgeois rule and is based on a perspective of proletarian revolution internationally, particularly in the imperialist centers. The key to victory lies in the forging of an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party against all variants of nationalism and class collaboration.

Workers and oppressed in the Philippines should look to the multiracial American proletariat for a powerful ally. The United States and Philippine bourgeoisies have enjoyed a neocolonial "special relationship" spanning decades. The special relationship that the Philippine and American workers must have is one of internationalist working-class solidarity. Led by a revolutionary workers party, the American working class will fulfill its task of aiding the enslaved masses of the semicolonies by carrying out a proletarian revolution in the bastion of world imperialism.■

Bloodbath...

(continued from page 9)

return to their homeland—necessarily entails workers revolutions to sweep away the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the bloody Ba'athist bonapartists in Syria, to bring down the capitalist rulers of Lebanon and to shatter the Zionist state, establishing a socialist federation of the Near East.

In the 1970s and early '80s, we raised the call for a bi-national workers state encompassing both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples, but we have not since raised that tactical perspective. We cannot project the particular national configuration which would best express the democratic aspirations of both peoples under conditions of proletarian power in the region. This might well take the form of a bi-national workers state or two or more workers states.

It is only the working class of Israel that has the capacity to destroy the Zionist citadel from within. Unless the Hebrew-speaking workers are broken from Zionism and won to defense of the Palestinian people, there is no future for the Hebrew-speaking people in the Near East. If the Israeli bourgeoisie is not swept away through socialist revolution, sooner or later the bloody course of Zionist expansionism will lead the Israeli rulers to launch their arsenal of nuclear weapons and turn the whole region into a devastated wasteland.

Israeli society is not a seamless reactionary mass. Even in the face of the current anti-Arab hysteria, some 10,000 people turned out for an April 3 "Peace Now" demonstration in Tel Aviv to demand withdrawal from the Occupied Territories. Sephardic Jews, though largely under the sway of right-wing and religious parties, suffer widespread discrimination and poverty; the Palestinian Arabs who are nominally "citizens" are consigned to segregated, impoverished areas and low-paid, unskilled jobs. More fundamentally, the class interests of the Hebrew-speaking workers impel them to struggle against their capitalist exploiters, as witnessed by a number of strikes just in recent months.

We have no illusions that it will be easy to shatter the chauvinism of the Hebrew-speaking working class. Probably only great historic events such as Israel's defeat and humiliation in war or a cataclysmic economic crisis could break the Israeli working class from its Zionist rulers and lay the basis for a mass revolutionary workers party. Alternately, the conquest of power by the proletariat in one of the major Near Eastern states —such as Egypt, Iraq or Iran—under a revolutionary internationalist, i.e., communist, leadership would dramatically change the consciousness of the Israeli working class.

The mass protests from North Africa to the Persian Gulf in solidarity with the Palestinians point to the fragility of the Arab bourgeois regimes. The nationalists and Islamists look to a "holy war" of the Arab peoples against Zionist Israel. Marxists fight to bring the class question to the fore, to mobilize the proletariat of the Islamic countries of the Near East in struggle against their own bourgeoisies. That possibility was clearly demonstrated by the revolutionary upheavals in Iran and Iraq in the 1950s. However, these revolutionary opportunities were betrayed by the Stalinist-led Communist parties, subordinating the proletariat to an alliance with "progressive" bourgeois nationalists who, once in power, launched a bloodbath against the Communist-led workers.

More recently, there have been significant workers struggles throughout the region, from Algeria to Egypt and Iran. In Algeria, 14,000 oil workers went on strike on April 9 over wages and working conditions, shutting down the Skikda refinery, which processes 70 percent of the country's oil. Working-class struggles must be directed toward a fight for social and national emancipation against the imperialist oppressors and the domestic bourgeoisies that serve as their agents. Key to that task is the political independence of the working class, requiring intransigent struggle against all forms of nationalism and religious fundamentalism. What is necessary is the forging of Marxist vanguard parties based on the perspective and program of Trotsky's permanent revolution:

> "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving ***democracy and national emancipation*** is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses....
>
> "In a country where the proletariat has power in its hands as the result of the democratic revolution, the subsequent fate of the dictatorship and socialism depends in the last analysis not only and not so much upon the national productive forces as upon the development of the international socialist revolution."
>
> —*The Permanent Revolution* (1929); reprinted in *The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects* (1969)

The fight for a socialist federation of the Near East is part of the struggle to sweep away the system of imperialism internationally. In turn, the struggle for proletarian power in the Near East, a region which supplies the oil on which the industrial economies of North America, West Europe and Japan are dependent, would clearly confront imperialist hostility. The liberation of the peoples of the Near East is therefore integrally bound up with the struggle for proletarian revolution in the imperialist West. Above all, this poses the need to build revolutionary workers parties in the imperialist countries, especially the most powerful and deadly imperialist power, the United States. Reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!■

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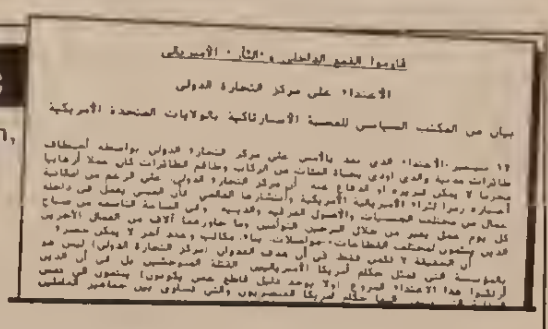
Oppose Domestic Repression, Imperialist "Retaliation"

The World Trade Center Attack

Translation of 12 September 2001 Statement of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S.



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Keep Government Out of Chicago Transit Unions!

No to Anti-Union Court Suits!

CHICAGO—In a vivid display of class-collaborationist treachery, the leadership of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 308 has joined hands with the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) in a union-busting lawsuit against sister union ATU Local 241. The suit seeks to force Local 241 (bus) to implement the pension provisions of a giveback contract foisted on Local 308 (rail) members last year, after their leadership broke from joint bargaining with the bus drivers' local and the craft unions that represent other CTA wage workers. Continuing anger over that breach of labor unity combined with discontent over the new contract have reportedly fueled opposition to the lawsuit within Local 308.

This lawsuit, however, is not just a break in working-class solidarity. It is an open invitation for the bosses' government to step in and assert control of union affairs. It poses a deadly danger not just to Local 241, but to Local 308 and the labor movement as a whole. Far from being neutral, the capitalist courts, a crucial arm of the state, represent the organized machinery of violence and repression wielded against the working class and oppressed on behalf of those who live off the exploitation of labor. The ruling class welcomes such opportunities to come into the unions as a way to gut their independence and dictate how they are run. *Government, cops, courts out of the unions!*

The revised pension plan at issue holds out the promise of higher pension payments for older workers—*if* the fund meets "actuarial assumptions"—while curtailing pension benefits for new hires when they retire, in particular denying them hospitalization insurance. The suit also seeks to change voting rules for the pension board by getting rid of bloc-voting, allowing the CTA to get a majority by luring just one union representative to its side. It doesn't take a rocket scientist to figure out why the CTA is so anxious to gain decisive control of the billion-dollar pension plan. With the transit pension fund generally seen as financially healthy, attempts to pilfer the coffers are nothing new.

In 1981, the Byrne administration managed to finagle a "loan" of $33 million from the plan. In 1983, Chicago's first black mayor, Harold Washington, successfully extended repayment of this "loan" and further looted the pension fund of $100 million through the passage of HB 1805. This viciously anti-labor bill, which Washington worked aggressively to push through the Illinois state legislature, also outlawed what remained of the cost-of-living allowance (COLA) and gave the company the right to hire part-timers. When he tried to defend this blatant anti-union attack at a Local 241 meeting in January 1984, Washington was shouted down and driven out by predominantly black bus drivers and mechanics.

Today ATU leaders habitually blame anyone—downstate Republicans, state Democratic leader Michael Madigan, Madigan's daughter—anyone, that is, except Harold Washington, for HB 1805. The trade-union bureaucrats need such "progressives" to sell the lie that the Democratic Party can be pressured to serve the interests of workers and oppressed minorities. Democrats are no friends of labor or black people! They, like the Republican Party, are a party of the ruling class, no less committed to maintaining racist capitalism, just more wily about getting the job done. The capitalist class has *their* parties to administer *their* state. Workers need a party of their own, a party that will fight for all the oppressed—a *workers party*. Instead of trying to ameliorate the racist profit system by reforming the bosses state, such a party would fight for a workers government to expropriate the capitalists and construct a planned economy based on social need.

Local 308's court action comes after a similar action by elements of the Local 241 bureaucracy. Last May, Local 241 First Vice President Richard Stomper filed a complaint with the U.S. Labor Department that led to its takeover of union convention delegate elections (see "Labor Department Out of the ATU," *WV* No. 761, 6 July 2001). Simultaneously in Local 308, an "oppositional" newsletter called *Union Watchdog* admitted turning over union material to the attorney general, setting off an FBI "investigation" of alleged corruption in the union (see "Chicago Transit Workers at a Boil," *WV* No. 756, 13 April 2001). Through more than two years of contract talks, labor board complaints, arbitration hearings and lawsuits, the misleaders of *both* locals have worked overtime at every turn to head off and defuse an increasingly angry workforce.

Both local leaderships used the binding arbitration clause of the expiring contract—which supposedly outlaws striking—as a club to keep their members in line. When the contract expired in December 1999, shutting the city down through solid strike action was not only posed *but possible*. Subsequent union meetings were packed with hundreds of angry workers chanting "Strike, strike!" The union tops flat out refuse to wield the social might of this powerful, heavily black union. Their commitment to the no-strike stranglehold of binding arbitration is based on the fantasy that the state can be used to reconcile the *counterposed* interests of labor and capital.

From inviting government intervention to binding arbitration and support for capitalist politicians, this program of class collaboration acts to subordinate the unions to the class enemy. Praising national unity "around shared values" after the attack on the World Trade Center, the ATU International came out in support of the USA-Patriot Act. This law arms the government with the means to jail striking transit workers as "terrorists" if government property—like bus tires—were harmed in the course of stopping scabs! Now the ATU tops lobby for passage of the "Over-the-Road Bus Security and Safety Act of 2001," which ominously calls for background checks of employees in collaboration with the government! It's not hard to imagine what this means for the job prospects of those, disproportionately black and Hispanic, who've been entangled in the racist, frame-up "justice" system.

These laws underscore the fact that the defense of the labor movement in this country is inseparable from the fight to defend immigrant and black rights. On February 9, the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense initiated a demonstration in Oakland, California that cut through the "national unity" hoax. For the first time labor was mobilized to flex its muscle in defense of its immigrant brothers and sisters targeted under the U.S. rulers' "war on terrorism." A solid contingent of over 30 ILWU longshoremen was at the core of this demonstration in opposition to the USA-Patriot Act, the Maritime Security Act and the anti-immigrant witchhunt. This mobilization illustrated on a small scale what a revolutionary workers party would do.

The union misleaders' program of unity with the bosses inevitably divides and weakens the working class, as Chicago transit workers have seen for themselves. After two and a half years, Local 241 is tied up in court, at the state Labor Board and in arbitration—without a contract. CTA craft unionists just got shafted in binding arbitration. And Local 308 members, who narrowly approved the separate settlement last summer (union leaders had to conduct two votes to get it right), are bridling as the company uses it to attack seniority rights under the guise of "rostering" and the "excel program." What is needed is *one industrial union for all transit workers*.

The trade-union tops' submission to the use of part-time bus operators and multi-tier wage progression only serves to pit old-timers against new hires and undercuts union solidarity. Part-timers remain superexploited by on-call schedules, no benefits and meager wages. The ATU International's *In Transit* (January-February 2002) reports that Local 1700 has signed a contract providing for janitors at the 95th St. Terminal to earn as little as $6 an hour at jobs formerly done at full union-scale wages and benefits. The CTA is also eliminating union jobs by bringing in misdemeanor convicts to perform "community service" under armed guard. The union must stop these modern-day racist chain gangs! ***For full-time positions with one scole of union pay ond benefits for all transit workers!***

Transit workers pay dearly for every giveback by the bureaucracy. They are literally dying on the job. George Blue, a car servicer at the Racine Shop, fell off the elevated tracks where he lay for hours before dying. Because of the company practice of eliminating partners, no one was aware of Blue's accident until it was too late. Supporters of the Labor Black Struggle League were among the many co-workers who came out to Blue's wake.

Far from being helpless, Chicago transit workers could bring this city to a standstill! This integrated union can and should act in defense of immigrants and all minorities against racist capitalism, welding the power of labor to the anger of the ghetto and barrio unemployed. That union members are prepared to fight has been shown by those who have come out in recent years in PDC-initiated mobilizations to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal and to stop fascist provocations—most recently when the Klan threatened to mobilize in Gary, Indiana in January 2001.

WV Photo

Chicago ATU members joined anti-Klan mobilization in Gary, Indiana, January 2001.

The union's potential power is squandered by misleaders who look to the institutions of capitalist rule—arbitrators, courts, Congress, etc. An example is the ATU's upcoming "Lobby Day" to pressure the Democrats in Springfield, which is counterposed to mobilizing transit workers in militant struggle. It's going to take a political fight to oust the current labor bureaucracy and replace it with a class-struggle leadership, one that will break the chains that tie working people and minorities to the parties of the capitalist class. For a workers party that fights for a workers government! Only when those who labor rule will the wealth of society be used to provide decent jobs, good integrated housing and education, safe and free public transportation and quality medical care for all. ■

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Los Angeles, CA 90029
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3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

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New York, NY 10008
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and Sat. 1-5 p.m.
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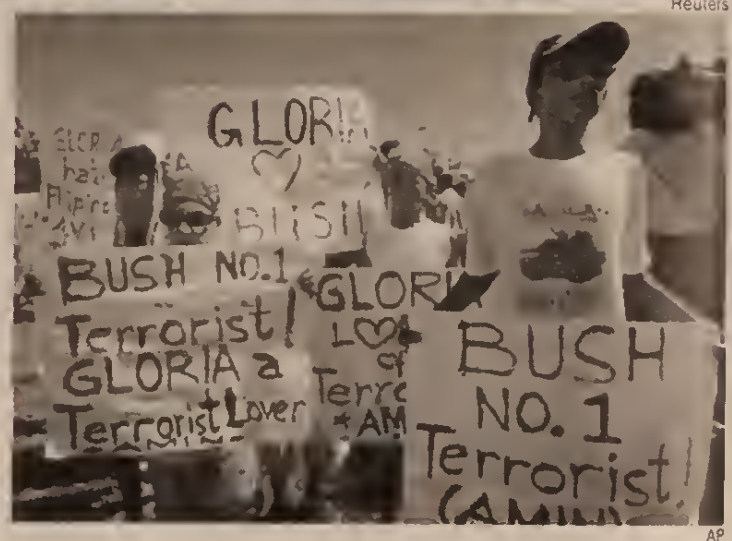
WORKERS VANGUARD

"War on Terror" Targets Leftists, Muslims

U.S. Troops Out of the Philippines!

Reuters



AP

February 26 protest, one of many in the Philippines against U.S. troop deployment in name of "war on terror."

Having already dispatched more than 600 U.S. troops, together with combat aircraft, to the Philippines since January, on April 8 the Pentagon announced that it would send 300 additional troops to that U.S. neocolony. The U.S. intervention force, sent to open a "second front" as part of Washington's "global war on terror," is the largest single American troop deployment outside Afghanistan since September 11. It is also the first ongoing American military presence in the Philippines since the U.S. abandoned its Clark and Subic Bay bases there a decade ago.

Under the cover of a "training" exercise named after the annual *Balikatan* ("shouldering the load") U.S.-Philippine military maneuvers, the American troops are on a tour of duty of at least six months, primarily in the southern islands of Mindanao, Basilan and Jolo. This is a region torn by struggles by the oppressed Muslim population and peasant insurgents. A 160-strong contingent of American Special Forces "trainers" has been attached to units of the Philippine Army that are pursuing the Muslim secessionist Abu Sayyaf group, which has been responsible for a number of kidnappings and is currently holding an American Christian missionary couple and a Filipino nurse captive in the jungles of Basilan. In fact, the hunt for the unsavory Abu Sayyaf group is a pretext for intensified military repression against insurgent Muslims on these islands.

The arrival of the U.S. military received the blessings of the influential Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines and was hailed by the Makati Business Club bourgeoisie, which together figured prominently in the "People Power" coup that installed Gloria Macapagal Arroyo as president a year ago. Arroyo's choice of international advisers includes former New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani and former Australian prime minister Paul Keating. Her government distinguished itself as one of the more rabid supporters of Washington's war against Afghanistan, providing access to Philippine airspace and military facilities for U.S. warplanes en route to aircraft carriers and bases in the Indian Ocean. An indication of the upbeat mood among the Philippine rulers is the buoyancy of stock prices following news of the American deployment.

The Philippine oligarchs are hoping that the presence of imperialist troops will help quash social unrest in this country, which is beset by a long-running peasant insurgency, Muslim secessionist rebellion and worsening economic conditions. The American military is reinforcing the Philippine bourgeoisie's repressive capability by arming and training elite killer units called Light Reaction Companies. The U.S. is also supplying stockpiles of small arms, mortars, night vision and communications equipment, helicopters, transport planes and a naval patrol craft. In return, the Philippines signed the Mutual Logistics Support Agreement (MLSA). Although its terms are supposedly being renegotiated after it was exposed in the press, the MLSA allows the United States imperialists access to military facilities beyond the period prescribed by the 1998 Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA).

Washington's current military adventure in the Philippines is part of a broader shift of forces to the Pacific Rim region, aimed in particular at aiding the drive to overturn the 1949 Chinese Revolution and restore capitalism. The Taiwan bourgeoisie's offer to provide the dilapidated Philippine Air Force with two F5E jet fighter squadrons in return for Taiwan's right to access Philippine air space and bases during training maneuvers is a provocation aimed against the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state.

The latest U.S. moves can also be seen in part as enforcing its interests against its traditional imperialist rival in Asia, Japan, which depends on nearby sea lanes for its oil supply. Not least, the deployment in Mindanao puts the United States in a strategic location to crush social unrest in the region, especially in Indonesia, which has remained highly unstable since student-initiated protests ousted the bloody Suharto regime in 1998. *Smosh the VFA ond MLSA! No to U.S. bases! For unconditionol military defense of the Chinese deformed workers stote against imperiolism ond copitolist counterrevolution!*

AFP

Philippine president Arroyo, installed in "People Power" coup last year, carries out vicious repression of leftists, Muslim minority.

Down With Military Occupation of Mindanao!

Exploiting the fear and genuine outrage resulting from the September 11 bombing of the World Trade Center, the Philippine bourgeoisie has used allegations of ties between Abu Sayyaf and Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda network to turn the screws of repression on Muslims, dissidents and leftists. The number of attacks against leftists increased sharply in the two months after the American troops arrived. The Bayan Muna (Nation First) party, which is politically identified with Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) founder Jose Maria Sison, said that six of its party workers have been "disappeared" by the army in Luzon. On March 1, paramilitary gunmen assassinated Pedro Trabajador, the 70-year-old local leader of the National Federation of Sugar Workers in Negros. At the same time, the government resumed its vilification campaign in the bourgeois press against the CPP-led New People's Army (NPA), calling the NPA guerrillas worse than Abu Sayyaf in order to set them up for liquidation by U.S.-backed killer units.

The capitalist rulers are trying to sell the lie that the imperialist military presence will bring progress to the masses of Mindanao. This resource-rich region, which is a prize for further imperialist exploitation, is noted for the highest incidence of poverty and illiteracy in the Philippines. Meanwhile, the longstanding terror campaign against oppressed Muslims continues unabated. Scores were recently rounded up on mere suspicion of being Abu Sayyaf sympathizers, and hundreds were driven from rural villages by artillery and aerial bombardment. On January 15, at least 17 people were killed and dozens wounded when a rally in Jolo ended in a clash with Philippine Marines. The protesters were demanding the release of imprisoned Moro National Liberation Front leader Nur Misuari, who had been ousted as governor of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao and faces charges of rebellion.

Bloody repression in Mindanao and the displacement of its Moro (Muslim) population dates back to the early years of the American colonial occupation of the Philippines, which began with U.S. imperialism's seizure of the islands in the 1898 Spanish-American War. In 1906, troops under General Leonard Wood, commander of the U.S. occupation force, carried out the methodical slaughter of some 900 Moro men, women and children who

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 780 X-523 3 May 2002

Popular Front of Racism, Austerity Paved the Way

France: Fascist Le Pen Scores Big Gain in Elections

AP

AFP

Mass protests have swept France in response to large vote for Le Pen. But outrage has been channeled into support for right-wing politician Chirac in the name of saving "honor" of racist capitalist French Republic.

Break with Class Collaboration! For a Multiethnic Revolutionary Workers Party!

APRIL 29—The successful second-place finish by the fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen in the first round of the presidential elections last Sunday has detonated a storm of protest in France. Almost daily, tens of thousands of people, overwhelmingly high school students and other youth, have filled streets across the country in spontaneous and highly integrated demonstrations. The streets of Paris are covered with graffiti reading, "Asian, Arab, Black and White: Together!" and "No Nazis in This Neighborhood!" Yet the combative spirit and anger of the youth is being manipulated by the entire political spectrum in order to re-elect President Jacques Chirac, a right-wing racist thief! One placard at an April 27 demonstration in Paris expressed the "choice" in the runoff election: "Fascist or Crook—This Is Democracy?"

Last week's election was a stinging repudiation of the class-collaborationist popular-front coalition—led by the Socialist Party (PS) and including the Communist Party (PCF) and the bourgeois Greens—which currently administers the French capitalist state. The government's anti-working-class and anti-immigrant attacks paved the way for Le Pen's second-place finish in the elections. Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin fell to one percentage point behind Le Pen's 17 percent and was eliminated from the second round of elections, while PCF candidate Robert Hue garnered a scant 3.9 percent. Significantly, the self-avowed revolutionaries of Lutte Ouvrière (LO) and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) totaled a combined 10 percent of the vote.

Now, these same parties have cobbled together a reactionary national front, stretching from the right wing to the "far left," to wrap Chirac in the French tricolor as the supposed "savior of Republican values." The anti-Le Pen demonstrations are replete with nauseating chauvinism. Whitewashing the France of "Vigipirate"—the campaign of cop terror in minority communities—and embellishing the France of Vichy (the government of collaboration with the Nazis) and the Algerian War, the demonstrations are filled with signs and banners proclaiming that "la belle France" is not Austria or Italy, where ultraright or fascist-infested governments hold power.

Notably, the PS, PCF, Greens and LCR all issued leaflets proclaiming the same slogan: "Block Le Pen!" This means: Vote Chirac on May 5. Support to this right-wing politician can only strengthen his bonapartist appetites and lead to even more severe state repression against workers and the oppressed. At the April 27 demonstration of 50,000 people in Paris, the climate of "national unity" was so strong that the refusal by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France to call for a vote to Chirac provoked a storm of indignation. LTF signs at the demonstration proclaimed: "The PS/PCF/Green Popular Front Opened the Road to Le Pen's Fascists!" and "Break with Class Collaboration! For a Genuine Revolutionary Multiethnic Workers Party!"

The large vote for Le Pen is part of a rightward shift in West Europe's bourgeois political spectrum, from Spain and Portugal (where rightist parties are in power) to Denmark. In Austria, a coalition government including Jörg Haider's openly racist Freedom Party (FPÖ) came to power two years ago. Last year, a popular-front government in Italy was replaced by the right-wing demagogue Silvio Berlusconi in coalition with the fascistic Lega Nord and the Alleanza Nazionale, which is currently primarily an electoral vehicle but also heir to the historic party of Mussolini's fascism. In Germany, the right-wing Christian Democrats have found renewed strength, soundly defeating the governing Social Democrats last month in the eastern state of Saxony-Anhalt.

But the shift to the right in bourgeois politics has also been accompanied by a polarization at the base of European society. This is indicated in the vote for LO and the LCR and is particularly reflected in huge demonstrations in various countries in defense of immigrants.

By outlook and history, Le Pen is a fascist. But like Haider's FPÖ, Le Pen's National Front (FN) is currently scoring big gains primarily as an *electoral party*. Reactionary views alone do not define fascism. Contrary to fake leftists who cynically pretend that fascism is just around the corner in order to justify voting for Chirac, France is not currently besieged by organized fascist gangs attacking workers' picket lines or assaulting parliament as the French fascists did in the 1930s.

As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky wrote at the time in "Whither France" (October 1936): "The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery." Since the proletariat does not currently pose a threat to bourgeois rule, the French bourgeoisie sees no need to unleash its fascist dogs as a last resort to annihilate the workers movement. However, Le Pen's electoral gain will indeed encourage the fascist bands to come out of their holes and carry out attacks on the most vulnerable sectors of society, in particular dark-skinned immigrants.

A significant threat is posed on May Day, when tens of thousands of workers and leftists mobilize to celebrate the workers' holiday. Le Pen threatens to bring tens of thousands of his supporters to demonstrate the same day in Paris, posing the danger of pumped-up fascist bands roaming the streets and attacking workers, leftists and minorities. If the PCF, LCR or LO—or the CGT trade-union federation—were serious about stopping Le Pen, they would fill the Place du Châtelet with organized union members hours before Le Pen's fascist

continued on page 6

Young Spartacus

Defend the Palestinians!

What's Wrong with Campus Divestment Campaign...4

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—Anti-Immigrant Raids at D.C. Airports—
Free Arrested Airport Workers!

On April 23, the government's "anti-terror" terror machine struck again. In a racist dragnet dubbed "Fly Trap," agents of the INS, FBI and Department of Transportation invaded three airports in the Washington, D.C. area, arresting more than 130 workers, many of them immigrants. Though admitting that not one of those arrested was connected to organizations deemed terrorist by the government, U.S. Attorney Paul McNulty called the racist dragnet an "anti-terrorism initiative." McNulty declared, "All of these individuals present a risk," but "we don't have information as to exactly what risks." Since September 11, over 450 workers at 14 airports around the country have been rounded up in the government's sinister "Operation Tarmac."

The capitalist press railed about workers "fraudulently obtaining airport security badges." But what the airport workers are actually charged with is nothing more than lying on their job applications, for which they face up to five years in prison, $250,000 fines and deportation. If the government were to go after everyone who falsified their job records, probably half the country would be in jail, including those who make and enforce the laws. *We demand: Free the arrestees! Drop all charges now! Reinstate all the workers with full back pay!*

Following September 11, more than 1,200 men of Arab and South Asian descent have been rounded up as "terrorist" suspects and thousands of immigrants face imminent deportation—yet not one has been charged with being even remotely connected to Al Qaeda or any other group designated by Washington as "terrorist." To justify the escalating attacks on civil liberties, barely a day passes without the government announcing yet another "terrorist threat." Just before the airport raids, the Justice Department announced it had information that American banks were imminent targets of Al Qaeda. When nothing materialized, the Feds cynically floated a public warning that shopping malls were now in the terrorists' sights—at the same time encouraging consumers to keep shopping to boost the "economic recovery."

As we wrote in "Down With Anti-Immigrant Purge of Airport Workers!" (*WV* No. 777, 22 March): "The domestic 'war on terrorism' is a war against the working class." A new Federal Aviation Administration rule mandating criminal background checks for current and prospective employees who might have access to a "secure area" is a device to purge immigrants, blacks and union activists from the workforce. The Maritime Security Act (MSA) pending in Congress would have an immediate impact on the many black and Latino waterfront workers who might once have been ensnared in the "war on drugs," which is really a war on the ghetto and barrio masses.

Now New York governor George Pataki has proposed legislation calling for criminal background checks even of airport vendors, like the largely minority youth who work behind cash registers at fast-food counters. Air travelers are supposed to feel safer knowing that the cashier to whom they're forking over $3 for a hot dog was never busted for smoking a joint!

Service Employees International Union (SEIU) vice president Eliseo Medina blasted last week's arrests, whose victims included SEIU members, as "scapegoating" and added, "They have created a climate of fear in the immigrant community." But the SEIU and other union tops have not lifted a finger to mobilize union power in defense of immigrant rights. On the contrary, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy has lined up behind the government's "war on terror," seeking only to lobby Democratic Party politicians to tone down some of the anti-union provisions in the new legislation. An article in SEIU Local 790's *United Worker* (November-December 2001) called for "stringent background checks" of all airport screeners before they are hired.

For its part, the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) bureaucracy supported the draconian USA-Patriot Act, which defines terrorism so broadly that striking transit workers could be jailed as "terrorists" for stopping scab buses. Now the ATU tops are lobbying for passage of the "Over-the-Road Bus Security and Safety Act of 2001," which would extend security checks to ground transport workers.

The labor bureaucrats' support for such repressive legislation by the capitalist state is of a piece with their organizing of the enforcers of state repression, cops and prison guards. Similarly, SEIU union tops, among others, have been recruiting airport security screeners, who are an auxiliary of the armed forces of the capitalist state, albeit on the bottom rung. Thousands of screeners—immigrants from the Philippines, Latin America, South Asia, Africa and elsewhere—are threatened with losing their jobs under the Aviation and Transportation Security Act "federalizing" airport security, which requires screeners to be U.S. citizens. We oppose making citizenship a requirement of employment for anyone. But while we support union campaigns to organize food service workers, cabin cleaners, baggage handlers and ramp workers, we *oppose* union organizing of screeners and security guards.

To mobilize labor's social power in defense of its interests and those of all the oppressed requires piercing through the "national unity" promoted by the U.S. capitalist rulers and their labor lieutenants. This understanding was key in building the February 9 demonstration in Oakland initiated by the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee against the anti-immigrant witchhunt and the MSA. That united-front protest, which was endorsed by the powerful ILWU Local 10 longshore union and a number of other unions, was the first time that organized labor had been mobilized in defense of immigrants against the U.S. rulers' "war on terror." As the Spartacist League speaker at the rally explained:

> "The workers and the capitalists have irreconcilable interests: the capitalists want to extract as much profit as possible, drive down wages, etc. The capitalists have a state to help them do this—the cops, the courts, the prisons—and then they try to scam you and say this is democracy. Well, it isn't a democracy, it's a ball and chain, and the trade-union misleaders telling you to vote for the lesser evil, they're the chain tying you to the ball. A class-struggle leadership in the trade unions must be forged, a leadership that knows who our friends are and who our enemies are. We need a workers party to fight for a workers government." ■

Capitalism and Unemployment

TROTSKY

LENIN

Chronic unemployment and inmiseration are endemic to the very workings of the capitalist system. In the 1938 Transitional Program, written in light of the Great Depression, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky stressed the need to mobilize the trade unions in a fight for jobs for all. But the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats, who tie the workers to the class enemy, are incapable of leading such a struggle. The elimination of joblessness and poverty can only be realized through the expropriation of the capitalist class, when the wealth of this country will be turned over to those who produced it, under a workers government.

Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the crumbs of a disintegrating society. *The right to employment* is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step. Against unemployment, "structural" as well as "conjunctural," the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of *a sliding scale of working hours*. Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility. On this basis all the work on hand would then be divided among all existing workers in accordance with how the extent of the working week is defined. The average wage of every worker remains the same as it was under the old working week. Wages, with a strictly guaranteed *minimum*, would follow the movement of prices. It is impossible to accept any other program for the present catastrophic period.

Property owners and their lawyers will prove the "unrealizability" of these demands. Smaller, especially ruined capitalists in addition will refer to their account ledgers. The workers categorically denounce such conclusions and references. The question is not one of a "normal" collision between opposing material interests. The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization, and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. "Realizability" or "unrealizability" is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (1938)

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No. 780 **3 May 2002**

South Carolina: He Burned Confederate Flag
Defend Emmett Rufus Eddy!

We print below a 27 April letter by the Partisan Defense Committee to the solicitor of Richland County, South Carolina. The PDC calls on all trade unions, civil rights organizations and student groups to defend Emmett Rufus Eddy for his brave act.

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the arrest and physical abuse by the police of Emmett Rufus Eddy, also known as Reverend E. Slave, on the outrageous charge of "defacing a monument." He was arrested after torching the Confederate flag prominently displayed at the "Confederate Soldier Monument" adjacent to the South Carolina Statehouse. Mr. Eddy, with a commendable history of activism against this grotesque symbol of slavery and racist terror, now faces three years in prison and up to $5,000 in fines.

The only thing criminal involved in this incident is that the Confederate flag was flying at all: it is an inflammatory symbol which everyone in this country knows stands for black enslavement and racist murder, Ku Klux Klan cross-burnings and church bombings, the lynching of anyone who would fight for the rights of blacks, immigrants or labor. Everywhere it flies, from Southern state capitols to KKK and Nazi skinhead rallies, it is an *incitement to racist terror*; any pretense to "historical representation" is a sham!

The Confederate flag was placed on the South Carolina Statehouse in 1962 as an act of racist defiance against the mass civil rights struggle for black equality and integration. Now, while the Confederate flag flies nearby the Statehouse, inside a major effort is taking place to reinforce union-busting "right-to-work" laws, making clear that those who fly the flag of racist terror want to attack *all* of labor.

We demand that all charges against Emmett Rufus Eddy (Rev. E. Slave) be dropped immediately!

Send protest letters to: Warren B. Giese, Richland County Solicitor, P.O. Box 1987, Columbia, SC 29202. Send contributions for Eddy's defense to: E. Slave Defense Fund, P.O. Box 4681, Columbia, SC 29240. ■

Mexican Trotskyists Say:

Down With the Anti-Sex Witchhunt!

The following article is translated from Espartaco *No. 18 (Spring-Summer 2002), newspaper of the Grupo Espartaquista de México.*

Gloria Trevi, Sergio Andrade and Maria Raquenel Portillo (Mary Boquitas) have spent more than two years behind bars in a Brazilian prison awaiting extradition to Mexico. Marlene Calderon, another member of superstar Trevi's clan, spent more than eight months in prison in 2000, and Katia de la Cuesta was also detained. All of this is a result of the witchhunt launched by ex-members of Trevi's entourage and their families and carried out by the Mexican authorities in the state of Chihuahua and at the federal level. The two main prosecution witnesses are Karina Yapor, who spent five years with the Trevi clan, and Andrade's ex-wife, Aline Hernández. Yapor initially defended the trio against accusations by her relatives and by those of other group members. Yapor and Hernández have now each

ESPARTACO

written a book full of unbelievable tales as well as accounts of punishments they say they received at the hands of Andrade. We are unable to know what did or didn't happen among the group members, but even in their wildest claims these two supposed victims of Trevi/Andrade never state that they had been raped or physically prevented from leaving [the group]. Yapor and Hernández maintain that they had sexual relations with Andrade and stayed with the group because they chose to and because they worried about the effect of leaving on their artistic careers. Yet Trevi, Andrade and Portillo now face charges of rape and kidnapping, which could keep them imprisoned in hellish conditions for many years. The fact that Hernández and Yapor were under the arbitrarily set "age of consent" for young women when they engaged in consensual sexual activity means that the Trevi group now also faces "corruption of minors" charges. Drop the charges against Trevi, Andrade and Portillo!

Gloria Trevi was one of the most popular and controversial celebrities of the 1990s in Mexico. The name of her famous album "*Más turbada que nunca*" [literally "More Perturbed than Ever" and a play on words for "masturbation"] made jaws drop among the more conservative sectors of society, while millions of youth rushed to buy her album before it sold out of stores. The beautiful, sexy singer who rebelled against a society that has strict ideas about what a woman should and shouldn't say and do was attractive to both sexes. A recent muckraking television docudrama on Trevi interviewed woman after woman who all explained that they had wanted to be like Gloria Trevi because she didn't accept the way things are. "La Trevi" represented a challenge to bourgeois Catholic morality, characterized by its inculcation of a submissive role for women and the repression of their sexuality, as well as that of youth and gays.

Trevi's statements didn't only relate to sexual freedom. She regularly spoke out on the issues of the day, often standing against oppression and therefore against the powers that be in this racist, sexist society. Trevi solidarized with the massive Mexico City UNAM student strike for free public education in 1999. She expressed indignation at the massacre of peasants in Aguas Blancas by Guerrero state police in 1995. And Trevi stood for the right of women to have abortions, something that is illegal throughout Mexico. In some states, even the right to abort in the case of rape is being attacked with the increasing role of the Catholic church in politics under [Mexican president] Vicente Fox's PAN [National Action Party]. All of these things make Trevi, and those around her, a target in the eyes of the Mexican rulers.

On 8 February 2000, with Trevi, Andrade and Portillo already behind bars in Brazil after an international search, Karina Yapor appeared as a witness in court proceedings in Mexico against two other members of the Trevi group. Yapor stated, "I have never been raped or mistreated by Sergio Gustavo Andrade Sánchez, nor have I ever been deprived of my liberty. I didn't see nor have knowledge of Sergio hitting any of the people that I knew." At the end of the month, "She declared before the court the love she feels for Andrade; she also reaffirmed to family members the feelings that bound her to him and that she felt like a prisoner in her home [with her parents]" (*Reforma*, 27 June 2000), while her brother publicly accused her of hitting her son and her father stated on TV that she was a liar. The fourth penal court of Chihuahua declared Yapor the "queen of the group" and Yapor was forced, first by the state and then by her parents, to see psychiatrist after psychiatrist for treatment for "permanent psychological trauma." Their proof of her trauma? At 17, she rebelled against her family which was publicly attacking her and was initiating legal proceedings against the people she had lived with for the last five years. Finally, in April 2000, Yapor read a letter in which she stated that all her previous declarations were false and that she had been a prisoner of mental domination, as the psychologists told her. Both Yapor's and Aline Hernández's change of opinion had to do with "supernatural phenomena." Karina says that it was thanks to being able to make contact with god himself. Hernández, more modestly, simply received a letter from her dead father. At the height of obscurantist stupidity, Yapor in her book tries to provoke Andrade's links with the devil because he spent a lot of time in the bathroom without making noise!

The prosecution of Trevi, Andrade and Portillo fits into a wider anti-sex witchhunt which includes everything from repeated attacks on the "Condommobile" and people who work in it, to anti-"pedophile" campaigns, to brutal, murderous attacks on homosexuals. One aspect of the witchhunt is that it seeks to strengthen the state in its regulation of the population and to spread panic as a diversion from the real brutality of life in a country where 60 percent of children are born into poverty, women are forced to bear child after child or risk their lives with unsafe abortions, and many of those who manage to find employment get paid starvation wages. We oppose the intrusion of the government into private life and demand an end to all laws against consensual activities like sexual experimentation among youth, consensual sex between adults and youth, and "crimes without victims" such as prostitution, drug use and pornography. We oppose "age of consent" and "corruption of minors" laws. These laws, which set an arbitrary age (generally different for men and women, or even only applicable to women) at which one is deemed capable of making decisions about sex and drinking, are reactionary. Their purpose is to repress youth sexuality (which is, although some might not like it, a biological fact), impose abstinence and equate sex with guilt. As we explained in "Britain: Marxism vs. Anti-Sex Hysteria" in *Espartaco* No. 16 (Fall-Winter 2001) [see also *WV* No. 744, 20 October 2000]:

> "The guiding principle for sexual relations should be that of effective consent, nothing more and nothing less than mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion. One might say that a girl of 11 is too young, whereas one of 14 is able to decide for herself what she wants to do. In any case this is not a matter to be determined by the capitalist state which upholds in every way it can the inherently oppressive nuclear family, including enforcing sexual repression and fear, with untold results of increased human misery. We vehemently oppose state intervention into people's sexual activities and private lives: *State out of the bedroom!*"

If Yapor and Hernández now believe that they shouldn't have been able to make decisions about their own lives when they were teenagers, at that time they certainly thought they should be able to, and in fact they did. Second thoughts and regrets or even unpleasant experiences (which are quite common in sexual activity in this society) cannot retroactively turn consensual activity into rape.

On the other hand, when there is not effective consent what takes place is a violent sexual assault. Rape and wife-beating are horrible and terribly common crimes against women in Mexico. A measure of the indifference of the Mexican rulers to the desperate plight of women and to rape in particular is the case of Paulina, an adolescent who was raped and then denied the abortion she requested (see *Espartaco* No. 14, Fall-Winter 2000). It is also grotesque that the laws equate consensual sex involving youth with violent crimes like rape or wife-beating, to which we are unconditionally hostile.

Mexican law makes it impossible for a young woman to decide she wants to have sex unless she's a prostitute or unless she gets married (rather tellingly, the legal age for marriage is less than the legal age for sex!). The Penal Code of Chihuahua, which sounds like a passage from the Old Testament, reads:

> "The person that has intercourse with a chaste and honest woman under the age of 18 but older than 14, obtaining her consent through seduction or deception, shall receive one month to three years in prison."

The message is that young women aren't supposed to have any sexual desires, and that's backed up with the threat of prosecution for anyone who awakens those desires. The utter hypocrisy of the penal code and bourgeois morality is shown in Chihuahua's Article 244: "If the active subject marries the offended woman, legal action will be annulled."

For the bourgeoisie, religious obscurantism, reactionary social mores and the monogamous heterosexual family are weapons to assure ideological conformity and respect for the "authority" of the institutions of the bourgeois state. As Marxists, we understand that these ideological props will only be done away with for good when there is no longer a class-divided society where the ruling class needs to justify its oppression and repression of the masses of the population. Then we can begin to see the free expression of human interest and desire, including sex, without the restrictions, humiliation and guilt with which this society imbues us. Meanwhile, the bourgeois state seeks to increase its power to counter any challenge to its exploitative and oppressive rule. It is in the interest of the entire workers movement to expose and oppose the anti-sex witchhunt. Defend Trevi, Andrade and Portillo! ■

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Young Spartacus

Defend the Palestinians!

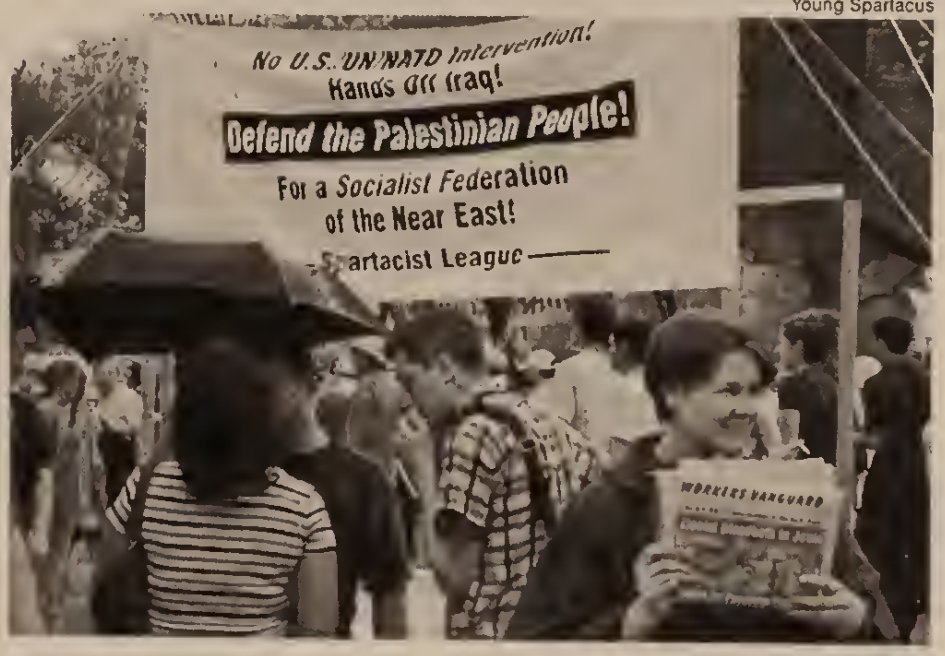
What's Wrong with Campus Divestment Campaign

Israel's assault against the Palestinians on the West Bank, marked by the wholesale destruction of entire areas and the cold-blooded massacre of hundreds of Palestinian civilians, has spurred significant demonstrations internationally, including in the U.S. On April 20, some 20,000 people protested in San Francisco and some 70,000 in Washington D.C., the largest mobilizations since the Gulf War protests of 1990-91. This wave of protests has also hit campuses across the country.

At the University of California Berkeley campus, more than a thousand students attended a "Palestine Day of Action" on April 9 called by the Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP). The demonstration culminated in a sit-in at a campus building, where 79 protesters were arrested. Most were charged with trespassing, though some face additional charges of resisting arrest, while one student was charged with assaulting an officer. The UC administration has announced that those arrested will face student conduct charges and possible suspension from school. The SJP has been suspended as a campus group and prohibited from organizing or having events or literature tables on campus, pending an "investigation." This blatant attempt to stifle political dissent is of a piece with the government's "anti-terror" witchhunt. The UC administration is trying to roll back the clock to the days before the 1960s Free Speech Movement, when political groups were banned from campus. Drop all the charges now! Down with the suspension of the SJP! No administration reprisals against the protesters!

The main demand of the Berkeley sit-in (as well as a demonstration called by the SJP at New York's Columbia University on April 17) was that the university administration "end its financial ties to Israel by divesting from companies with subsidiaries in Israel and/or substantial financial commitments (over 5 million dollars) to the Israeli economy." This demand, initiated by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, has been taken up by ostensibly socialist organizations like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), active in the leadership of the Berkeley and Columbia SJPs, and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB, youth group of the Revolutionary Communist Party), whose members are active in the Berkeley SJP.

Buzz/Indymedia



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Fake leftists at April 11 Berkeley protest promote liberal illusions in U.S. imperialism. Below: Spartacist banner at April 20 protest in Washington, D.C.

At bottom, the divestment campaign looks to employ moral suasion to pressure campus administrations. American corporations and ultimately the U.S. capitalist rulers to ditch Israel and implement a more benevolent policy toward the Palestinians. Aside from the fact that American corporations do not have significant investments in Israel, the notion that moral suasion will make the U.S. dump a strategic and longstanding ally in the Near East is simply ludicrous.

The divestment movement is based on the lie that the Zionist rulers are somehow worse than their imperialist patrons in Washington, who just devastated Afghanistan and whose starvation blockade of Iraq (not to mention countless wars from Korea to Vietnam) has killed more innocent civilians than the Israeli state by orders of magnitude. In this sense, the call for divestment serves merely to prettify the image of blood-drenched U.S. imperialism.

Indeed, the April 20 Washington demonstration's fake-left sponsors, among them the ISO, pleaded for "a U.S. foreign policy based upon social and economic justice, not military and corporate oppression." And their chosen keynote speaker, Democratic Congressman Cynthia McKinney, proclaimed: "I believe we once again can make America a force for good in the world. We are the world's most powerful nation and have a responsibility to act in defense of the weak and to protect them from harm."

When has capitalist America ever acted as a force for good in the world? From its emergence as an imperialist power in the late 1800s, the U.S. has left a grisly trail of carnage around the globe—from its murderous "pacification" of the Philippines after it seized those islands in the 1898 Spanish-American War to its slaughter in Iraq a decade ago. Social democrats like the ISO to the contrary, the capitalist state is nothing other than an instrument of corporate—i.e., capitalist class—oppression, a machinery of violence to maintain the rule of capital and suppress the struggles of the exploited and oppressed. The notion that this state can promote social and economic justice is a con job that serves to channel the discontents of working people and rebellious youth back into Democratic Party electoralism.

Like the demonstrations nationally, a central slogan of the Berkeley protest was "Stop U.S. aid to Israel." There were also calls for the United Nations to intervene militarily on behalf of the Palestinians. The Spartacus Youth Club participated in the Berkeley march and protest with signs calling for defense of the Palestinian people. We chanted, "No illusions in UN peace! For a socialist federation of the Near East!" and "Arab, Jew, black and white—Workers of the world unite!"

The UN, far from being a force for "peace," is simply a den of imperialist thieves and their victims that acts as a fig leaf for U.S. military adventures around the globe, from the 1950-53 Korean War to the Gulf War in 1991 and countless other imperialist interventions. A U.S./UN "protection" force paved the way for the 1982 massacre of over 2,000 Palestinian men, women and children at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. Particularly today, appeals for imperialist military intervention in the Near East, in the guise of defending the Palestinians, only plays into the hands of the Bush administration, which is preparing an "intervention" force to attack Saddam Hussein's Iraq. U.S. hands off Iraq! All U.S./UN troops out of the Near East!

What is urgently necessary in the face of escalating Zionist terror is the mobilization of the working class in concrete acts of class-struggle solidarity with the besieged Palestinian masses, including political protest strikes and labor action to prevent the shipment of military goods to the Israeli rulers. But such a perspective can only be realized by mobilizing workers in the U.S. against their *own* rulers, not by fostering illusions in the potential benevolence of the American state.

A "Moral" Investment Policy?

A campaign to convince capitalist institutions to make business decisions based on moral considerations rather than profit motives is patently absurd, and it goes along with the liberal calls on consumers to boycott products made by companies that do business in Israel. The SJP's sister group at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign demands that its administration "not morally associate itself with the Israeli apartheid/colonial economy nor the weapons manufacturers

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Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA

Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.

May 18:

Defend the Gains of the Anti-Capitalist Revolutions in China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea Against Imperialism and Counterrevolution!

1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor, Oakland

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

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3806 Beverly Blvd., Suite 215

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

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Spartacus Youth Club Protest at Berkeley

ROTC Off Campus!

On April 20, the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club led a demonstration against the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) and its effort to recruit prospective UC Berkeley students to the officer corps of the U.S. imperialist military. Students got a refreshing dose of revolutionary opposition to capitalism as the SYC chanted: "ROTC recruiters—imperialist looters! Off campus now!" A handful of leftist youth enthusiastically joined our picket line and chanted over the hokey Cal marching band that soon came to try to drown us out.

The right-wing, rabidly anti-communist *California Patriot* crowd mobilized with their American flags in a tiny counter-demo. Their McCarthyite signs, "Shoot a Communist Revolutionary for the US" and "Tell the Proletariats [sic] to Get Back to Work," constitute an ominous silhouette of a fascistic program: to kill the communists and smash all workers organizations to extract a higher rate of profit from the sweat and blood of the proletariat. These Pentagon advisers-in-training whip up the "war on terror" hysteria on college campuses against any social dissent.

Although the cops prevented us from using a megaphone, onlookers heard SYC speeches addressing our defense of the Palestinians and our opposition to the U.S. rulers' "war on terror." One SYCer from Berkeley High School read a letter addressed to his school newspaper condemning the new so-called "No Child Left Behind" law, which would pull federal funding from schools that refuse to hand over student records to military recruiters. A statement of solidarity with Puerto Rican student militant Pedro Colón Almenas was also read. Colón Almenas is serving one year in federal prison for allegedly hitting a ROTC officer while protesting the return of ROTC to the University of Puerto Rico. Raising the call for the right of independence for Puerto Rico, UC Berkeley demonstrators held signs that read: "Free ROTC Protester Pedro Colón Almenas! U.S. Troops Out of Puerto Rico Now!"

The SYC posed the need for joint action against the ROTC would-be imperialist killers to other left groups on campus, yet they scandalously refused to participate. Members of the Berkeley Stop the War Coalition said that they didn't want to share a platform with the red Spartacists. Students for Justice in Palestine refused to endorse because we openly disagree with their strategy to pressure the UC Regents to divest from companies doing business with Israel. The International Socialist Organization and the Revolutionary Communist Party likewise didn't endorse, counterposing the April 20 ANSWER coalition's anti-war demo in San Francisco to our anti-ROTC protest, even though our rally was purposely called earlier in the day. In fact, the anti-ROTC demonstrators later joined the SYC/SL's revolutionary contingent at the large demonstration in San Francisco under the banner "Defend the Palestinian People! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East! No U.S./UN/NATO Intervention! Hands Off Iraq!"

Young Spartacus

We reprint below the 7 April leaflet issued by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club and distributed in building the anti-ROTC demonstration.

* * *

On April 20, "Cal Day," prospective students here at UC Berkeley will receive a taste of the murderous U.S. imperialist military machine, fresh off its deadly ravaging of Afghanistan and eagerly set to launch a new round of human massacre in Iraq. The Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) plans to showcase the U.S. armed forces by rappelling down Wheeler Hall. Although the university provides it with academic camouflage, ROTC's role is to train the next generation of men and women to direct mass slaughter for the most rapacious imperialist power in the world. To carry out its imperialist adventures, the bourgeoisie needs to regiment the population to accept authority without question. On campus this means enforcing conservative codes of conduct and suppressing leftist ideas. While the administration and its right-wing lackeys have recently sought to purge what they consider to be sexual and political "deviance" from campus, ROTC is given free rein. But ROTC has not always enjoyed that right. Organized outrage during the Vietnam War successfully drove ROTC off campuses all over the nation. When ROTC was reintroduced to Cal in the mid-seventies, we led a campaign against its return. The Spartacus Youth Club today calls on students opposed to U.S. imperialism's deadly rampages—those of the present and those that are all too imminent—to demonstrate on April 20 and demand: *ROTC Off Campus! U.S. Imperialism: Hands Off Iraq and the World!*

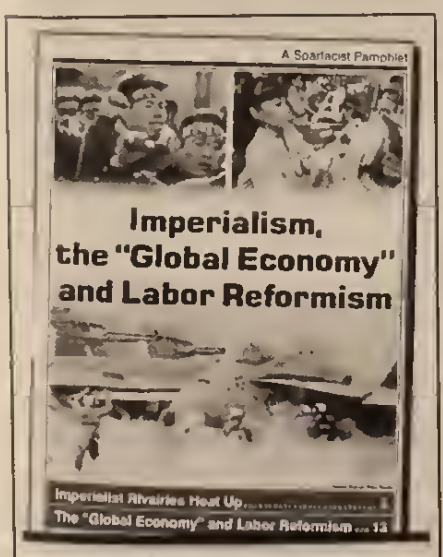
Seizing on the entirely criminal attack on thousands of people in the World Trade Center, the American bourgeoisie has found the golden opportunity to use "national unity" patriotism to line up the population behind the government. Washington's quick win in Afghanistan has only emboldened its readiness to employ military force against absolutely anyone, with Iraq directly under the cross hairs. Bush's mad ranting about "the axis of evil" combined with the $312 billion military budget, the world's biggest and larger than the arms budgets of the next nineteen countries combined, underline that the main enemy of the world's peoples truly is American imperialism. As U.S. imperialism sends troops to all corners of the globe, including Colombia, Yemen, Georgia and the Philippines, the Pentagon, the world's only veteran in the art of nuclear holocaust, declares its readiness to unleash nuclear tactical weapons against any regime that stands in its way. Meanwhile, the U.S. rulers have given the green light to the Zionist terrorist state, armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons, in its escalating genocidal war against the Palestinian people. We say: *Defend the Palestinians! Zionist Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!*

American imperialism's current military adventures are not simply the result of a particularly hawkish White House foreign policy. War is endemic to imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism in which world powers wage ruthless warfare over markets in order to improve their relative competitive positions. ROTC is the direct appendage of the bloody military machine that defends the interests of the American ruling class. Imperialism is *not* a policy, but a system. It cannot be pressured to act more benevolently, but must be exploded from within through workers revolution.

However, many of the current peace coalitions led by so-called socialist organizations such as the Workers World Party and the International Socialist Organization operate under an entirely different understanding—the ultimate reformability of the capitalist state. The ANSWER coalition is organizing an April 20 march against "war, racism, [and] poverty." While ANSWER professes to fight to end war and racism, its demand that the capitalists "Stop Funding the Pentagon Budget" and instead provide "Money for Jobs, Schools, Housing," and other nice things pushes the illusion that the imperialist rulers can be pressured into abandoning their class interests in order to act on behalf of working and oppressed people. Their reformism stands as an obstacle in the path of the only effective antiwar strategy—militant class struggle organized to smash the entire system of capitalist exploitation. This was the perspective underlying the February 9 labor-centered demonstration against the capitalists' domestic war targeting immigrants, blacks and labor, a demonstration organized in part by the SYC. Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, this rally mobilized multiracial union power, like the powerful dockworkers of ILWU Local 10, independently of the capitalist Democrats and Republicans, and went up against the rulers' mythology of "national unity"—the lie that working people have the same interests as their capitalist exploiters.

Since the demise of the Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism has increasingly turned its attention to the remaining deformed workers states, the only places on earth where imperialists cannot roam freely due to the expropriation of capitalism. Not coincidentally, U.S. imperialism has these same countries at the very top of its hit list: China and North Korea are among the seven countries listed as potential nuclear targets and the United States for years has been building its military presence in the Far East. We say: *For the Unconditional Military Defense of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba Against Imperialist Attack and Internal Counterrevolution!*

The present period is not solely one of unrestrained imperialist war and militarism. Across the world, from Argentina to Italy to South Korea, working class discontent has arisen against capitalist exploitation. Here in the heartland of world imperialism, there is a burning need for a revolutionary workers party capable of leading the working class and radical youth in the fight for socialist revolution to smash capitalism for good. We in the SYC fight to build such a party. Come join a united front demonstration to protest the presence of the U.S. military on campus! Come demand: *ROTC Off Campus! U.S. Imperialism: Hands Off Iraq and the World!* ■



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All Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!
No U.S./UN/EU Intervention in the Near East!
U.S. Hands Off Iraq!
For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Defend the Palestinian People!

Wednesday, May 8, 7 p.m.
University of Illinois at Chicago
750 S. Halsted, Circle Center (CCC)
Room 501-2
For more information: (312) 563-0441
CHICAGO

Saturday, May 11, 7:30 p.m.
Trinity-St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor Street West
(just west of Spadina subway)
For more information: (416) 593-4138
TORONTO

France...

(continued from page 1)

thugs get there. They could stop the fascists before they start, but they won't do this because such an action would open the road to the kind of independent political mobilization of the proletariat these loyal servants of bourgeois democracy fear more than Le Pen himself.

The smaller SUD labor federation, which is heavily influenced by supporters of the LCR, is likewise pushing the pro-Chirac line. But SUD militants at the Créteil postal facility issued a leaflet on April 26 declaring:

> "The place for every conscious proletarian on May Day is in the streets. Not to defend the values of a republic in the service of capital, which engenders misery and so many other horrors...nor to help the defender of these same bourgeois values get back in the saddle.... If fascism is the mortal enemy of the working class, the bourgeois governments—of the right as well as the left—are our gravediggers. We must be in the street to affirm and exercise our social power, to 'show the resolute will of the working class to overthrow class society and open the road to peace for all humanity,' as the resolution of the Second International stated. We won't leave our fate in the hands of the class enemy! Reclaim May Day as a day of international workers struggle!"

The rightward shift across Europe was prepared by social-democratic and popular-front governments that were brought to power in the 1990s to oversee the scrapping of public health care, pensions and other "welfare state" measures. Invariably, these capitalist regimes used anti-immigrant demagogy and terror to divide and divert the working class from united struggle against the capitalist offensive. With the economic downturn, immigrant "guest workers" became largely unneeded "surplus" labor. Without a job and without a future, they were feared by the ruling class as socially explosive. The Europe-wide anti-immigrant offensive was exemplified by the 1995 Schengen accord aimed at keeping Slavic and dark-skinned immigrants out of "Fortress Europe."

If fascist terror against immigrants is not now rampant in France, it is only because the popular-front government is carrying out the kind of program of cop terror and deportations that has been the fascists' rallying cry. The popular front helped make Le Pen's racist program "respectable."

The prevailing outlook motivating the demonstrations against Le Pen is the illusion that class conflict can be resolved on the parliamentary plane. Yet the democratic rights that exist in capitalist society—from voting rights and the right to abortion to the right to organize a party or a trade union—were not granted by wise rulers after counting the votes of an undifferentiated electorate. These rights were won in struggle and must be defended through proletarian class struggle.

The events that led to the present blind alley of French bourgeois "democracy" were prepared by the explosive 1995 strike wave by railway workers and other public employees against anti-labor attacks. At the time, the LTF insisted that the heavily minority private sector workers be mobilized in that proletarian struggle and uniquely called on the labor movement to champion the rights of all the oppressed, particularly France's large North African population. Instead, the trade-union misleaders deflected that class battle from the factories and streets into a campaign to replace the right-wing government then in power by Jospin's popular front. As is the case with all popular fronts, the politics of class collaboration disoriented the workers, derailed their struggles and emboldened the forces of reaction.

Joanna B. Pinneo

AFP

North Africans and other minorities in France are segregated into impoverished ghettos and face racist terror campaign by cops.

Fake-left groups like the LCR and LO encourage the widespread illusion that there is no alternative to the trap of bourgeois democracy. The LCR Political Bureau declared: "The LCR is mobilizing for Le Pen to get the smallest vote possible on May 5" (*Rouge*, 25 April). This is a clear call to vote for Chirac. The LCR's presidential candidate, Olivier Besancenot, called to "stop Le Pen in the streets and at the polls" (*Libération*, 26 April). "That translates into voting against Le Pen," declared an April 28 LCR Central Committee statement. LO, on the other hand, comes out clearly against voting Chirac but then leaves open the door to...voting for Chirac. LO members at the April 27 demonstration carried placards reading, "Neither Le Pen nor Chirac." The next day, LO presidential candidate Arlette Laguiller declared: "I do not call for a vote to Chirac" (*Le Monde*, 30 April). A couple of days before, however, she said that "each person must make the choice that seems justified to themselves" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 26 April).

In the lead-up to last week's elections, the LTF published an open letter to LO which noted that despite LO's attempt to draw a crude class line against the popular-front government, its silence on the brutal Vigipirate campaign and its support to reactionary police "strikes" made it impossible for the LTF to give LO critical support. The LTF declared: "LO's speeches on immigrant rights and their participation in demonstrations for undocumented immigrants are nullified by their silence on Vigipirate and their support to the cop mobilizations. Indifference to racial oppression is the direct consequence of a perspective of *class collaboration*" (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 778, 5 April). Now they are proving it by waffling on voting for Chirac.

We publish below a 23 April statement translated from the LTF's *Le Bolchévik* No. 159 (Spring 2002).

LE BOLCHEVIK

We must draw the lessons from the April 21 elections. It's the politics of Chirac, Jospin, Robert Hue and even the so-called "far left" which paved the way for the fascists by making the campaign for "security," in other words racist repression above all against youth of North African origin, the central theme of the presidential election. Today Lutte Ouvrière and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire seek to cover themselves by blaming the government's racist politics for this outcome. But where were they? LO hailed the reactionary cop demonstrations of last November and refuses to oppose Vigipirate, which in France after September 11 has represented the reality of the "war against terrorism" that targets all immigrants, and behind them the workers movement and all the oppressed. As for the LCR, how can a party that prettifies French imperialism, going so far as to call for it to intervene militarily everywhere—from the Balkans in 1999 to Palestine today—combat fascism, which represents French nationalism in its most extreme form?

In this grave situation, the PS, the CP, the Greens, the unions (CGT and CFDT) have raised the call to "block Le Pen" and are calling for voting for Chirac! This is like a doctor who wants to fight the plague with cholera. As for the LCR and LO, we may expect that they will preach the "unity of the left to fight the ultra-right" as they put into the saddle for the legislative elections a new popular front (a coalition of workers parties with bourgeois parties for the purpose of running the capitalist state) around the PS, which has been running the racist, capitalist French state for the last five years. Already in 1997 LO called for voting for the PS and CP in the legislative elections everywhere that Le Pen was on the second round, contributing to Jospin's victory. For us Trotskyists, opposition to class collaboration and the popular front is an essential principle. When the interests of the working class are subordinated to those of the bourgeoisie (and they always are in such coalitions), reaction always wins. Our slogans in these elections are more important than ever for organizing the working class to defend itself and defend all the oppressed: *Down with Vigipirate! Down with the security campaign! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Stop the deportations! France, UN: Hands off the Near East!*

These elections mark a big upheaval in the French political landscape. Their context is the austerity implemented by the popular-front government: massive layoffs, factory closings, privatizations, attacks on pensions, etc. Since the capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR, the European bourgeoisies have installed governments to dismantle piece by piece the "welfare state," a series of social services and workers' gains won by bitter struggles. In recent years, governments led by social democrats have been charged with this work in most countries of Europe, thereby preparing the job for the far right which is taking power now, with Haider's party in the Austrian government and Berlusconi/Fini/Bossi in Italy, for example. And the British Labour Party's Blair has teamed up with Berlusconi against the workers in struggle.

The working class does not lack the militancy to oppose these attacks, as we saw in December 1995 and more recently with the Marseilles longshoremen (a historically very ethnically integrated layer of the working class) or with the recent general strike in Italy. But the sellout leadership of the reformist parties and unions always diverts these struggles toward parliamentary combinations. For the first time since 1969, the left is not represented in the second round. So much the better that the CP is paying so dearly for its collaboration with Chirac/Jospin. The CP was an enormous obstacle on the road of the class struggle: this party, which saved the French bourgeoisie's hide in 1936, 1944-47 and May 1968, is only the shadow of its former self. But the CP's politics of class collaboration has not been defeated politically; LO and the LCR still share the same perspective. On the other hand, part of the CP's working-class and popular electoral base has turned to the fascists as the only "radical" alternative to the rottenness of Jospin/Chirac. This election shows that the justified hatred which has built up in the working class for this government of austerity can be exploited by fascist demagogues. This is why the fight against racist oppression is so central to anti-capitalist struggle, as we stressed in our open letter to LO.

Thousands of high school students and others immediately took to the streets throughout France to protest against the fascist Le Pen. Now Le Pen is passing himself off as a "normal candidate." But make no mistake: he is a real fascist who is for deporting immigrants from France and who organizes bands of thugs to attack youth of immigrant origin. He was a torturer during the Algerian War. While in recent months there was hardly anything in the press about the fascists, that's because the cops themselves directly are carrying out the roundups and racist repression. We've been hearing a lot

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about the "anti-Semitism of the Maghrebians" recently, because that's a pretext for the repression in the ghettos. But it's not the Maghrebians who voted for Le Pen, who declared that the Holocaust of the Jews was just a "detail" and who still identifies himself with the Vichy regime.

Le Pen and the fascists don't represent "bad ideas" that one can debate. Fascism is a program to wipe out the organized workers movement, send women back to the home and massacre "immigrants," Jews, minorities and homosexuals. The fascists are the extreme expression of the interests of the bourgeoisie and are their reserve army against the proletariat. That's why the fight against fascism has to be linked to the struggle against the system of capitalist exploitation. Le Pen isn't on the verge of taking power in this country, but his election score will be translated into an augmentation of racist crimes in the streets. ***Smash the fascists before they smash us! For worker/immigrant self-defense groups based on the factories!***

In 1995 the National Front launched its electoral campaign by assassinating Ibrahim Ali and "celebrated" its showing by killing Brahim Bouraam on May Day. Le Pen's call for an FN mobilization on May Day [this year], the international day of the working class, is a sinister provocation. What's necessary is mass mobilizations to repulse this danger. As Trotsky wrote ("Germany, the Key to the International Situation," 26 November 1931):

> "On the scales of electoral statistics, a thousand fascist votes weigh as much as a thousand communist votes. But on the scales of the revolutionary struggle, a thousand workers in one big factory represent a force a hundred times greater."

Le Bolchévik

LTF at January 2001 Paris demonstration against pension cuts by Jospin's popular-front government. Sign at center reads: "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!"

But instead of mobilizing the working class to sweep the fascists off the streets on May Day, the fake left uses the anger of the youth and of all the opponents of the fascists to refurbish not only the social democrats but even Chirac! The "CGT police union" just called for "all republican policemen to participate in all demonstrations organized by the forces of progress." In fact, the cop "unions" would be the organic support for a fascist regime. We say: ***Cops out of the unions!***

The anger at the election results is cynically manipulated by the LCR of Krivine/Besancenot. Laguiller announced the evening after the elections that they aren't going to vote for Chirac on the second round, but in their editorial yesterday they are already much more evasive, refusing to clearly state who to vote for: "Everyone must make their own choice." As for the LCR, they go in for empty talk about a "third round" with social struggle in the streets "against fascism and the bosses" (leaflet of the LCR's youth group). With the French army of the Algerian War as an "international protection force" in Palestine? With "union rights and the right to strike for the police" (*Rouge*, 13 December 2001)? Their capitulation to bourgeois triumphalism and the ideological anti-communist campaign was expressed in the campaign of Besancenot, who prated about "democracy" and denounced the organizer of the socialist revolution of October 1917, Leon Trotsky, by saying about him (*Le Monde*, 11 April): "It's not certain he would have been much better than Stalin." Stalin was the gravedigger of the Russian Revolution!

The disaster of parliamentarism could also benefit the anarchists. Quite a few youth with good impulses reject parliamentary cretinism. But more than ever in the climate of the "death of communism" after the capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR, they are hostile to the very idea that struggles need leadership, and they reject the leading revolutionary role of the working class. As Trotsky said, in reactionary periods there are "monstrous ideological relapses" and "senile thought seems to have become infantile." The numerous spontaneous demonstrations are not sufficient to wipe out the gangrene of racism and fascism, and the capitalists' and social-democrats' attacks on the working class. It's necessary to have the perspective of a workers revolution to sweep away the whole capitalist system. The working class, which produces the wealth of society, draws its power from its role in production; it must lead the struggles of all the oppressed against this rotten capitalist system. But for that the working class needs a new leadership, which we are determined to build. ■

Divestment...

(continued from page 4)

who supply one of the most powerful armies in the world," and claims that divestment will "shame" (!) capitalist behemoths like arms manufacturer Lockheed Martin.

At Berkeley, SJP spokesman (and prominent ISO supporter) Snehal Shingavi told the *Christian Science Monitor* (9 April): "The people who run our universities are not just tacitly supporting but are actually benefiting from the exploitation of Palestinians." Where would Shingavi & Co. have the university invest its endowment? Is it more "moral" for campuses to invest in companies that run sweatshops in Indonesia—or, for that matter, that exploit workers in the U.S.? What about the weapons manufacturers that supply the biggest terrorist government in the world—U.S. imperialism?

The boards of trustees and campus administrations to whom the divestment protesters appeal exist precisely to ensure that the universities serve the interests of the capitalist class—and that includes U.S. imperialism's current "war on terrorism." This should be evident to members of the SJP, whose attempt to act as the Board of Regents' stockbroker with a conscience was met by mass arrests and the suspension of their organization. Many administrations have been handing over the files of Near Eastern students to the FBI.

The UC Regents have far more direct connections to U.S. imperialist oppression than their stock portfolio; e.g., they preside over the country's pre-eminent nuclear weapons research program, including the Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore facilities. They also aid in the direct recruitment of students into the imperialist military through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC).

At the University of Illinois, spokesmen for the divestment campaign argue that "as Israel becomes more internationally isolated, Israel will have to come to the negotiating table." What this is really about is beseeching the American imperialist state, the executive committee of the American capitalist class as a whole, to reorder its foreign policy to "isolate" Israel. U.S. economic and military aid to Israel has been a cornerstone of American policy in the Near East for decades, because Washington sees in the Zionist state a stable and reliable ally. To further its interests in the region, the U.S. has also given billions in aid to Egypt and other Arab client states.

Israel has received some *$80 billion* from the U.S. government since 1974. By contrast, the sum total of direct investment by U.S. companies in Israel by 1998 amounted to just under $3.1 billion—about .3 percent of total U.S. foreign investment. Even now over one-quarter of the Israeli assets held by foreigners consists of government bonds, which the world Zionist movement buys for *political* reasons. At the same time, Israel is not a mere pawn of U.S. imperialism but a regional power with its own interests and the military wherewithal—including hundreds of nuclear weapons—to pursue them.

Divestment *is* occurring in Israel, but the rate of profit (or more precisely, the lack thereof) has a lot more to do with it than opposition to Zionist brutality in the West Bank. The economic disruptions and insecurity caused by the *Intifada* have sent the Israeli economy into a tailspin. Of the country's chief income earners, tourism has plummeted by $5 billion and high-tech exports by double that amount. *Business Week* (29 April) estimates that in the first quarter of this year alone, direct capital outflow or transfers to foreign currency accounts totaled $500 million! Even if such continuing "divestment" led decisive sections of the Israeli bourgeoisie to push for a policy different than the one being implemented by the government of mass murderer Ariel Sharon, it would be no less oppressive to the Palestinian people. The "alternative" currently being mooted is "unilateral separation," i.e., fencing off parts of the West Bank the way Gaza has already been fenced off and leaving the Palestinians in isolated ghettos with few means of economic subsistence.

The SJP and the ISO point to the campus divestment campaign against apartheid in South Africa in the U.S. and Europe in the mid to late 1980s as a great success and a model to be emulated with regard to Israel. Israel is vastly different from South Africa. But in any case, it was not divestment that led to the replacement of the white-supremacist regime by the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC) of Nelson Mandela. It was the mass social struggles of the black and other nonwhite toilers within South Africa—centrally the working class—that brought an end to direct white-supremacist rule. The massive outburst of black labor struggle won significant wage gains, decreasing the profitability of investment in South Africa. In response, the imperialists and a section of the apartheid ruling class decided to go for a "power-sharing" deal with the ANC. By and large, divestment took the form of overseas corporations signing over their interests to local subsidiaries, which often treated their workers even more brutally. Indeed, in 1989 there were two strikes by black workers against such divestment schemes.

Moreover, the end of legalized apartheid has not brought an end to the oppression and exploitation of the black workers by the white South African capitalist class. Rather the ANC leaders, Mandela and his successor Thabo Mbeki, have since served as the black front men for the South African ruling class and its senior partners in Wall Street and the City of London. In an article titled "Black Workers Strike Against 'Divestment' Union-Busting" (*WV* No. 486, 29 September 1989), we wrote: "The only kind of 'divestment' that will benefit the exploited and oppressed will be proletarian revolution, and the expropriation of these riches by a black-centered workers government as part of a socialist federation of southern Africa." That remains no less true today.

Similarly, the only road to social and national liberation for the oppressed Palestinian masses lies through common class struggle by the Hebrew-speaking and Arab workers against both the Israeli and Arab ruling classes, which are likewise oppressors of the Palestinian people. The Zionist garrison state must be shattered from within, through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution. Only within a socialist federation of the Near East can the conflicting national rights of the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples be equitably realized.

Some of the more thoughtful advocates of divestment acknowledge that the divestment campaign will not result in change, but argue that it serves as a small step forward by increasing awareness. But awareness of what—that U.S. imperialism, the deadliest enemy of the world's peoples, can be reformed through pressure politics? The opportunist ISO makes this explicit: "The Democrats won't promote policies in our interests—until we build a movement that forces politicians of whatever political stripe to do what we want" (*Socialist Worker*, 29 March). The lie that U.S. imperialism is reformable and accountable to the American population is a roadblock to social struggle mobilized consciously *against* the entire system of class exploitation and imperialist oppression that is American capitalism. We in the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs recognize that there can only be an end to imperialist war and oppression through mobilizing the working class internationally in proletarian socialist revolution that sweeps away capitalist class society as a whole. ■

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Welfare...

(continued from page 12)

white workers' anger away from capitalist exploitation and toward black people and immigrants.

Black women face triple oppression in racist, sexist America—as black people, as workers and as women. Although there have always been more whites on welfare than blacks, the ruling class lyingly demonizes black women as *the* problem to be solved by "welfare reform." Young black men are criminalized and targeted by the cops, who just shoot them down in the streets or throw them into prison. The bourgeoisie pointed to the lower unemployment figures of the late '90s as proof that only the "undeserving poor" could be out of work in such a booming economy. In fact, one of the factors that contributed to the lowering of unemployment statistics was the high rate of incarceration of young black and other minority men, mainly imprisoned because of the racist "war on drugs." This so-called "war" is a pretense to increase the violent police occupation of the desperately poor ghettos and barrios. By 1995, over 33 percent of black men between the ages of 20 and 29 years were in prison or on probation.

In order for the capitalists to increase the rate of exploitation, they require regimentation and control of the workforce. They need a compliant population to throw onto the trash heap depending on the ups and downs of the boom-bust capitalist business cycle. Creating a reserve army of labor is a necessary component of capitalism. Unemployment figures also don't tell the story of the huge increase in low-paying, irregular, two-tiered, part-time and temporary jobs that have replaced regular full-time jobs that used to have benefits and pensions. Remember the immensely popular 1997 UPS strike which put young workers—black, white, Latino and Asian—together on the picket lines across the country, fighting for full-time employment.

The War Against Poor Women

AFDC funding is a tiny fraction of the U.S. social welfare budget today compared to Social Security or Medicare. This makes clear that the campaign for its elimination is largely *ideological*. The latest attack on poor women, especially minorities, continues the "family values" bourgeois morality campaign that has characterized reactionary "welfare reform" for decades. This is no accident, since the family is a cornerstone of women's oppression under capitalism.

Clinton's 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act begins with the following sentence: "Marriage is the foundation of a successful society." The current legislation in Congress to renew the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families program that replaced AFDC promotes "illegitimacy reduction and family formation." This year, Bush is proposing $300 million for programs promoting marriage. West Virginia is already penalizing unmarried

Reuters

Clinton signing 1996 bill to "end welfare as we know it."

mothers by reducing their monthly welfare checks by $100. Battered women who flee their husbands for fear of their lives are encouraged to try marriage counseling from Christian groups like "Marriage Savers."

New laws codify mandatory maternal cooperation in paternity suits. So even if the biological father was abusive or penniless, or if the mother simply wants him out of her life, she still is coerced into pursuing him. In many states, additional assistance is denied to children born after a woman starts receiving welfare. This particularly vindictive regulation retreads the old vicious, racist stereotype of black women who supposedly need an incentive to "control their sexuality" or, conversely, are so calculating that they plan to have additional children so they can get the extra big $32 a month. And no benefits come without strings. In a policy disguised as extending medical coverage to pregnant women, the Bush administration has proposed a redefinition of fetuses as "unborn children," part of their ongoing anti-woman crusade to overthrow the legal right to abortion.

Going along with the elimination of AFDC is an all-out attack on historic state-financed social services, for example, turning over Medicaid and Medicare to private insurance vultures. Another proposal is to raise Medicare eligibility to age 67, which would mean, according to the latest statistics, that most black men would be dead before they qualified. There's back and forth among the buzzards in Congress regarding the best time to auction off Social Security on Wall Street, but it's a tough sell. It's difficult to convince people of the magical long-term viability of the capitalist marketplace while the stock market is going down the tubes and you are reading every day how the insatiably greedy Enron executives lied and fleeced their employees and shareholders.

The current situation recalls the first forms of "workfare" in the epoch of the rise of capitalism. The English Poor Laws of 1834 included the first test of what makes up the "truly deserving poor." If you were willing to assign yourself and your family to a workhouse and be compelled to perform mindless, repetitive labor such as running treadmills, crushing bones for fertilizer or breaking stones, then the work ethic of the poor could be preserved. Subjecting the poor to degradation as a condition of receiving assistance was meant as a club for others to labor for the meanest wages. The same assumptions underlie "workfare" today. But the reality today is even more brutal, in that if you exceed your lifetime limit, you won't even get bench space at the workhouse. You will receive nothing. Period.

A Revolutionary Perspective

The social service programs that have existed in the U.S. have never been bestowed from above by a benevolent state but have always been grudgingly enacted as the result of mass social struggle. Reformists peddle the tattered civics lesson that the capitalist state is a neutral arbiter, that the ruling class can be pressured to shift its priorities. Bourgeois feminists and liberal academics write reams of analysis on poverty and public welfare which invariably end up with the feeble plea for a "socially conscious public policy."

A comrade and I went to an event at the International Action Center a few months ago where Workers World Party leader Larry Holmes called on the capitalist government to declare a "moratorium on welfare reform, layoffs, evictions, utility cutoffs, etc." Who will call such a moratorium? And since it's just a "moratorium," until when and why? He also raised the following proposal: taxing stockbroker transactions and turning the money over to the poor! We counterposed to these reformist soap bubbles the urgent need to fight for a revolutionary workers party independent from the capitalists that will fight for jobs for all and for socialist revolution to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

The social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO) has an article in *Socialist Worker* (1 February) titled "Why Won't the Democrats Fight?" After saying some standard things about how the Democrats defend capitalism, they conclude by saying: "Working people can't wait for the Democrats to *wake up*. We must organize to demand health care, the right to join unions and money for education. That's the only way the working-class majority will make its voice heard." So if we just protest loud enough we would wake up the Democrats who are taking too long and we could hurry them along to fight!

Workers World and the ISO appeal to the conscience of the ruling class. But this system is a dictatorship of the capitalists. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels explained that the capitalist state is fundamentally an executive committee for managing the common affairs of the ruling class. The state is at its core composed of the courts, prisons, police and army. This state maintains a near monopoly of violence to defend its class rule. Only the working class under revolutionary leadership has the consistent class interests and social power to overthrow the capitalist system. The ISO and Workers World build illusions in the reformability of capitalism and are obstacles to independent working-class action.

The Civil War, the rise of the CIO industrial unions in the 1930s and the civil rights movement of the 1950s-60s were three conjunctures in American history when, in different ways, convulsive social struggles resulted in advancements for the working class as a whole, including expansions of social welfare. The struggle for black liberation was either at the center of each upheaval or played a significant role. These class battles powerfully illustrate that the working class cannot go forward without championing the struggles of all the specially oppressed—women, blacks, immigrants and other minorities. They also demonstrate that no social gains can be permanent or complete unless working-class socialist revolution smashes the capitalist system.

The Gains of Radical Reconstruction

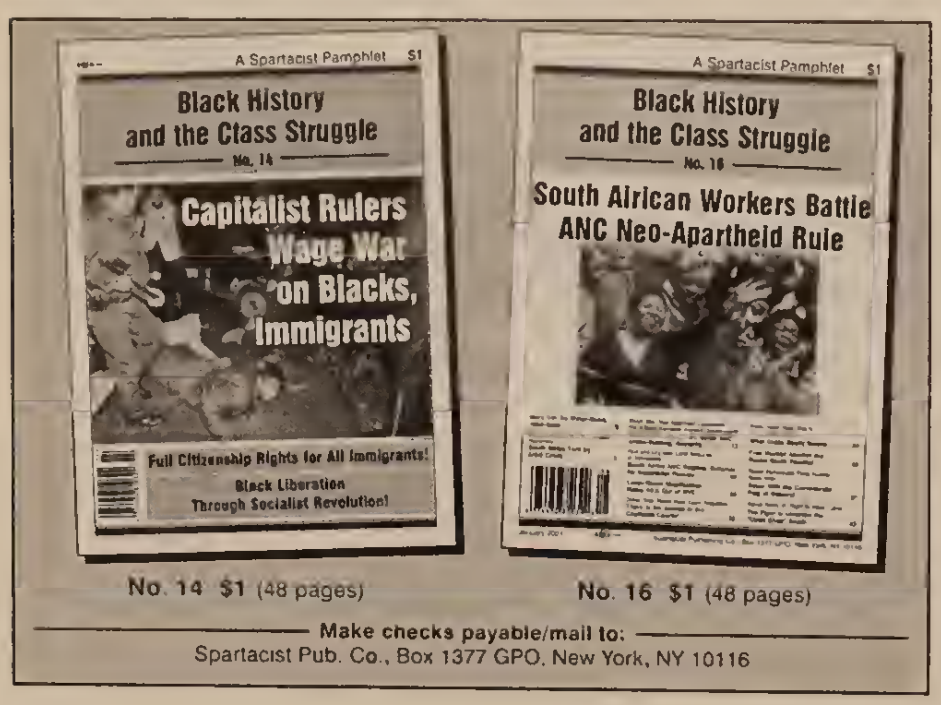
First let me talk about Radical Reconstruction, a period of limited but real gains for black people and poor whites. Social welfare programs came directly out of the revolutionary struggle of the American Civil War. The Civil War was the second American Revolution—a social revolution in the South which smashed chattel slavery, i.e., private property in human flesh. Established in 1865, the Freedman's Bureau was the first federal welfare agency in American history. The Bureau had to feed, house and clothe thousands of newly freed slaves and ensure that they were not reenslaved by the landowners.

The expropriation of the slaveowners laid the basis for a broad range of progressive social measures. Across the South, relief was extended to poor laborers. The Republican Reconstruction state governments built hospitals and asylums for orphans and the mentally ill. Laws were passed protecting minors from parental abuse and holding white fathers responsible for support of their mulatto children. South Carolina funded medical care for the poor and Alabama provided free legal counsel for indigent defendants. In South Carolina, a law was passed declaring that the property of a married woman could not be sold to pay her husband's debts. For the first time, the state had divorce laws.

One of the greatest gains of Radical Reconstruction was the establishment of the free compulsory public school sys-

Harper's Weekly

Election rally of freed black slaves during Reconstruction, most democratic period in U.S. history.



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tem for blacks and whites, against the landowners' opposition. The South had virtually no schools, since the plantation economy had no need for educating poor whites; and, in regard to slaves, it was a crime to teach reading. Under the rule of the Union Army, virtually every Southern state legislature—which included black members, many of whom served in the Union Army—passed laws to build and fund schools. The education system in reality only touched a fraction of the population, but the principle of public education was made part of the new Reconstruction constitutions of every Southern state. It is an indictment of this decaying capitalist system that this historic achievement of free public education is being undermined through school vouchers and privatization schemes, and that school busing to achieve racial integration has been long abandoned.

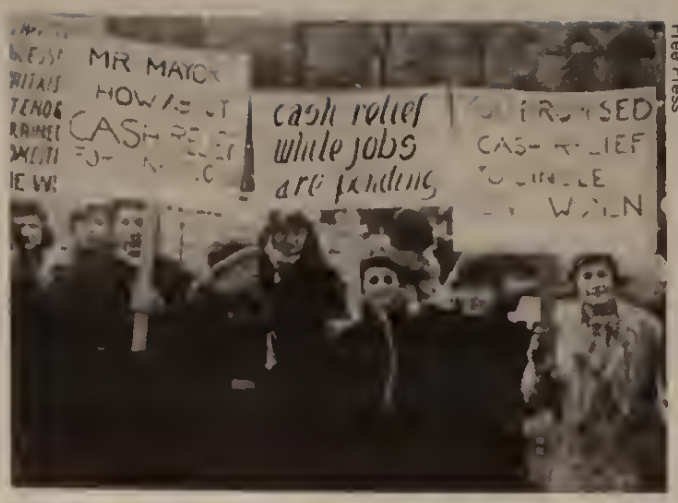
The Compromise of 1877 withdrew the troops from the South and marked the betrayal by the Northern capitalists of the struggle for black freedom. This was a political counterrevolution in which black people were left defenseless against the ex-slaveholders and Ku Klux Klan terror and lynchings. Over the following decades, Jim Crow laws buried the possibilities of Radical Reconstruction. Blacks were disenfranchised as virtual serfs, toiling as sharecroppers and rural laborers under the boot of white landowners. The "separate but equal" *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling of 1896, which legitimized segregation in railroad cars, symbolized the end of racial integration, including in schooling.

The 19th century "cult of domesticity," which extolled the virtues of women in the home, did not extend to black women who labored in the fields and homes of whites. Black women as well as men were cut off relief during cotton-picking season and always faced more restrictions to get on relief. The black unemployed were awarded less money than whites, with the argument that black people needed less to live on. The real reason was to give them so little that they would be driven back into back-breaking, low-paying farm work. In the Jim Crow South, black women's clubs organized the construction of the only clinics, hospitals and nurses' training programs for black people.

For decades, minimal public funds were expended on education and welfare for black people. By the beginning of the 20th century, "Progressive Era" reforms brought some public health and relief programs, but private philanthropy and mutual benefit societies were often the only recourse for the black population. The bourgeoisie always resists spending money on a population that it considers surplus. On the other hand, in 1889 steel magnate Andrew Carnegie gave a class-conscious explanation of the importance of dispensing social welfare: "The problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth, that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship." This is the same Carnegie who dispatched Pinkerton agents to shoot and kill seven steel workers in the fiercely fought 1892 Homestead strike. John Reed, one of the founders of the American Communist Party and author of *Ten Days That Shook the World*, a great eyewitness report of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, referred to turn-of-the-century philanthropies as "deadening and life-sapping" agencies whose object "is to get efficient results—and that means, in practice, to just keep alive vast numbers of servile, broken-spirited people."

The Class Struggle and the 1930s New Deal

The next period I want to talk about is the 1930s. Certainly *no* period has been more mythologized as an era of benevolent "humane" capitalism as the 1930s and Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal." This was a period of massive social struggle in reaction to the Great Depression as well as a broad radicalization in response to the rise of fascism in Germany.



Free Press

Minnesota Historical Society

Left: Unemployed demonstrate in New York City, 1932. Below: Workers battle cops and strikebreakers during Trotskyist-led 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike.

Particularly with the onset of World War I, thousands of black sharecroppers were recruited to work in industry in Northern cities. But the racist, anti-immigrant AFL craft union leaders kept a job-trusting hold over the better jobs. After the 1929 stock market crash, some 13 to 15 million workers lost their jobs. By 1933, unemployment among black people was double the national average, and two million were on relief programs.

Central to the class battles that ensued was the struggle for mass industrial unions—those including all the workers of a particular industry—that culminated in the formation of the Congress of Industrial Unions. The struggles to forge the CIO unions were often led by Communists and socialists. Black workers became part of powerful, integrated mass organizations. You could not organize unions without organizing blacks and whites together. When racist white workers protested bringing blacks into production jobs, unions like the United Auto Workers (UAW) came in and forced them to accept their black brothers and sisters. These unions were forged through militant class struggle—such as sit-down strikes and mass pickets in auto, rubber, steel, coal, the docks and other strategic sectors of the economy—that challenged American capitalism.

In 1934, major class battles like the San Francisco General Strike and the Toledo Auto-Lite strike helped to lay the basis for the later formation of the CIO. The high point of working-class political consciousness was the 1934 Minneapolis General Strike led by the Trotskyist Communist League of America. It is significant that in the midst of a bitter struggle for union recognition, the revolutionary Trotskyist leadership of that citywide strike also administered social services that had been cut off by the vindictive bosses. They solicited food from sympathetic grocers and farmers for needy striking families and organized an emergency hospital with transportation. They fought for public relief for union members, as well as for the unemployed, and represented them against their landlords. The working class demonstrated that it could run things on its own.

In this climate of rising working-class discontent and militant struggle, social legislation was hastily put forward to derail the growing class consciousness of the masses. Roosevelt launched a whole series of programs. Many were meant to be temporary, although many lasted until the mobilization for World War II revived the economy. Others, like Social Security and unemployment compensation, continue to exist today.

The 1935 Social Security Act was an unprecedented national social insurance program that originally had sections to benefit the aged, unemployed and single mothers. Nevertheless, the public assistance programs for poor women were uniquely punitive and inadequately funded as compared to the old-age and unemployment insurance mandated by the same act. Pensions and unemployment benefits were labeled "insurance," conveying the notion that they were a guaranteed entitlement. Poor mothers got "aid" that was discretionary and stigmatized—not an automatic, socially acceptable form of support but a payment for which the recipient must prove "worthy."

A 1939 amendment created a special category of guaranteed insurance for so-called "blameless" widows—those whose poverty was due to their husbands' deaths and not something that supposedly they could control. Aid to white women—the majority of this category—was not stigmatized. The vast majority of impoverished black women were left in the "guilty" category. As more black women entered the welfare rolls, the whole idea of relief for mothers changed from assistance to enable them to stay at home with their children to a way to police and humiliate black women who had supposedly chosen poverty.

Social Security was universal in name only. Domestic workers and agricultural workers, both disproportionately black, were excluded from the Social Security Act. Agricultural workers were left out explicitly because Roosevelt knew he would never get Southern support if any benefits ended up in the hands of black sharecroppers. Only just over half of all employed workers were eligible. About *two-thirds* of the labor force was excluded from unemployment compensation.

In the late '30s, with the support of the reformist Communist Party (CP), Roosevelt's New Deal coalition tied organized labor not only to its Northern liberal class enemies but also to the Southern Dixiecrats, to whom Roosevelt gave free rein to wage racist terror against black people and labor. That the majority of the black population looks to this day to the Democratic Party, the historic party of slavery, as the "lesser evil" is a legacy of the treachery of the CP of the 1930s.

The Civil Rights Movement and the "War on Poverty"

Attitudes toward social welfare during the post-World War II period were shaped by the bourgeois ideology of the "American Century": capitalist prosperity and growth would conquer all remaining poverty, and any expansion of social programs provided by the state was un-American and subversive. But beginning with the 1955 Montgomery bus boycotts, the society was shaken by the fight for black equality and democratic rights, a struggle which for over a decade dominated American political life. The civil rights movement was an eruption of black struggle against a century of Jim Crow. Protests ranged from the lunch counter sit-ins to "freedom rides," wildcat strikes, marches, rallies and massive ghetto uprisings. The civil rights movement shattered the anti-Communist atmosphere of the '50s, which we should keep in mind today as we face increasing repression.

The social legislation known as the "War on Poverty" and "Great Society" was passed because the ruling class saw the urban centers go up in flames, as black youth saw that they had no future in capitalist America. These youth saw the legalistic pacifist strategy of the civil rights leadership hit a stone wall when it came up against the deeply rooted poverty and racist repression of the Northern ghettos. In an attempt to defuse social struggle and quell the ghetto explosions spreading across the country, the Democratic Party administration of Lyndon B. Johnson began putting token amounts of money into the cities, where 95 percent of Northern black people lived. Between 1964 and 1972, the federal government

continued on page 10

NY Times

Newark ghetto upheaval, 1967. "War on Poverty" programs sought to quell inner-city explosions.

Welfare...

(continued from page 9)

set up a myriad of agencies and social programs, among them Medicare and Medicaid, food stamps, Head Start school programs, job training and legal aid. At the same time, mass protests erupted against the long, bloody and losing imperialist war waged by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people.

Johnson's "War on Poverty" programs were effective in co-opting a new generation of black radicals into the lower levels of government bureaucracy. Some became part of the Democratic Party, like Marion Barry of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who became mayor of Washington, D.C. and served his masters by administering cutbacks and layoffs. Installed to cool off the ghettos, the black Democratic mayors of the major urban centers were key to the dismantling of social welfare programs throughout the '80s and '90s. They are the black front men for murderous capitalist rule.

Many militants that couldn't be co-opted into the capitalist state, especially many of the Black Panthers, were hounded by the FBI or killed outright by the police. The civil rights movement, tied to the Democratic Party and to capitalism, did not and could not alleviate black oppression in any fundamental way. Black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism. This decaying system cannot meet the promise of black freedom. Poverty, unemployment, police brutality—none of this can be ended via a law or another jobs program.

Some former black activists write nostalgically about the '60s protests. Rhonda Y. Williams writes in *Black Scholar* (Fall/Winter 2001) about impoverished East Baltimore. Welfare recipients battled for increased grants for rent, food and clothing and organized rent strikes. She praises "Black Power" politics and "Women Empowerment" on a "familial and community-wide level." But the urban ghettos like East Baltimore in every major city remained hellholes for black people. These courageous but desperate struggles could not have any lasting impact without being linked to the social power of the organized working class.

In the North, there were large, integrated unions such as the UAW that could have wielded their power to ally with and lead the oppressed against the common capitalist enemy. By the late '60s there were a quarter of a million black auto workers in Detroit. The struggle for racial equality meant directly confronting the capitalist class. The main wing of the AFL-CIO leadership were simply stone racists like George Meany. On the other hand, UAW president Walter Reuther linked arms with the preachers and Democratic Party politicians in pacifist civil rights marches in order to *prevent* the mobilization of labor/black union power, which would have meant going up against the Democratic Party and would have swept away Reuther and the rest of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy.

Welfare started to come seriously under attack in the 1970s with the slowing of economic expansion, the de-industrialization of America and the increasing exploitation of foreign labor. Both real wages and welfare benefits have been declining since the '70s. Capitalist politicians worked overtime to convince white workers that any gains by black people were at their expense. To lay the basis ideologically for axing welfare and social programs in general, civil rights gains, like the limited affirmative action programs, were labeled "reverse discrimination." Abortion rights for women and anti-discrimination laws for gays were called threats to "family values."

In the mid '70s, those who used to he vilified as "welfare cheats" and "chiselers" were now called "welfare queens." Black women who sought rights were described as out of control, grasping more than they deserve—the opposite of the self-sacrificing house slaves they were supposed to be. The 1977 passage of the Hyde Amendment under Democrat Jimmy Carter, which denied Medicaid funds for abortions, was a watershed that opened up a stampeding reversal of social gains that had been won since the '30s.

Triple Jeopardy

Bipartisan "family values" attacks on right to abortion hit poor women hardest. For free abortion on demand!

Bourgeois social scientists came up with new jargon for old theories blaming the poor for their poverty, inventing a "culture of poverty" with defective values and deviant behavior. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, then an official in the Department of Labor, ranted in his 1965 book *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* about the instability of "black female-headed households" and their "tangle of pathology." Moynihan was certainly not the first of his school, but he became the grandfather of a new wave of bourgeois apologists who used such rhetoric as that the U.S. had conquered material poverty but not "behavioral poverty." Today capitalist politicians say that "we are reaping the grim harvest of the '60s 'Great Society' programs," that social services expanded at that time are the cause of inner-city poverty, the "breakdown of the family structure," the "cycle of dependency." The victims are blamed for their own oppression.

In the 1980s, Jesse Jackson performed a valuable service for the racist oppressors by joining the bourgeois moralistic campaign decrying "babies having babies" and chanting "hope not dope." Cornel West picks up Jackson's theme, writing about "nihilistic" black youth and "spiritual impoverishment." He calls for a revival of the church that comforted blacks through slavery! Religion is an escape, and it is used by the ruling class to pacify the oppressed and distract them from fighting now for what they need.

In 1994, Charles Murray, a Reaganite advocate of welfare reform, rendered the racist pseudo-science justifying the elimination of welfare most clearly in his book *The Bell Curve*, which claimed that black people are genetically inferior (see "The 'Bell Curve' and Genocide U.S.A.," *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12). Murray put forward that since black people are genctically inferior, social programs are pointless. This racist garbage is not new. It is in the American tradition of the vulgar Social Darwinism of the late 19th century, which preached "the survival of the fittest" and rationalized racist Jim Crow legislation.

For Workers Revolution!

We oppose the destruction of welfare and other social programs benefiting the working class and the poor. But our program is not the defense of the miserable status quo. Welfare at best relegates mothers and unskilled laborers to poverty and exclusion from social production. We fight for jobs for all, for union jobs at union wages, for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and full cost-of-living escalators, for union-run minority job recruitment and training, for organizing the unorganized, for free 24-hour childcare, and for free abortion on demand as part of free, quality health care for all! There's plenty of work to be done—For a massive public works program! The capitalists say they can't do it? They won't do it. It's not in their class interests. A planned economy under a workers government can and will.

The greatest obstacle to victorious class struggle is the treacherous labor bureaucracy that continues to shackle the powerful, integrated working class to its class enemies. These labor fakers obediently march in lockstep with the bosses and crow for "national unity" as jobs are slashed. Despite the savagery of the bipartisan war on the black poor, immigrants and the rest of the working class, and despite the increasing marginalization of the ghetto masses, black workers are a strategic part of the labor movement and will be a key component in a revolutionary workers party.

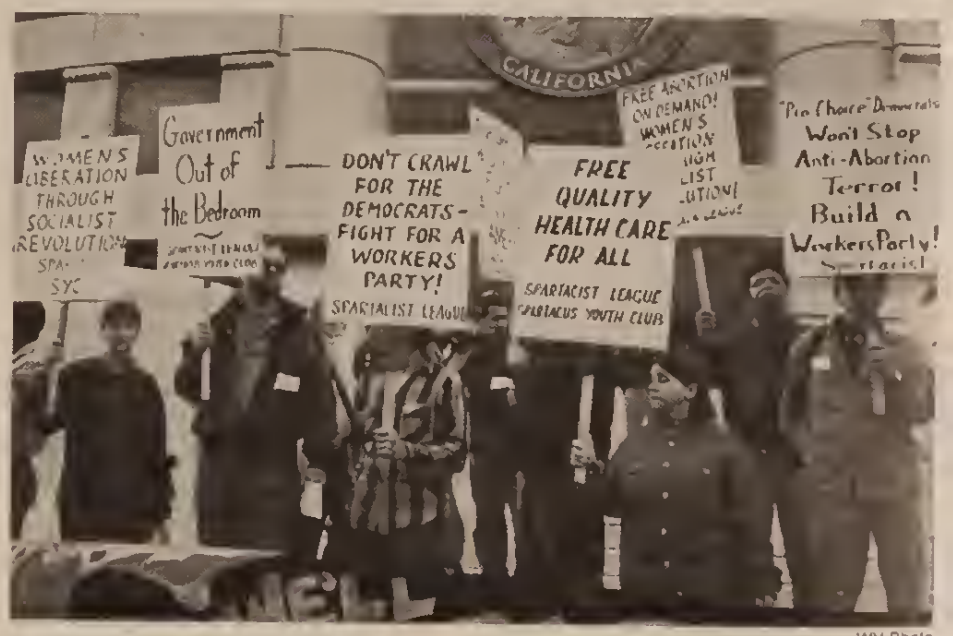
We seek to build a Leninist vanguard party that fights for proletarian revolution. To win, this party must be a tribune of the people, championing the struggles of all the oppressed, including the fight for the liberation of women. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! Only a socialist planned economy under a workers government can lay the material basis for the emancipation of women and the integration of black people into American society with full economic, social and political equality. We look to a communist society where women will be freed from the isolation, drudgery and oppression of the bourgeois family. Our program is the Bolshevik program of the October 1917 Russian Revolution.

Claude McKay, black American poet and early supporter of the Russian Revolution, wrote a report in 1922 after his trip to the new Soviet workers state, where he attended the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. He observed the great leap that the working masses had taken in seizing state power, and he included a story that showed the international solidarity inspired by the communist revolution. Tsarist Russia had been a prison house of peoples, and the revolution opened up the possibility for full national equality as well as equality for women. He wrote:

> "The women workers of the great bank in Moscow insisted on hearing about the working conditions of the colored women of America and after a brief outline I was asked the most exacting questions concerning the positions that were most available to colored women, their wages and general relationship with the white women workers. The details I could not give; but when I got through, the Russian women passed a resolution sending greetings to the colored women workers of America, exhorting them to organize their forces and send a woman representative to Russia. I received a similar message from the Propaganda Department of the Petrograd Soviet which is managed by Nicoleva, a very energetic woman."

The Russian Revolution opened the road to women's emancipation for the first time in history. The Bolshevik Party set as one of its primary tasks to remove all obstacles to raising women's material conditions—they immediately took steps to open private hospitals to all, provide childcare, public laundries, kitchens and literacy programs, to break the hold of the church over marriage and divorce, to legalize abortion and abolish the concept of illegitimacy. In an isolated, backward, predominantly rural country, their efforts could only hint at the possibilities for women had socialist revolution spread to the advanced capitalist countries.

The U.S. ruling class has been hailing the supposed victory of the capitalist market ever since the 1991-92 counter-revolution in the Soviet Union. The



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at March 1994 Bay Area demonstration honoring Dr. David Gunn, murdered by anti-abortion fanatics.

bloody imperialists, nuclear madmen, feel free to bomb and starve the people of Iraq, carry out mass murder and terror in Afghanistan and threaten large parts of the rest of the world. War, economic crises and poverty are inherent in rotting, decaying capitalism.

We are not powerless in the face of the capitalists' class war. On February 9 in Oakland, California, we organized a powerful united-front, labor-centered mobilization—initiated by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee—to defend our immigrant brothers and sisters targeted by the U.S. rulers' "war on terrorism." At the core of this demonstration were longshoremen from the heavily black and immigrant International Longshore and Warehouse Union, who joined with transit and utility workers and other unionists as well as immigrant rights activists and youth. This exemplary action shows the way forward. Under revolutionary leadership, the working class as a whole can be made conscious of its potential social power when it is mobilized in its own defense and in championing the rights of the oppressed. Join us!■

Drop All the Charges!

Mass Arrests of South African Protesters

We print below a 15 April leaflet issued by our comrades of Spartacist South Africa demanding freedom for some 40 demonstrators arrested and held without charges in Johannesburg. The arrests took place during an April 6 protest denouncing the government's cutoff of electricity services in the townships, which has left thousands of households without this basic necessity. Statements in support of the detained protesters have come in from Mauritius and as far away as South Korea and England. Nearly 800 people cheered on the detainees as they were finally released from prison on April 16. They are scheduled to appear in court on May 10.

The government's electricity cutoffs are part of a whole range of attacks against South Africa's militant working class and poor, including widespread privatizations. The government seeks to recoup revenue lost in the 1980s and early '90s, when the African National Congress (ANC) called on township residents to boycott payments of electricity and other services as part of the struggle against the racist apartheid regime. When the ANC took power in 1994, it promised to cancel these "debts." But as *Spartacist South Africa* No. 2 (Summer 2002) noted: "In the 'new' South Africa, yesterday's heroes of the oppressed during township anti-apartheid revolts are today's rent collectors for the white bourgeoisie, signing letters of termination of electricity and other services as administrators in the newfound South African 'nonracial' capitalism."

Nearly a decade after the end of naked apartheid rule, the black masses still suffer mass impoverishment. South Africa is ruled by a neo-apartheid regime—a Tripartite Alliance led by the ANC and including the thoroughly reformist South African Communist Party (SACP) and the COSATU union federation—which lords it over the South African masses on behalf of the white bourgeoisie. Many of those who cheered the release of the detainees were burning their ANC membership cards. But even as they face repression at the hands of the ANC-led nationalist popular front, many of the groups involved in the protests against government austerity, such as the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) and Keep Left!, which is associated with the British Socialist Workers Party, promote the illusion that the ANC can be pressured to support the interests of the working people and oppressed. During the 1994 and '99 national elections, Keep Left! and its predecessor (the International Socialists of South Africa) supported the ANC.

We fight for the political independence of the working class from all bourgeois parties, including the ANC. What is necessary is the building of a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed, mobilizing the working class in struggle against its capitalist exploiters. As our comrades explained in *Spartacist South Africa*:

> "Those, like APF, who preach reliance on the 'goodwill' of the ANC bourgeois nationalists are pulling wool over the faces of the masses. The working class is the only motive force for effective struggle against superexploitation and oppression under capitalism. The emancipation of the working class is the act of the working class itself. Those who labor must rule!"

* * *

Spartacist South Africa calls for the immediate release of the remaining 40 activists arrested with several others during a protest at the Johannesburg mayor's house on April 6. At the demonstration, the mayor's armed security guard fired live ammunition into the crowd of demonstrators, injuring three and provoking chaos. The continued jailing of these activists under the pretext of verifying residential addresses is nothing but *detention without trial*. It is the duty of all leftists, union militants and revolutionary youth to defend these protesters against harassment and victimization by the bourgeois state. *Free all detainees! Drop all the charges!*

A few days after bail was denied to 40-odd protesters, the ANC Gauteng provincial office issued a shameful statement in the name of the ANC-led Alliance. It read in part: "The ANC, SACP, COSATU and SANCO [ANC-led civic organization] in Gauteng wish to condemn, with the strongest terms, vandal attack on the house of Johannesburg Executive Mayor, Amos Masondo." The statement denounces "the lunatic ultra-leftist fringe" and sermonizes on how grievances must be kept "within the confines of the law." The detainees are in jail as an ominous warning that critics of the capitalist ANC regime will face heavy repression. *Hands off the protesters!*

Len Kumalo/Sowetan

March 2001: Soweto residents demonstrate against threatened cutoff of electricity. Neo-apartheid ANC rule has meant continued privation for black masses.

Many of the political prisoners are working-class militants and activists in Keep Left!, the Anti-Privatisation Forum and Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee who fight against electricity cut-offs and the denial of services to the poor and elderly. Amongst those arrested were expelled ANC councillor Trevor Ngwane and SAMWU [municipal workers union] provincial organiser Rob Rees, who was obscenely denied bail because the court refused his union work address! As SAMWU noted in its 8 April statement, "The state is returning to apartheid practices of holding people in prison for little or no reason." The gaoling of demonstrators under extremely onerous conditions is brutal proof that the ANC is no friend of the working class and poor and will stop at nothing to protect the interests of the rich. This capitalist government jails protesters as part of its iron-fisted drive to privatise major public enterprises.

Amidst the attacks on its own members, the reformist South African Communist Party and COSATU bureaucracy continue to chain the working class to the ANC and seek to isolate leftists. Many SAMWU militants want to do something to defend the activists. The unions certainly have the power to do so, as witnessed by the two-day general strike last August. The labour movement should defend those militants victimized for struggling against the government's privatisation drive and also take up the fight for the right to affordable, quality housing and free services.

The hired security thug at the mayor's home was backed up by a gang of policemen who rounded up protesters on their bus as they were leaving. A member of the APF who went to arrange legal assistance for those arrested was subsequently jailed, even though she wasn't at the demonstration! Yet despite the brutality routinely aimed at striking workers, anti-privatisation activists, immigrants and others, there remain illusions in the "democratic" character of the "new" South Africa among some on the left.

Mayor Amos Masondo is an apt symbol of the ANC's anti-working class and anti-poor policies. But he is not alone. The ANC acts as black front men for the same white capitalist class behind the apartheid regime that murdered black demonstrators in Sharpeville in 1960, in Soweto in 1976 and supported counter-revolutionary bandits like UNITA in Angola and RENAMO in Mozambique, to mention only a few of its crimes. At the same time protesters demanding water and electricity spend time in jail, the bourgeois courts let off "Dr. Death" —Wouter Basson—for his diabolical deeds. Apartheid butcher Magnus Malan greeted Basson in the courthouse cheering his freedom! The courts and cops are not neutral but enforce the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

Spartacist South Africa opposes any vote or political support to the ANC, which presides over the continued immiseration of the black and toiling masses. We fight for the political independence of the working class. The illusion that the ANC can be pushed to the left by mass pressure is the obstacle to unchaining labour's power. *Defend labour militants, leftists and activists against the attacks by the capitalist state!* The Gauteng jailings are aimed at intimidating all fighters for the oppressed and anyone who defies the ANC government. *An injury ta ane is an injury ta all!* ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

The End of Welfare

Race, Sex, Class and the Capitalist War on the Poor

D. Michael Cheers

We print below in edited form a presentation by Spartacist League speaker Karen Cole at a forum in New York City on April 6.

For several years, both Republicans and Democrats have been making triumphant announcements that the elimination of welfare has been a big "success." After all, through the year 2000 the statistics showed the welfare rolls shrinking. State governments had already been scrambling to reroute federal money earmarked for welfare, anticipating that they would no longer have to give anything to destitute women and their children. 2002 was to be the big year: the end of the maximum, 5-year lifetime "drop deadline" for the first wave of welfare recipients. With a job or not, you get dumped permanently.

Bush and the Democrats have exploited to the hilt the criminal attack on the World Trade Center to ram through sweeping curtailments of democratic rights and civil liberties. Now Bush is proposing to make work requirements for welfare recipients even more onerous since, as he said, "too many Americans still have not found work and the purpose it brings." The rapacious ruling class, which lives off the profits extracted from the labor of the working class, tells the masses to go and find ennoblement in grinding, miserable jobs. They will not say that the real purpose of working for slave wages is to keep the capitalist parasites fat and rich. And what jobs are we talking about, anyway? In New York City alone, tens of thousands have lost their jobs even as the bourgeoisie proclaims that the recession (which some of them claimed "never happened at all") is now "over."

By the end of 2001, as the country plunged deeper into recession, with massive layoffs, not surprisingly welfare caseloads had risen in two-thirds of the states. There were one million jobs lost in 2001. Predictions are for 1.6 million more job losses in 2002, hitting workers in the lowest-paying jobs hardest. At least two million people lost their medical insurance in the last year. Slave-labor "workfare," where you are conscripted to work for your welfare pittance, was promoted as the road to permanent employment. But the jobs were simply punitive. The program took people *out* of educational programs, into "jobs" that led nowhere, trained workers for nothing and put thousands of people back into despair or on the streets.

Not only has Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)—cash assistance to mothers—been given a lifetime cutoff, but food stamps, Medicaid and housing aid have been going through round after round of cutbacks. And what's the result of all this? Among industrialized countries, America has the distinction of being the only one where childhood is the age of greatest poverty. The term "welfare reform" is a cruel joke. "Reform" is supposed to mean "improvement," not the opposite. In this case, "reform" means the reversal of social benefits that have existed to one degree or another for over 60 years. A Connecticut state welfare official put it this way: "We have to remember that the goal of the reform program was not to get people out of *poverty*, but...to get off welfare." Capitalism is a ruthless system of production for profit, and it will take a socialist revolution to sweep it away with all its poverty and misery.

WV Photo

Harlem Hospital workers demonstrate against cutbacks and union-busting attacks, 1998.

In 1988, we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* (No. 463, 21 October 1988) about Reagan's earlier shot at eliminating welfare, "The Family Support Act." This legislation was crafted by Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who was already infamous for saying back in 1965 that the fate of the ghetto masses should be left to "benign neglect." We wrote:

> "Genocide is what this new 'workfare' is all about!.. This is not welfare reform, it's a plan to turn the ghettos into vast cemeteries—because *there are no jobs to get*. The aim of this legislation is to see to it that layers of the minority population *die*, because this decrepit capitalist system no longer needs them."

Racist Oppression and the Profit System

What of the "welfare to work" success stories? Increasing numbers of families with a *working* parent are showing up at homeless shelters and food pantries because they cannot survive on their wages. Seventy-five percent of women off welfare for two years are still living below the government's official poverty "threshold," as they call it. The longer women are off welfare, the less likely they are to have any health insurance. Those who have found work discover that the work-associated expenses of childcare, transportation or even a telephone all contribute to sinking further into poverty. A large percentage of those who have dropped off the rolls are not working at all—they left welfare because of increasing restrictions. For example, women convicted of drug-related felonies can get no public assistance for the rest of their lives. In some states, more people left the rolls due to sanctions and new regulations than due to finding a job.

In 1996, Democratic president Clinton finally succeeded in ripping out the last planks of social support for the poor by adding a lifetime limit to cash assistance. Clinton was already starving to death over a million Iraqis, largely children, by means of the U.S./UN blockade. The elimination of aid to dependent children is a domestic reflection of the U.S. imperialists' murderous role around the world. Clinton's election campaigns made appeals to the racist Southern and white suburbanite yuppie vote, the so-called Reagan Democrats. Now in retirement he can look out his window from his Harlem office and see the human wreckage and misery he has caused!

The '90s Wall Street bubble economy—casino capitalism—was used as a rationalization for eliminating welfare. The '90s decade was hailed as the biggest boom period in American history, but for whom? Over the last two decades there has been increasing *inequality*, a spectacular concentration of wealth in the hands of the already bloated rich to a level higher than any other industrialized country. Almost *50 percent* of the total real income gain during the last 15 years went to the top *1 percent* of the population. Twelve percent went to the bottom 80 percent.

Because the motor force of capitalism is to maximize profits, there is a continuous drive to increase the rate of exploitation by lowering wages and speeding up work. The unemployed have always been used as a club to drive down wages in general, and "workfare" in particular is a union-busting move to replace union labor with cheap labor. Here in New York, welfare recipients have been put into city and transit jobs that were formerly union, slaving for their meager benefits with no union protection. The bosses are only able to get away with this due to the collaboration of the union tops who knuckle under to them in exchange for some worthless sops.

The exploitation of the working class in America has always been wrapped in the envelope of raw racism. The paltry social welfare programs that have existed throughout American history illustrate how this ruling class has used racism to deny the most basic necessities to the poor. In America today, capitalists and their apologists have turned welfare into a code word for "black chiselers." The elimination of welfare has been motivated for decades by promoting vicious racist stereotypes of the black urban poor.

Black people are a race-color caste forcibly segregated at the bottom of this society. By "caste" we mean that even the tiny layer that is able to escape enforced poverty still faces racial oppression in multiple forms every day of their lives. The American capitalist class has used racism, historically rooted in the system of black chattel slavery, to divide and weaken the working class and to turn

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 781

17 May 2002

WTO Entry Extends Imperialist Penetration

AFP photos

Workers protesting mass layoffs and lost pensions in city of Liaoyang carry portrait of Mao Zedong. Banner at March 21 rally calls for freeing arrested workers leaders.

Workers Protests Shake China

Defend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution!

In March of this year, workers in China's industrial heartland unleashed the country's largest protests since 1989. Thirteen years ago, the working class, angered by the inflation and rampant corruption engendered by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime's "market reforms," entered en masse into the student-initiated protests centered on Tiananmen Square, posing the possibility of a political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy. In recent years, masses of workers have been thrust into battle as "market reforms" take aim at state-owned industries, the core of the collectivized foundations of the Chinese deformed workers state. Extending into the capitalist "Special Economic Zones" (SEZs) and the peasant hinterland, these struggles are bound to intensify as China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) opens the door to wider imperialist penetration, threatening the livelihoods of millions of workers and peasants.

The current wave of mass protests is a spontaneous resistance by the Chinese working class to the hardships caused by the accelerating drive toward capitalist restoration in the name of "market reforms." What is posed is the defense of the social gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which overthrew the Chinese bourgeoisie, liberated the country from imperialist bondage and established a workers state based on a planned, collectivized economy.

Protests exploded on March 1 in the Daqing oil fields in northeastern Heilongjiang province. For more than two weeks, workers staged daily demonstrations to fight cuts in pensions, medical care and heating oil subsidies. When the oil fields were developed in the early 1960s, the Daqing workers were held up as heroes in China's drive to industrialize. Workers in such state industries were provided with the "iron rice bowl" of guaranteed housing, education, medical and retirement benefits. But with the fields nearly dry, more than 80,000 workers have been laid off over the last three years. When officials demanded that the workers hand back the bulk of their severance packages as an insurance premium for health and pension benefits, the lid blew, and protests soon spread to oil fields as far away as Xinjiang province on China's Central Asian border.

"The managers are getting huge packages and we are getting nothing," said one worker. Authorities tried to smear the workers by claiming that protests had been infiltrated by the reactionary Falun Gong movement. Finally, riot police and units of the People's Armed Police—a force formed in the mid 1980s to put down growing social unrest—were mustered from nearby cities to quell the protests.

An official report released by Beijing on April 29 titled "Labor and Social Security in China" states that more than 25 million workers were laid off from state enterprises between 1998 and 2001 (the World Bank puts the figure at 36 million). The layoffs resulted from the regime's moves to "reform," close or privatize plants deemed "inefficient" by the standards of the world capitalist market. Reporting on the Daqing protests, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (4 April) noted that "sackings have provoked tens of thousands of similar, but smaller, disputes since 1998. Terrified that these could mushroom into a nationwide movement, the government has concentrated on suppressing dissent and preventing protesting groups in different cities and provinces from linking up with each other."

What is behind the regime's fears was on display in the city of Liaoyang, where demonstrations coincided with those in Daqing a few hundred miles to the north. Workers from the closed Ferro Alloy metalworking plant staged daily marches demanding pensions and back wages owed them. They also demanded the arrest of the company's managers, who have been selling off the plant's equipment and pocketing the proceeds. As in most of the recent protests, those who marched in Liaoyang were mainly laid-off workers and retirees. But the protests swelled to include 30,000 workers from 20 different plants in the area. A worker from Liaoyang Chemical Factory remarked, "This action is not organized; a lot of workers from other factories have only joined in because they have the same problems as the ferro-alloy factory."

Fearing they could no longer contain the protests, police arrested four workers' leaders and on March 20 removed hundreds of protesters from the city government compound, where they had gathered to deliver a petition. Officials also tried to defuse the situation by reportedly giving workers half of their back wages and announcing that they will soon pay some unemployment benefits and pensions. But workers say that this is only a fraction of what they are owed.

Protests reached into the capital on March 27, when some 200 retired auto workers staged a dramatic demonstration outside the Beijing Automobile and Motorcycle Works, shutting down traffic on a major thoroughfare for hours. The retirees demanded overdue pension payments and protested against the theft of state assets by managers. Similar actions have spread the length and width of China. In April, coal miners in Liaoning province repeatedly blockaded railway lines to protest layoffs. In southwest China, 1,000 retired steel workers, mostly women, blockaded two highways in front of the state-owned Guiyang Steel Factory to protest meager pensions. And in early May, protests resumed in Liaoyang demanding the release of the four detained labor leaders, while posters have appeared in workers' dormitories there calling for investigating corrupt factory officials.

Defend China Against Capitalist Counterrevolution!

The 1949 Revolution was, despite profound bureaucratic deformations, a social revolution of world-historic significance.

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New York Times Smears Courageous Harlem Communist

In Memory of Bill Epton

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Mexican Trotskyists Denounce Fox Government Provocations

Defend the Cuban Revolution!

U.S. Out of Guantánamo!

We print below a translation of an article which appeared in *Espartaco* No. 18 (Spring-Summer 2002), newspaper of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League. In Mexico, the reactionary Party of National Action (PAN) government of Vicente Fox has stepped up its provocations against Cuba, the hemisphere's only workers state.

Prior to the United Nations meeting in Monterrey this March, Fox secretly called Fidel Castro to pressure him to cut short his appearance so as not to cross paths with U.S. president Bush. Castro complied, but in April, after Mexico for the first time voted for a UN "human rights" resolution condemning Cuba, Castro denounced Fox's servile toadying to the U.S. in Monterrey. When Fox claimed he had never asked Castro to leave, Castro on April 22 aired the tape of Fox's call for 100 invited journalists, exposing the Mexican government's lies.

The U.S. imperialists have been unremittingly hostile to the Cuban deformed workers state since its inception, maintaining a punitive economic embargo to this day and funding counterrevolutionary terror by Miami-based *gusanos* (worms). Now the Bush administration has provocatively used the U.S. military base at Guantánamo Bay to imprison captives from the U.S. war on Afghanistan. Last week, the Bush administration accused Cuba of planning biological warfare, and of providing "biotechnology to other rogue states," an ominous threat against Cuba, which is also one of seven countries listed by the Pentagon as potential nuclear first-strike targets. The U.S. government's "proof"? Cuba's world-renowned public health and medical research programs! Obviously, to the nuclear-armed U.S. predators, the fact that the Cuban Revolution greatly reduced the country's infant mortality rates, eliminated many diseases and raised life expectancy poses a "threat to world security." Defend Cuba! U.S. Out of Guantánamo Bay!

ESPARTACO

The recent diplomatic scandal in which Vicente Fox's government, in the service of the U.S. government, pressured Fidel Castro to leave the Monterrey summit has been one of the high points of the escalation in provocations that the Mexican bourgeois government has carried out against the Cuban workers state. This escalation began when Fox himself, during an official visit to Cuba, met with Cuban counterrevolutionary organizations. Days later, foreign affairs secretary Jorge Castañeda declared in Miami that the Mexican embassy would open its doors to anyone—a statement that was broadcast by *gusano* Radio Martí—provoking a mob of potential *gusanos* to break into the Mexican embassy in Cuba. The provocative attitude of the current right-wing PAN government toward Cuba reflects the total dependency of the Mexican bourgeoisie on its imperialist masters and its fundamental hostility to the Cuban Revolution, as an obstacle to its own investments and as an example for the Mexican masses. We say: ***Down with the Fox government's provocations! Defend the Cuban Revolution!***

The current increase in belligerence by the Mexican government against Cuba takes place in the context of a world marked by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union a decade ago. The USSR was a real counterweight to imperialism that gave the PRI regimes a certain maneuvering and negotiating space, which allowed even these U.S. lapdogs to pose occasionally as "friends of Cuba." Now the hypocritical "Third World" verbiage is gone and the open hostility is revealed.

Many of the big media and even bourgeois parties, such as the nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) and the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI—the former ruling party) itself, have called on Fox's government to cease its servile attitude toward the American government and demand the resignation of Castañeda. Of course, these *capitalist* parties do not defend the Cuban Revolution but simply long to go back to the times of greater independence of Mexican capitalism in the "golden epoch" of the PRI. The PRD head of Mexico City's government, López Obrador, raised the example of the good relations Mexico had with Cuba under the government of bloodthirsty Díaz Ordaz, notorious for the murder of hundreds of students in Tlatelolco in 1968 (*La Jornada*, 28 March). Those who exploit and oppress Mexican workers, peasants, students and indigenous peoples know that the downtrodden throughout Latin America look to Cuba favorably, and they want simply to prevent any revolutions elsewhere.

Our defense of the Cuban workers state stems from our proletarian internationalism. As a result of the revolution, the bourgeoisie as a class was expropriated and private property in the means of production was eliminated. Capitalist economic relations were replaced by a collectivized, planned economy. The revolution greatly benefited the most oppressed sectors of the population: the poor peasants, the workers, blacks and women. Cuba was transformed from an immensely poor and backward country, besieged by hunger, exploitation and ignorance, to a country in which illiteracy has been virtually eradicated, where everyone has access to medical care, and where everyone has guaranteed food and housing. This constitutes the basis for our ***unconditional military defense*** of the Cuban deformed workers state, as well as the other deformed workers states that still exist: China, North Korea and Vietnam. This defense is even more urgent now as the brutal economic isolation of the island since the collapse of the USSR and the criminal blockade maintained by the U.S. put the very existence of the workers state in great danger, with the American imperialists no longer held back by the Soviet military shield and with scarcity in Cuba growing.

Cuba has been from the start a bureaucratically deformed workers state. As the product of a revolution led by petty-bourgeois guerrilla forces and not the revolutionary proletariat, *political* power is not in the hands of the working class, but rather in the hands of a parasitic bureaucratic caste that pursues the maintenance of its own privileges. In diverting revolutions elsewhere, the Castroite bureaucracy criminally isolates the Cuban Revolution as it looks toward conciliation of the capitalist regimes outside Cuba. Fidel Castro decades ago told the Nicaraguan Sandinistas not to take the Cuban road, i.e., not to overthrow the bourgeoisie. In the Museum of the Revolution in Havana, one can look in vain for monuments dedicated to proletarian revolutionists like Marx or Lenin, but instead there is one to bourgeois Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas. Fidel Castro was in 1998 the most charming host of the reactionary pope Wojtyla, and has been one of the most amiable and frequent guests at

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TROTSKY

LENIN

The Fraud of Bourgeois "Democracy"

In theses drafted for the First Congress of the Communist International in 1919, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin emphasized the need to combat illusions in bourgeois "democracy," which is in reality a mask for the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. To end the oppression and exploitation that is endemic to the capitalist profit system, the working class must sweep away the bourgeois order through socialist revolution and establish its own class rule, the dictatorship of the proletariat, based on workers councils (soviets).

The substance of Soviet government is that the permanent and only foundation of state power, the entire machinery of state, is the mass-scale organisation of the classes oppressed by capitalism, i.e., the workers and the semi-proletarians (peasants who do not exploit the labour of others and regularly resort to the sale of at least a part of their own labour-power). It is the people, who even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, while possessing equal rights by law, have in fact been debarred by thousands of devices and subterfuges from participation in political life and enjoyment of democratic rights and liberties, that are now drawn into constant and unfailing, moreover, decisive, participation in the democratic administration of the state.

The equality of citizens, irrespective of sex, religion, race, or nationality, which bourgeois democracy everywhere has always promised but never effected, and never could effect because of the domination of capital, is given immediate and full effect by the Soviet system, or dictatorship of the proletariat. The fact is that this can only be done by a government of the workers, who are not interested in the means of production being privately owned and in the fight for their division and redivision.

—V.I. Lenin, "Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (4 March 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 781 **17 May 2002**

Letter

The Fight for Geronimo's Freedom

13 March 2002
Los Angeles

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

With other members and supporters of the Spartacist League's L.A. branch, I participated in the Oakland February 9 mobilization in defense of immigrants, blacks and labor. I appreciated the excellent coverage of the rally in *WV*. However, in explaining that Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), the former Black Panther who spent 27 years in prison on a government frame-up, endorsed our protest, we incorrectly wrote that "mass protest brought about his release" ("Defend Immigrants! Defend the Unions!" *WV* No. 775, 22 February).

The Partisan Defense Committee campaigned long and hard for more than a decade for Geronimo's freedom. As we wrote in *WV* following his release in 1997: "Geronimo's longtime support from significant layers of the California labor movement, black organizations, and civil libertarians has made it difficult for the ruling class to bury him in prison and hide the facts of his frame-up" ("Geronimo Out After 27 Years in Prison Hell," *WV* No. 670, 13 June 1997). However, as we noted, although hundreds of union officials, representing hundreds of thousands of workers, went on record in support of Geronimo, masses of workers were never mobilized in action.

This is the fault of the trade-union tops who rarely mobilize their ranks to protect their own economic interests, much less struggle in defense of blacks, immigrants and women. Rather, the main mobilizations by the union bureaucrats are to get out the vote for the Democrats, demonstrating their fundamental role as the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. As we wrote in "Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Geronimo!" (*WV* No. 645, 10 May 1996): "It's time to build a working-class party which mobilizes its forces independent of the capitalist state and takes up the battles of the poor and oppressed in this country."

Comradely greetings,
Valerie W.

New York Times Smears Courageous Harlem Communist

In Memory of Bill Epton

Bill Epton, a longtime leftist active at various points of his life in the Progressive Labor Party (PL), the Negro American Labor Council and the Black Radical Congress, died of gastric cancer in New York City on January 23. He was 70 years old.

As an avowed communist in Harlem in the 1960s, Epton embodied the combination of black and red so feared by the American ruling class. When the country's largest ghetto was subjected to a police occupation and reign of terror in the summer of 1964, Epton sought to provide leadership and organization to the besieged black masses. For his courageous efforts, he became the first person convicted of "criminal anarchy" in New York State since the 1919 "red scare."

The *New York Times*, which acted as a mouthpiece and apologist for the New York Police Department (NYPD) in 1964, continued its vendetta against Epton even after his death. In a 3 February obituary, the bourgeoisie's "newspaper of record" indicted Epton for "preaching violence" in the midst of a "bloody race riot," claiming that he urged the killing of cops and judges. The only riot in Harlem in the summer of 1964 was the NYPD rampage, and it stopped when the cops withdrew. Epton was a levelheaded, lucid man interested in jazz, a skilled printer and an eloquent orator and writer. He *did* play a key role in the events of 1964, but of a rather different nature than the *Times* insinuated. We were there, and we remember Epton's courage and militancy in that tumultuous time.

Bill Epton, a founding member of the Progressive Labor Movement (later the Progressive Labor Party), was at the time vice chairman of PL and the head of its Harlem branch. PL came out of the Communist Party (CP) in 1962, based primarily on trade unionists repelled by the CP's

Wide World

Harlem, July 1964: Bill Epton (left), arms linked with Conrad Lynn, at assembly point for banned march, just before arrest by cops.

Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

THIRTY CENTS

POLICE BREAK UP HARLEM PROTEST; 2 LEFTISTS SEIZED

Small Band of Followers Is Dispersed After Defying Murphy and Injunction

PLEAS PROVE FRUITLESS

Negro Leaders Had Sought to Avert Demonstration, but Opposed Ban, Too

New York Times 26 July 1964

Report on arrest of Epton and Lynn in *New York Times*, which acted as mouthpiece for NYPD before and during Harlem cop riot.

abject reformism and support to the Democratic Party. Rejecting the staid pro-Moscow Stalinism upheld by the CP, PL instead looked to the seemingly more militant Chinese Stalinists under Mao (eventually breaking with Beijing as well). Though PL was always limited by its continued adherence to Stalinism, it was a *left* split from the CP and at that time a very serious group.

The Harlem Police Riot

The years 1963-64 saw the Southern civil rights movement move North into the center of American capitalism. Rent strikes exploded throughout Harlem and by 1964 had spread into Brooklyn. Two effective school boycotts against segregated and run-down conditions galvanized opposition to the racist policies of the New York school board. The second boycott pulled 90 percent of children out of ghetto schools, despite lack of support by "respectable" black leaders and social democrats like Bayard Rustin, who used their influential role in the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to try to sabotage the boycott. Self-proclaimed communists were getting a hearing in Harlem, prominent among them Bill Epton.

In early April 1964, the Brooklyn branch of CORE planned an action in which cars would run out of gas in order to disrupt traffic heading toward the World's Fair site in Queens at which Democratic president Lyndon B. Johnson was planning to speak. The city rulers turned the threatened "stall-in" into a showdown, mobilizing tens of thousands of cops and tow trucks, passing new laws with heavy penalties in one day and unleashing a withering scare campaign in the mass media. Although the CORE "stall-in" was rather haphazard, it was yet another indication that black people in New York were becoming increasingly politicized and militant.

Democratic Party mayor Robert Wagner and Police Commissioner Michael J. Murray were intent on confronting and smashing this wave of black protest. The city administration beefed up the police presence in Harlem, including generous detachments of Tactical Patrol Force heavies. In April, one of these squads provoked what was called the "Little Fruit Stand Riot," using clubs and blackjacks against a group of youngsters who had simply been playing with some fruit from a street stand. When a black hosiery salesman, Frank Stafford, tried to intervene, the cops beat him with clubs at gunpoint, gouging out one of his eyes. By the time Stafford was taken to a hospital 19 hours later, after a further beating in the station house, it was too late to save his eye. A Puerto Rican seaman, Fecundo Acion, had his nose shattered for attempting to pull the cops off Stafford. Eventually Acion, Stafford and Wallace Baker, a member of a karate club who tried to intervene, were arrested.

Soon thereafter, when two Jewish shopkeepers were brutally attacked, one fatally, the cops simply rounded up Baker and several fellow karate club members who had been seen at the fruit stand and framed them up for the attack. This became the case of the Harlem Six, which was taken up by radical civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn and is recounted in his autobiography, *There Is a Fountain* (1979).

In an article headlined "Negro Struggle in the North" (*Spartacist* No. 2, July-August 1964), written just before the cop occupation of Harlem, we warned: "Over the past few months New York has witnessed an unprecedented campaign of press terror against the Negro people.... This press terror campaign has as its purpose the psychological preparation and justification for the smashing, through police terror, of the coming stage of the Negro rights struggle." Leading the way, the *New York Times* ran a lengthy front-page article claiming that the Black Muslims were directing a dope-selling, karate-trained gang of 400 "Blood Brothers" bent on maiming and killing whites.

When an off-duty police lieutenant, Thomas Gilligan, shot and killed James Powell, a 15-year-old black youth, on July 16, the cops used the resulting protest as an excuse to launch a preemptive strike against unrest in the ghetto. A demonstration at Harlem's 28th precinct two days later was repeatedly pressed back by the cops, who hurled racist slurs at the demonstrators and eventually charged into the main body of the protest. In the ensuing days, as we reported in *Spartacist* No. 3 (January-February 1965), "wave after wave" of the tactical cops "swept through Harlem indiscriminately beating and terrorizing all who crossed their paths."

In the face of the police occupation, most Harlem organizations joined together to form a "Unity Council," whose members ranged from the Nation of Islam to the NAACP, Malcolm X's Organization of African American Unity, businessmen and local Democratic Party hacks. The Unity Council pledged itself to "restore peace in the community." But the only *action* pursued by this alliance of "leaders," as we noted in our article, "was directed *ogoinst* the one serious attempt that was made to give effective organization and direction to the people in the streets," that of the Harlem Defense Council (HDC) led by Epton. The HDC issued a leaflet urging:

> "ORGANIZE YOUR BLOCKS. The events of the last two days have shown that if we are not organized we are just a mob and not in a position to properly deal with the enemy. ORGANIZE APARTMENT BY APARTMENT, HOUSE BY HOUSE! The Harlem Defense Council calls on all black people of Harlem to set up Block Committees with the purpose of defending each and every block in Harlem from the cops."

The HDC called for a march and mass demonstration on July 29 and, though a small group, did what it could to concretize this call.

The cops banned the march; the position of the Unity Council was that while the police ban was bad, the march was even worse. The Unity Council tried to get Epton to call off the march and circulated leaflets along the proposed route urging people not to participate. James Lawson, a member of the Unity Council and the head of the United African Nationalist Movement, went so far as to offer up his membership *to aid the police* in suppressing the march! When Epton refused to call off the march, *27,000 cops* were mobilized to make sure no one dared protest in Harlem that day. In a

continued on page 7

AP

Harlem cop riot and occupation were aimed at smashing wave of black protest.

Down With Vigipirate Repression!

Racist War Against North Africans in France

The following article is translated from Le Bolchévik *(Winter 2001-2002), newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League.*

LE BOLCHEVIK

In recent months the French state has bombarded us with excuses for its murderous crimes during the Algerian War. A mountain of articles has been written about torture by the French army in Algeria; the Socialist Party (SP) mayor of Paris has even dedicated a plaque in memory of the Algerians drowned in the Seine by the cops on 17 October 1961. The state talks about its past crimes to better cover up its daily pursuit of ever-intensifying racist repression against North Africans in France today, above all against youth in the working-class suburbs. As Paulette Péju wrote in her book *The Harkis in Paris* (banned by the state for decades) about 17 October 1961, "The safety commission doesn't prevent torture; it hides it, it envelops it, it adorns it with the suave flowers of Western and Christian civilization. All that it safeguards is the prestige of the cops and the army."

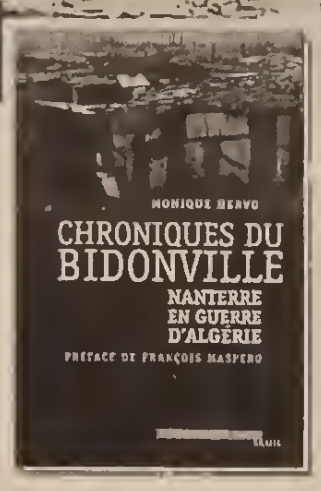
Forty years later, the same day that the SP mayor of Paris put up a plaque "in memory" of the Algerians killed in 1961 (a plaque which says neither how many people were killed nor by whom), a North African family was beaten and arrested by the police of the capitalist SP-CP-Green government in the city of St. Denis, which is run by the Communist Party (CP). The family was trying to help some neighborhood youth who were unjustly suspected of a theft. A young woman from this family told how she was treated by a cop: "I told him I was pregnant. He replied, 'I don't care, fat bitch.' Then he put his knee in my stomach to handcuff me." She and the other women found themselves "stuffed like pigs" into a paddy wagon. "My mother protested because they threw us inside with kicks to get the door closed. One cop struck her right in the face" (*Libération*, 26 October 2001). The only unusual and surprising thing in this scenario is that this courageous North African family lodged a complaint against the cops' brutality. Racism, brutality and deportation of immigrants are an integral part of capitalism.

Postwar Immigration and the Algerian War

Around the 40th anniversary of October 17, a moving account of the life of North African workers in the shantytowns was published: *Shantytown Chronicles—Nanterre in the Algerian War*, by Monique Hervo. The book lucidly recounts the hell and barbarism inflicted on North African workers in France.

The book recounts a period in the history of La Folie, a Nanterre shantytown. After World War II, tens of thousands of workers from the French colonies lived in shantytowns surrounding all the big cities of France: Paris, Lyon, Marseille. A decline in population growth as well as the reconstruction of the economy after World War II had led French industry to recruit workers especially from the colonies of North Africa as manpower. Illiterate peasants had been consciously sought out in the colonies to avoid using Spanish and Portuguese workers, who were often militant union members. Moreover it was easier to recruit Algerians because they didn't need visas and could move "freely" on French soil with their second-class status as "French Muslims" without rights. Between 1947 and 1973 several hundred thousand immigrants entered France with "provisional work permits" but with no provision for housing. The workers lived in the most deplorable conditions, without running water, electricity or toilets, in makeshift shacks of tarpaper and bits of wood, with the rain and mud coming in.

Jean Poltier



***Shantytown Chronicles* portrays lives of desperately poor North African migrant workers in Nanterre slum (above) at time of Algerian War.**

These workers were systematically ghettoized, marginalized by the French state. The treatment of North Africans in France is the internal reflection of colonization: the French bourgeoisie has always considered the colonial people as subhumans needing to be "civilized" with the gun, the Bible and the "Marseillaise."

The massacre of tens of thousands of people at Sétif in Algeria on 8 May 1945 by the French army and the defeat of the French bourgeoisie at Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam in 1954 inspired the Algerians to rise up for their independence. Systematic terror against the Algerian peasants and workers began. Eight hundred thousand Algerians arrived in the shantytowns, fleeing torture, death and famine in Algeria. More than one and a half million people were locked up in "relocation camps" in Algeria. Hervo describes with compassion the condition of those arriving from Algeria:

> "Muhammad from the Biban Mountains and his wife, exhausted elderly people, ran through the mountains of Hodna and through the Mansoura plain to escape the bombs and the burning of villages and *mechtas*.... They ran down steep hills, chased by airplanes. They had run away from the relocation camps and, in spite of their age, reached the shantytown.. "

The visions and experiences in Algeria broke some people for life:

> "One day in Algeria, the eldest son, nine years old, went as usual to his grandmother's house in a neighboring village. In the dusk, his feet stumbled over bodies. They were the dead bodies of men who were horribly tortured before being killed by French soldiers. Blood was still running all over the place. Afterwards the boy, now an adolescent, exhibited troubling behavior. He never told anyone what he had seen. His Arab comrades were afraid of him."

There are also stories like "Ahmad the grass-eater," who survived in Algeria by eating "acorns, grass and roots that he dug up from the poor, infertile soil."

In La Folie, the police and the *harkis* systematically burned shacks, stole money from the workers and destroyed their ID papers. The *harkis*—Algerian collaborators of the French cops and army—had been recruited to do the dirtiest jobs (like torture and murder in Paris itself); French president Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Lionel Jospin honored them this year on 25 November 2001 for their services to the French state. Hervo testifies to scenes in the shantytowns which were becoming more and more frequent toward the end of the war as it became clear that France had lost.

> "An Algerian is brought out on a stretcher, handcuffed and attached to the stretcher. Two *harkis* demanded his papers. One of them accused him of having winked at some cousins who were bound hand and foot and punched him right in the face. Ahmad defended himself. Then, other *harkis* ran up, rushed at him and beat him up."

Sometimes, cops and special brigades invaded La Folie to destroy the shacks. Hervo recounts one scene:

> "The cops attacked a fragile shanty made of old pieces of wood covered with tarpaper, inhabited for many months. They did their best to destroy everything. Alongside the demolition-man cops charged with this task, everybody jumped in. For this purpose, cops and inspectors rolled up their sleeves. They pulled up the poles. They broke up the fragile crossbeams. They broke the boards.... Gathered all around the scene, hundreds of residents of the shantytown looked on, without uttering a word."

Hervo comments: "In Algeria, houses were bombed and burned by the French army. Here, shacks were destroyed by the Paris cops."

While the armed struggle for independence took place in Algeria, the money to wage that war came largely from contributions of Algerian workers in France; they were also sending a lot of money to their families who were dying of hunger in Algeria. Their wages were systematically stolen by the *harki* traitors.

In 1956, under the popular front led by the "Socialist" Guy Mollet, torture in Algeria became an institutionalized practice and was carried out on a large scale during the battle of Algiers (and this was in part thanks to the CP's vote in favor of "special powers" in Algeria for the government). The same methods were imported into France, using the *harkis* to do part of the dirty work, like in the

Cambio 16

French cops round up minority, immigrant youth. Racist terror has escalated under both right-wing and popular-front governments.

Goutte d'Or [North African community] in the 18th arrondissement [district] of Paris. Hervo speaks of "interrogations" in the cellars of the police station in Puteaux:

> "Walls and floors covered with dried blood, fresh blood. Every Algerian man and woman from La Folie who was locked up there has horrible memories. Already in 1958, at the Argenteuil police station, so-called 'advanced' interrogations were conducted using electric shock. In Paris, in Nanterre and in certain towns in the Paris region, numerous hotels were requisitioned so that barbaric acts could be concealed, just like in Algeria where 'apartments were rented by certain units' for this purpose. Here, you will hear about 'singing cellars.' Indeed, to cover the screams of Algerians being tortured and not attract the attention of the French population of the area, the torturers played records of Arab music at high volume. Tortures including being made to drink bleach, the beer bottle torture, and the 'méchoui'—the Algerian, naked, is tied like a sheep onto a pole and is beaten while the 'skewer' is rapidly turning—are practiced."

Monique Hervo was one of the only French people invited to participate in the Paris demonstration of 17 October 1961, and she describes it and its consequences. When the demonstration was repressed, the French working-class leaders did nothing: in the factories where tens of thousands of Algerian workers worked side by side with French workers, the CP did nothing to protest against the repression of the demonstration. Elie Kagan, who took photos of the massacre, noted that when demonstrators fleeing the police tried to find refuge in the building of *l'Humanité*, the CP newspaper, "the gates were closed against them" (Jean-Luc Einaudi, *The Battle of Paris*), something even *l'Humanité* (18 October 2001) finally admits ("Yes, the gates were closed"). What the French CP, which was leading the French working class, lacked was the political will to confront its own ruling class by defending the Algerians. For instance, there were 4,000 Algerian workers at the Renault-Billancourt auto plant at the time; it would have been easy to totally shut down production in this plant which was a nodal point of the economy.

Even before October 17, dozens of Algerians had been drowned in the Seine, and it was rare for the press to report it. On October 17 and in the days that followed, thousands of people were wounded and thousands were deported. Some of the wounded had medical problems for the rest of their lives because they were too afraid to seek treatment at the hospital. "Too afraid of being picked up by the cops on leaving the hospital, as happened every day; too afraid of being beaten up again" (Hervo).

Monique Hervo wasn't a communist but she had the rare courage to describe the reality that she saw and to actively take the side of the Algerians. She never wanted to join the CP because they had voted for the Mollet government's "special powers" in Algeria. Hervo writes: "The political parties, mired in their stubborn commitment to keeping Algeria French, let the Algerians rot in their ghettos. Some Communist city governments tried to attract them, hoping to use their presence as a political weapon against the current government. The CP, uneasy with the continual ambiguity of its positions, wanted to appear welcoming to the Algerians." (On the CP in the Algerian War, see "Torture During the War in Algeria: The Real Face of French Imperialism," *Le Bolchévik* No. 156, Spring 2001; translated in *WV* No. 761, 6 July 2001).

Le Bolchévik

Immigrant workers played a crucial role in 1982 French Citroën-Aulnay auto strike.

Immigration After the Algerian War

Defeated in Algeria, the French bourgeoisie developed and still has a particular hatred for North Africans. After its defeat, France even consciously tried to limit Algerian immigration by encouraging Portuguese immigration, and after independence Algerians were not allowed into France without a visa.

After the Algerian War, shantytowns were replaced over time by concrete: immigrant hostels and ghetto housing. Forty years ago, "his majesty" General de Gaulle, seeing Nanterre's shantytown from the car driving him, exclaimed: "It's too ugly, it's inhuman, change all this!" Temporary barracks were then built, supposedly to last a few years. But in fact these badly built and unsanitary structures housed immigrants for *decades*. Today, half of the immigrants live in low-income housing (560,000 families) and are concentrated in the oldest buildings. And the popular-front government continues this today—its program is not to build better housing; indeed it brags about how many thousands of low-income units it is destroying every year.

The postwar period of growth which brought in a sizable immigrant/colonial labor force ended with the first oil crisis of 1973. The response of French industry was to start reducing production. In 1974, immigration from the French ex-colonies ceased entirely and the bourgeoisie, after exploiting them as much as possible, tried to drive away those who were here by offering them 10,000 francs to leave. Against their will and in part to pacify the enormous mass of immigrant men who were heavily implanted in industry, the French bourgeoisie set up the policy of "family regroupment." Very restrictive measures were (and still are) required to "prove" that a worker can house and pay the expenses for his family. The French bourgeoisie never intended that part of the *French* population would be dark-skinned and non-Christian.

From the '80s until the early '90s, immigrant workers suffered the layoffs and austerity of the "Socialist" Mitterrand government. When the bourgeoisie wants to defuse working-class resistance to its attacks, it hands over the appearance of governmental power to "Socialist" and "Communist" politicians who, far from protecting the economic interests of the working class, serve the interests of the capitalist class. Historically, immigrant workers have been concentrated in heavy industry and construction and they were disproportionately hit by layoffs. Between 1975 and 1990, 40 percent of the jobs done by foreign workers in industry were eliminated (corresponding roughly to 500,000 workers). In the 1980s, ***50 percent*** of the laid-off workers in auto and in construction were immigrants. Today, there is a new economic recession. Historically, fascism grows with economic crises of capitalism. Although the fascists are electorally strong in France, at present the daily racist attacks against immigrant neighborhoods are being waged by the official police of the French state.

The reformist parties in France deflect the struggles of the working class against layoffs and racist terror onto the terrain of elections and class collaboration. Under the popular front's banner of "secularism," the SP, the CP and [the fake-Trotskyist] Lutte Ouvrière justify racist acts against immigrant populations from Muslim countries, like expelling girls wearing the headscarf from school, and the current hysteria which puts an equal sign between youth of immigrant origin in the working-class suburbs and "terrorists" and fundamentalists. Since September 11, France has become a hell where suspicion of the population of North African origin runs rampant.

The Collapse of the USSR: Unemployment and Reaction

The reformist organizations which lead the French workers movement aim at *managing* capitalism rather than destroying it; this is why they continue to promote and justify racism, because it is a fundamental aspect of French capitalism. Since "reinforced Vigipirate" was instituted on September 11, the state's means of repression have become more massive, but far from being an aberration, this kind of violence is the norm against immigrants and their children.

An article entitled "Immigration and Racist Oppression in Europe" (French *Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1996) gives the basis for a Marxist understanding of racism and immigration in West Europe. In this article we explain that

> "In the present climate of political reaction—marked by mass unemployment, the drive to dismantle the social-democratic 'welfare state' and the effects of the counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union—even formal citizenship is not in itself a guarantee against 'ethnic cleansing' in West Europe. The immigrant communities are subject to increasing racist oppression—ghettoization, police brutality, fascists. Increasingly segregated, prey to cop and racist violence, and on the bottom of the economic 'ladder,' dark-skinned European citizens would recognize a lot in the conditions of American blacks."

Immigrant youth identify with American blacks, as shown by the influence of rap music, the graffiti quoting the American rap group NWA ("F--- the police") and the popularity of the cause of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. But the fundamental difference between the black question in America and immigrant oppression in West Europe is the tendency of the bourgeoisie here to deport immigrants. In contrast, American blacks have been an integral part of American capitalism since the epoch of slavery, while segregated at the bottom of American bourgeois society.

In a reactionary period, the French bourgeoisie is quite capable of deporting thousands of people. In the early '30s, with the Depression that followed the crash of 1929, half a million foreign workers (5 percent of the active population), including Poles and Italians, were rounded up and deported, like the Algerians and Eastern European Jews: the anti-Semitic and anti-immigrant bigotry accompanying these raids paved the way for the deportation by the Vichy regime of more than 70,000 Jews to the Nazi death camps. The French bourgeoisie is capable of doing it again, especially with a population it considers surplus and useless for their profits now that plants are closing. Since they no longer need to import labor, immigration has been practically zero for the last 25 years. The right wing is already demanding the deportation of millions of immigrants.

The International Communist League and its French section, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), fight for "full citizenship rights for all immigrants!" The

continued on page 6

Henissart

Huge pro-independence demonstration in Algiers, December 1960. Protesters waved outlawed FLN flags in defiance of French colonialism.

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North Africans...

(continued from page 5)

immigrant question is fundamentally a question of democratic rights, of equality of rights. But these rights can only be won and maintained by the working class struggling to take state power out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and to establish a planned centralized economy. Groups claiming to be Trotskyist, communist or socialist but who are indifferent to racial oppression, or justify it, do so because their perspective is to maintain the capitalist system and obtain a few crumbs for the upper layer of privileged workers through class collaboration.

The French bourgeoisie and social democracy consider it a real problem that hundreds of thousands of youth of North African or African origin are French citizens. In the midst of the reaction against the "beur" movement in the '80s, and after a series of strikes in the private sector, especially automobile, involving immigrant workers, Mitterrand remarked in 1988 that France had "reached the threshold of tolerance" with immigration. In leading militant strikes and in the working class, the CP pushed French chauvinism to reinforce class collaboration. As "proof" of their loyalty to join the Mitterrand government in 1981, the CP destroyed an immigrant dormitory in Vitry. The SP and CP above all have fed and paved the way for reaction against dark-skinned populations in France.

As long as the Soviet Union existed, a workers state which was a beacon for the workers of the world in spite of its Stalinist degeneration, the West European bourgeoisies had to concede a series of gains to the workers. With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the West European bourgeoisies started to systematically destroy all these gains. They haven't totally managed to do it because the workers have resisted strongly, with strikes and plant occupations, seeking to defend their interests against the capitalists' attacks. With chronic unemployment, the attempt to co-opt French youth of immigrant origin onto the parliamentary path has stopped. Today only *two* members of the National Assembly are of foreign origin. The bourgeoisie has opted for "zero tolerance": zero immigration, zero subsidies for youth of immigrant origin in working-class neighborhoods, zero petty crime going unpunished. "Tolerance" has been replaced by hardcore repression, put into effect by the reformist lackeys in the workers movement.

In 1993, the Nationality Code which automatically gave the children of foreigners born in France the right to become French citizens was abolished. But the new law, named the "Pasqua-Méhaignerie" law, was in fact the result of racist campaigns waged for a decade under Mitterrand's popular front. A whole generation of youth of immigrant origin, speaking only French and hardly knowing the country their parents or grandparents came from, were declared "non-French"—which is pretty perverse for a country claiming to be the homeland of "human rights." A layer of thousands of "undocumented" French youth was thus created.

no credit

French colonial troops systematically tortured and assassinated Algerians during war of independence (top). Hundreds of Algerian protesters were killed by Paris police in October 1961.

Sygma

Furthermore, their parents—whose legal situation sometimes depends on the French citizenship of their children—were put in a very insecure situation. This hits women in particular. The French state created "stateless" people. Single mothers are doubly punished:

> "Those who have not acquired French citizenship and have children born in France are raising children who are not recognized by any country. Thanks to the Pasqua laws, they are not French (and will not be until they are 16 or 18 years old), and they are not Moroccan, Algerian or Tunisian either since the Family Code in North Africa recognizes neither single mothers nor illegitimate children. From birth on, these children will live under the statute of exclusion."
>
> —S. Banani, "The Veil and Citizenship" (1995)

The current capitalist government of the SP-CP-Greens arrived at the head of the bourgeois state by using mobilizations of tens of thousands of people who were demonstrating for papers for immigrants at St. Bernard church in 1996. When they came to power, far from abrogating the Pasqua law of 1993, they passed the "Chevènement" laws of 1998; the status of the immigrants was made worse although they had hoped for an improvement from a "left" government. These laws [named after ultra-chauvinist Chevènement] systematically opened files on all undocumented immigrants: deportation of immigrants has increased (around 8,000 in 1999, in other words the equivalent of more than one "Pasqua charter flight" every week—not counting those who are turned back at the airport!); it is harder to get married to a foreigner. City governments refuse to issue housing certification for visitors, and this also has increased since September 11.

In the ghettos of France, the children and grandchildren of immigrants confront growing unemployment and job insecurity of a different order of magnitude compared with the total French population. For male immigrant youth (25-29 years old), the *official* unemployment rate in March 1998 was above 30 percent, and it was 44 percent for female immigrant youth between 15-24 years old. Since the "secular" French state hides the extreme *inequalities* in French society by claiming that the French Republic is the country of "human rights," it is impossible to know how many French youth of immigrant origin are unemployed. The only study ever done in France of immigrants and their children, the survey "Geographical Mobility and Social Integration" (GMSI), was conducted by Michèle Tribalat. To conduct the study she had to fight against "the weight of French ideology which says that it would be against republican tradition to make distinctions between French people according to their origins, because of the supposedly discriminatory nature of such distinctions." Tribalat also notes that "we hope to have contributed to breaking a taboo on using data on ethnic origin in social science. Knowledge is not a tool of discrimination. Obscurantism is" (Tribalat, *From Immigration to Assimilation*). The GMSI indicates that 40 percent of men between the ages of 20 and 29 with an Algerian father are unemployed.

Immigrants and their children are a population that is used as a reserve army of labor to be utilized in times of economic expansion and to be thrown in the garbage in periods of economic crisis. Such a reserve army of labor is also used to intimidate workers and lower everyone's wages. Today more and more, the youth of immigrant origin are considered a "surplus" population which can be deported, jailed or killed with impunity. The number of foreign detainees *more than doubled* (more than 110 percent) between 1975 and 2001. The unemployment rates for immigrant men went from 9 percent in 1981 to 18 percent in 2000 (and 24 percent for those who don't come from countries of the European Union). In the Transitional Program (1938), Trotsky explained that the right to employment is the only serious right workers have in a society of exploitation. The capitalists, not the workers, must pay for the chronic crises of their system. We fight for a sliding scale of wages and sliding scale of hours so that all the work on hand is divided among all existing workers, so the average workers' wage remains the same and is pegged to the cost of living. Trotsky adds:

> "Property owners and their lawyers will prove the 'unrealizability' of these demands.... The workers categorically denounce such conclusions and references. The question is not one of a 'normal' collision between opposing material interests. The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization, and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish."

For Socialist Revolution to Overthrow This Rotten System!

Recently there has been massive racist hysteria because youth who are the descendants of Algerian immigrants booed the "Marseillaise" when a chorus of cops was singing it during a soccer game between France and Algeria. Youth who then went out onto the field were the object of a real witchhunt: they are said to be incapable of being integrated into French society. Some of them were given heavy sentences. ***Down with these racist prosecutions!*** It's impossible to integrate yourself into a society which offers you neither work nor housing nor papers—even now, not to mention in the future.

The number of immigrant workers and their children was reduced along with the reduction of their weight in industry in the French economy. However, immigrant workers and their children occupy a central position in French production right up to today. Far from being merely "victims," immigrant workers have key social power in making a revolution. Of male immigrant workers, 45 percent are concentrated in construction and industry; they represent 13 percent of the workforce in automobile (one out of every eight workers is an immigrant) and almost 17 percent in construction (one out of every six workers). The GMSI study shows that 60 percent of the children of workers are themselves workers. But since the introduction of temporary work in 1973, the structure of manpower in industry has changed, becoming concentrated largely in temporary work and short-term contracts (CDD): 25 percent of employed young immigrant workers work under CDD and more than 18 percent of African employees do temporary work.

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Bill Epton...

(continued from page 3)

singular act of personal courage and defiance of New York's arrogant racist rulers, Epton, surrounded by supporters, went to the march assembly point at 116th Street and Lenox Avenue. At his side, arms linked with Epton's, was Conrad Lynn. Epton and Lynn were arrested as they stepped off the curb. Leaderless, the demonstration did not materialize.

Our organization, then still in its infancy, played an active role in the events. Two Spartacist comrades, Paul Gaillard and Shirley Stoute, were in the HDC. In an attempt to take the pressure off the ghettos, we initiated the Harlem Solidarity Committee (HSC), which organized a mass rally in the downtown garment district around the slogans: "Remove the rioting cops from Harlem" and "Support the right of the citizens of the ghetto to defend themselves." Despite the cops' denial of a sound permit for the rally, nearly a thousand workers came out and responded enthusiastically to the speakers. Among the speakers at this united-front rally were Lynn, PL leader Milt Rosen and *Workers World* editor Vince Copeland. In his speech, *Spartacist* editor James Robertson described the role of the cops in creating the riots and responded to frenzied redbaiting by the bourgeois press, which sought to blame the Harlem protest on a communist conspiracy. Robertson remarked, "Unfortunately there aren't many Reds in Harlem now—*but there will be!*"

New York Times

Spartacist-initiated Harlem Solidarity Committee rally in NYC garment district, July 1964.

Epton: "Guilty" of Being a Black Communist

While anti-Communist black nationalists were granted audiences with the mayor and allowed to stage their own rallies in Harlem, Epton and those who supported him were subjected to fierce repression and a wide-ranging witchhunt. Sweeping injunctions were issued against all those who were even remotely associated with either Epton's march or the HSC, including Robertson, preventing them from "assembling, gathering together, convening, parading, marching, demonstrating or acting in concert" anywhere between 110th and 155th Streets and the Harlem and Hudson Rivers. In early 1965, more than 20 PLers, including Milt Rosen, were subpoenaed to appear before a grand jury "investigation" and subsequently arrested for contempt of court for refusing to testify. The investigation was then widened to also go after Robertson and the Spartacist group.

Epton was framed up on charges of "criminal anarchy" based on three claims: that he and PL put out a pamphlet describing how to make Molotov cocktails, that he led the "riot" and that he was actively involved in arming Harlem residents. When these charges didn't wash, Epton was charged with advocating killing police officers and judges—on the basis, as we noted in our article in *Spartacist* No. 3, "of a paraphrase of Lenin's *State and Revolution*." According to a contemporary account in the *New York Times* (26 July 1964), the cops claimed that Epton had declared that in order to achieve freedom it would be necessary to "set up a new state of our own choosing and liking. And in the process of smashing this state, we're going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of these judges, and we'll have to go up against their army."

The recent obituary in the *Times* maliciously distorted even its own 1964 version of the statement attributed to Epton, "quoting" only the last bit to make it sound as though his sober description was an immediate call to action. Piling one falsification atop another, the *Times* obituary portrayed Epton's "criminal anarchy" case as raising the question of whether there was "a constitutional right to say, 'Burn, baby, burn'." In fact, that phrase wasn't even heard until the time of the Watts upheaval in 1965 and only became famous when it was used by H. Rap Brown in 1967.

In a powerful statement to the court at the time of his conviction, published by PL as a pamphlet titled *We Accuse: Bill Epton Speaks to the Court* (1966), Epton explained the real reason for the capitalist state's vendetta against him:

> "I have been found 'guilty' of agitating against the conditions that my people are forced to live under in New York and all over the country.
> "I have been found 'guilty' of protesting the murder—yes, murder—or legal lynching, whatever you choose, of James Powell by Thomas Gilligan, a New York policeman.
> "I have been found 'guilty' of organizing the Harlem community against police brutality that has been occurring in the Black ghettos for hundreds of years.
> "I have been found 'guilty' of standing up for the right of all men to be free—to be free from the system of exploitation of man by man.
> "I have been found 'guilty' of proclaiming that capitalism is an oppressive system and that socialism is the only solution for mankind to live in peace and humanity....
> "And finally—I have been found 'guilty' of being a communist—and a Black one at that!"

We were actively involved in Epton's defense from the start. In February 1965, at a protest against the witchhunting grand jury, Robertson was himself served with a subpoena to testify. Lynn agreed to serve as Robertson's legal counsel, and assisted in preparing his testimony. A *Spartacist* Special Supplement (March 1965) issued as a "Report to Our Readers" summarized several key points from Robertson's appearance before the grand jury, including that "Robertson has never heard Bill Epton advocate acts of violence and terrorism; moreover, since Comrade Epton is a declared Marxist such advocacy would be in fundamental contradiction to his beliefs." Robertson also testified that "the New York City cops, not communists, provoked the riots last summer."

Explaining why the Spartacist group was cited by the state along with PL, the supplement noted:

> "The SPARTACIST editor has been dragged into the witchhunt because of our detailed exposure of the police over the riots last summer; our determined defense of Bill Epton and Progressive Labor against legal intimidation and persecution; and our initiation last summer of the militant Harlem Solidarity Committee which rallied working class support in New York's garment center for the people of Harlem during the police riots."

The supplement also explained why we chose to have Robertson appear before the grand jury: "The Spartacist group has no reason or desire to conceal either its political views or its actions. Quite the contrary; should its officers be sent to jail for refusal to testify, we want it crystal clear that such punishment is exclusively for refusal to drag in the names of innocent people or to render false testimony."

In defense of Epton and others targeted in the witchhunt, we collected signatures, distributed literature and organized meetings and Epton defense committees in various cities, including Chicago, the San Francisco Bay Area and Ithaca, New York. Our defense of Epton was not always welcomed by PL, however, which in sectarian fashion declared their Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life (CERGE) off-limits to "Trotskyites." In a letter to one of our Chicago comrades, PL leader Bill McAdoo fulminated that "in general" Trotskyists were "counterrevolutionaries." In February 1965, PL expelled Spartacists Paul Gaillard and Shirley Stoute from the HDC on the basis of their Trotskyist politics. Nonetheless, we forthrightly continued to defend Epton. That month, a Spartacist supporter proposed a motion which was passed unanimously in CORE's Harlem branch that read: "N.Y. CORE condemns the attempt to make Bill Epton the scapegoat for the brutal action of the police last summer against the people of Harlem. It supports Epton's right to speak, and calls upon the City to drop its indictment against him."

Epton's case drew support from around the globe, ranging from philosophers Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre to Amnesty International. In a statement of support, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam stated:

> "We strongly protest against the unjustifiable arrest and trial of Bill Epton on the ground of trumped up charges and demand his immediate release by the U.S. authorities. We call upon all justice loving people in the U.S.A. and in the world to raise their voice of opposition to this effect as they have raised their voice to protest against the aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam."

In later years, Epton moved to the right, bitterly exiting PL in 1970 in the midst of internal turmoil. Unable and unwilling to transcend its Stalinist framework, PL itself soon began moving rightward, promoting one "single issue" reformist campaign after another. Epton spent many of his later years working with the Malcolm X Museum. He was also involved in the Black Radical Congress and the Citywide Coalition to Stop Giuliani, both "left" shills for the Democratic Party and both a far cry from Epton's politics in the 1960s. Nonetheless, we remember Epton as a committed and courageous working-class militant who in a volatile time did not bow before the onslaught of the bourgeois state or bend to the pressures of liberalism. ■

The catastrophic level of youth unemployment has become a classic means of "divide and rule" for the French state, which uses underpaid temporary workers as a weapon against the unions. Where this acquires a supplementary social dimension is in the working-class suburbs with the youth of immigrant origin. Unemployment there takes on astronomical proportions and the ghettos live under the constant threat of brutal repression and police violence. The French left and the workers movement, which are capable of mobilizing in the streets tens of millions of workers, have done virtually nothing to protest the cop terror which has become practically routine in the ghettos and working-class suburbs or to demonstrate the link between this terror and the superexploitation of youth through "youth jobs" and temporary work.

The tasks posed for the workers if they are to have the maximum of class unity are to fight against the daily racist terror in the working-class suburbs and to fight against job insecurity for youth and immigrant youth. Working-class militancy is seen in the strikes at McDonald's by young French and immigrant-derived youth, in the recent longshore strike which blocked the port of Marseille and in the struggles at Moulinex.

Algerians and their families are not only an oppressed minority in France; they are part of the working class and that's what gives them their social power. In the early Mitterrand years, in 1982-83 for instance, they were the spearhead of the most important strikes against popular-front austerity, in particular at Renault-Flins, Citroën-Aulnay and Talbot-Poissy, where they led their "French" class brothers. In December 1995, strikes paralyzed transit and the public sector for three weeks. These strikes went beyond the trade-union framework and posed the question of power. The LTF fought to extend these strikes to the private sector by putting forward in particular the question of immigrant oppression and unity of the working class. Only a few months earlier, in March 1995, there had been a big strike in the Flins plant, where immigrant workers were in the forefront. But the union leaders, including the pseudo-Trotskyists, did everything they could to prevent the strike from extending to the private sector. For them the strike was a way to apply pressure to get rid of the Gaullist Juppé government, but we communists fought to extend this defensive strike and lead the working class on the road to power.

As we wrote in our balance sheet of December 1995 (*Le Bolchévik*, January-February 1996):

> "The strike movement had to go beyond simple trade unionism, on a program to unite the entire working class and draw along the pensioners, the youth, the immigrants, against whom the ominous militarization of French society is being aimed. These immediate tasks cry out for revolutionary leadership and a Leninist party: to push the proletariat's struggles forward instead of subordinating them to the constraints of the capitalist system; to expose the pro-capitalist misleaders in their deeds; to reach out to struggling working people in other lands as the bourgeoisies drum up racism and trade war."

It is necessary to break with the politics of the reformists who lead the workers parties and unions in France, to build powerful industrial unions including all the workers of one industry in one union. But above all it is the question of building a genuine revolutionary party, a party like the revolutionary Bolshevik Party, a true tribune of the people. Immigrant workers are also a living link with the workers of Africa and Asia. The struggle for a revolution in France is linked to the struggle for the liberation of all the countries under the French imperialist jackboot. We work to build such a party as the French section of the International Communist League. ■

China...

(continued from page 1)

Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their forebears had been cruelly exploited from time immemorial. The rule of the murderous warlords and bloodsucking moneylenders, the rapacious landlords and wretched bourgeoisie was destroyed. The revolution enabled women to advance by magnitudes over their previous miserable status, symbolized by the barbaric practice of footbinding. A nation which had been ravaged and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation.

In the 1950s, the People's Republic of China established a centrally planned, socialized economy—modeled on and aided by the Soviet Union—and agriculture was collectivized. A state monopoly of foreign trade protected the socialized economy from being undermined by cheap imports from the far more developed capitalist-imperialist countries. Par-

PART ONE

ticularly for women, getting a job in state industry was such a huge advance over the old way of life that families often threw large parties to celebrate the hiring of one of their members.

However, the 1949 Revolution was deformed from its inception under the rule of Mao Zedong's CCP regime, which represented a nationalist bureaucratic caste resting atop the collectivized economy. Patterned after the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR, Mao's regime preached the profoundly anti-Marxist notion that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance—could be built in a single country. In practice, "socialism in one country" meant opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally and accommodation to world imperialism.

The Beijing bureaucracy essentially acts as a transmission belt for the pressures of the imperialist-dominated world market on the workers state. The brittle and contradictory character of this bureaucratic caste can be seen in the fact that in the face of working-class unrest, the current regime has often reversed some of its economic "reforms" and occasionally put some of its own on trial for corruption, sometimes with a penalty of execution.

The recent outpouring of protests has jolted not only the Beijing regime but also American ruling circles, which have entertained the notion of a cold restoration of capitalism "from above." Thus an article in the influential American journal *Business Week* (8 April) titled "China's Angry Workers" stated: "Time is not on Beijing's side. The government can't afford perpetual welfare payments for the Rust Belt's unemployed and disaffected workers, many of whom are only in their 40s and see no prospect of new employment in their home provinces. And the pattern of factory shutdowns and layoffs will only accelerate now that China is a member of the World Trade Organization and its decrepit industrial sector must go head-to-head with foreign competition." The article rues that even as tourism, telecommunications and other sectors of the economy are opened to foreign investment, "protests are forcing Beijing to slow industrial restructuring" in an attempt to maintain social stability.

In its own way, *Business Week* recognizes certain fundamental truths about the People's Republic of China today. One, the drive to restore capitalism is encountering powerful resistance from the working class. Two, fear of social unrest restrains the restorationist tendencies within the ruling bureaucracy.

American imperialism is bent on overturning the 1949 Revolution, one way or another, and once again reducing China to semicolonial subjugation. To this end, the U.S. ruling class combines pursuit of the economic openings offered by Beijing with escalating military pressure. The Pentagon has recently increased military aid to capitalist Taiwan, which has been maintained as an anti-Communist fortress for more than half a century. As a result of its war against Afghanistan, the U.S. has expanded its military presence in Asian territory surrounding China under the rubric of the "global war on terror." This is on top of more than 80,000 troops stationed in South Korea and Japan, a dagger aimed at the Chinese and North Korean as well as the Vietnamese deformed workers states. Bush is pushing ahead with plans for an "anti-missile defense" system to facilitate a nuclear first strike against China, which has a small but effective arsenal of long-range nuclear weapons. Last year's U.S. spy plane provocation was emblematic of American belligerence toward China, eliciting waves of outrage among the Chinese population against U.S. imperialism.

The International Communist League stands for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. It is the task of the Chinese proletariat to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy, which has gravely undermined the system of nationalized property that resulted from the 1949 Revolution. As we wrote in "Chinese Miners Revolt Against 'Market Reforms'" (*WV* No. 735, 5 May 2000) following a rebellion by 20,000 miners and their families in northeast China:

> "The bureaucracy which is paving the way for capitalist counterrevolution is simultaneously preparing the ground for a new revolutionary proletarian explosion—not a *social* revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of society as in 1949 but a *political* revolution to oust the parasitic ruling oligarchy and to place political power in the hands of workers, soldiers and peasants councils (soviets). The urgent task facing the Chinese proletariat is to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party as part of a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International, to prepare and lead this political revolution, standing at the head of the masses and directing the spontaneous and localized workers' struggles toward the seizure of political power."

AFP

AP

Left: November 1999 ceremony to seal trade agreement between U.S. and China, preparing way for WTO entry. Chinese vice president Hu Jintao visits Wall Street, April 29.

AP

U.S. troops deployed in Philippines amid Pentagon buildup in Pacific aimed at Chinese deformed workers state.

Bolshevism vs. Stalinism

In a perceptive article in the *Nation* magazine (4 March), Jiang Xueqin, who had spent months traveling across China, remarked, "Contrary to Western perceptions that the common people are benefiting from the free market, the Chinese see their government and the nation's elite as conspiring to sell them out to imperialists, *aka* the Americans. Frustration with the government's economic policies is now entwined with rapidly expanding anti-Western sentiment." Jiang also noted that the late Mao Zedong is an "increasingly popular" figure. Indeed, protesters in Liaoyang last month carried portraits of Mao, just as workers did in Tiananmen Square in 1989.

Mao's era can certainly seem egalitarian compared to today, when officials spend the equivalent of a retired worker's annual income on a banquet with Hong Kong or American business partners. The 1949 Revolution is a living memory for Chinese families, almost all of whom have parents or grandparents who lived through the murderous Japanese occupation and the civil war against the hated Guomindang regime of Chiang Kai-shek, which was backed by American imperialism.

But it is crucial to understand the *anti*-proletarian character of Mao's CCP regime. The Chinese Revolution was fundamentally different from the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, which was carried out by a class-conscious proletariat under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. The October Revolution established a government based upon *proletarian democracy*—the rule of workers, peasants and soldiers soviets (councils). The Bolsheviks saw the revolution in backward Russia as the first step in a worldwide socialist revolution, particularly in the advanced capitalist countries.

However, the defeat of the anticipated German workers revolution in 1923 demoralized the Soviet working class, which had been decimated by the destruction of industry and infrastructure wrought by World War I and the bloody Civil War of 1918-20. With the end of the Civil War, bureaucratic tendencies in the party and state administration began to coalesce into a bureaucratic layer. By 1923, Lenin was increasingly incapacitated. The burgeoning party bureaucracy, controlled by J. V. Stalin, was beginning to rise to self-consciousness. That fall, a loose Left Opposition led by Trotsky opened fire against the growing bureaucratism and called for a program of planned industrialization. The ensuing debate in the party press was soon shut down. The party conference called for January 1924 was so rigged that the Opposition was allowed only three delegates despite having won 25 to 30 percent of the vote in the Moscow and Petrograd party organizations.

Though it only became clear in hindsight, that conference marked the beginning of the Soviet Thermidor, the decisive point at which the bureaucratic caste seized political power from the Soviet working class (see "Trotsky and the Russian Left Opposition: A Critical Balance Sheet," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 56, Spring 2001). From this point on, the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled and the purposes for which it was ruled all changed. The nationalist outlook of the bureaucracy was given expression by Stalin's proclamation of the anti-Marxist "theory" of "socialism in one country" in the fall of 1924.

In contrast to the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, the 1949 Revolution in China was the result of a successful peasant guerrilla war led by the CCP and People's

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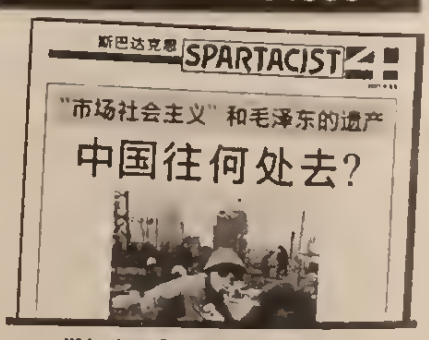

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Liberation Army (PLA), which excluded the proletariat from political power *from the beginning*. Unlike the Russian bourgeoisie, which was effectively destroyed as a property-owning class, the Chinese bourgeoisie was able to survive as a coherent class by moving to Taiwan, Hong Kong and elsewhere in the Pacific Rim under the protection of U.S. and British imperialism. Nevertheless, the Chinese Revolution was a huge defeat for the imperialists, as was brought home by the intervention of the PLA in the Korean War of 1950-53, which saved North Korea from being overrun by the American imperialists and their South Korean puppet regime.

The Bankruptcy of Maoism

Marked by extreme voluntarism and economic adventurism, Maoist rule sought to transform impoverished China into a "socialist" world power through economic autarky within the framework of a bureaucratically centralized economy. Contained in this nationalist perspective were the seeds of the bureaucracy's implementation of "market reforms" under Deng Xiaoping, who also sought "great power" status for China. Today, the core of the bureaucracy retains no subjective commitment to a socialist order; it preserves collectivized property only insofar as it dreads the proletariat.

Mao's era was far from egalitarian and far from socialist. The "Great Leap Forward" was an attempt at forced-march industrialization using the unaided labor of the peasant masses. It was exemplified by the construction of thousands of small "backyard" steel furnaces in rural villages. This economic adventure ended in total collapse and led to a devastating famine. Mao's "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" of 1966-76—a convulsive factional struggle within the bureaucracy launched by Mao to regain the authority he had lost following the "Great Leap" fiasco—disrupted the economy and brought education to a halt. The anti-proletarian character of the Cultural Revolution was exemplified by the use of student "Red Guards" to break a 1967 Shanghai general strike led by rail workers. Faced with the destruction wreaked by the "lost ten years," two years after Mao's death in 1976 the bureaucracy turned to Deng Xiaoping, who initiated "market reforms" in the name of modernizing the economy.

While Mao and Deng are commonly portrayed as opposites, they are in fact two sides of the same coin, as was seen with China's anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism. After several years of nationalist feuding between the Moscow and Beijing bureaucracies, Mao declared in the late 1960s that "Soviet social-imperialism" was an even greater danger than the United States. In 1972, Mao embraced U.S. president Richard Nixon in Beijing at the very moment that American warplanes were bombing Vietnam. Deepening this alliance, Deng's regime worked in tandem with the CIA to aid the Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats who fought against the Soviet Army presence in Afghanistan in the 1980s (see "China and the U.S. 'War on Terror'," *WV* No. 776, 8 March). China's anti-Soviet alliance with the U.S. was a crucial service to imperialism in its drive to destroy the Soviet degenerated workers state, which had been the military counterweight to U.S. imperialism. The anti-Soviet alliance also laid the basis for imperialist economic penetration of the Chinese deformed workers state.

The current regime in Beijing preaches that China will become a strong, modern power through greater integration into the capitalist world market. This nationalist dream is aimed at duping the masses who are increasingly estranged from the bureaucracy. It also serves to cultivate commercial and ultimately political and social ties with the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie. From the beginning of "market reforms," the Deng regime made a strong appeal to Chinese capitalists. The SEZs were initially established near Hong Kong and Macao and along the coast across from Taiwan with the aim of encouraging investment from offshore Chinese capitalists who retain linguistic and family ties to these regions. After 1979, the offshore bourgeoisie accounted for 80 percent of foreign investment on the mainland, and today still accounts for more than half of such investment. The ties of the offshore Chinese capitalist class to the mainland serve as useful conduits for Western and Japanese investment in China.

Much of the investment of Chinese capital has been in partnership with the "princeling" sons and daughters of top Beijing government and CCP officials. Describing a layer of privileged Chinese youth who have studied overseas, Jasper Becker noted in his book *The Chinese* (Free Press [2000]):

> "They have been to the same American universities as the children of those capitalists and KMT [Guomindang] officials who fled to Hong Kong or Taiwan in 1949, and they now share the same lifestyle and aspirations. Many either own their own companies or are in joint ventures with these overseas Chinese capitalists. They travel abroad and often have much of their wealth safely secured offshore or they hold foreign passports. One can only speculate on what they will do with their wealth and power when the older generation leaves the scene but it is possible that they may lead China in the political direction pioneered by Taiwan or Hong Kong."

Perri/Figaro Magazine

Reuters

"Market reforms" foster thin layer of yuppie millionaires, while up to 200 million migrant workers look for jobs.

Peter Turnley

Contingent from Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation arriving in Tiananmen Square, May 1989. Entry of working class into mass student demonstrations posed proletarian political revolution.

"Market Socialism" and Counterrevolution

The changing economic course from bureaucratic centralization under Mao to "market socialism" under Deng & Co. reflects a general tendency under Stalinist rule to "rationalize" the economy through decentralization. Centralized planning as practiced by a parasitic and uncontrolled bureaucracy invariably squanders economic resources and generates obvious inefficiencies. Plant managers often willfully understate actual capacity so as to be given easily fulfillable production targets. Plan targets are met in quantitative terms but at the cost of poor quality and lack of assortment. Economic administrators and managers are reluctant to use new technologies lest they be penalized if these don't work.

In his classic analysis of the Soviet bureaucracy, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), Trotsky pointed to the inherent limits of bureaucratic centralism:

> "The farther you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of the bureaucracy like a shadow. The Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, *quality* demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery."

In China under Deng, the bureaucracy moved toward "market socialism" following the examples of Yugoslavia and Hungary. Economic administrators and managers were now rewarded or penalized on the basis of market profitability. The threat of plant closures and layoffs also served as a means of enforcing labor discipline among the workers. At the same time, agriculture was decollectivized and replaced by the "household responsibility system," i.e., peasant smallholding. The pressures of market competition have inevitably resulted in the growth of a small class of wealthy farmers alongside tens of millions of poor peasants. This is the origin of the massive migrant labor force, estimated as high as ***200 million***, which has flooded into the cities looking for work.

"Market socialism" invariably weakens the collectivized economy and strengthens the forces of capitalist counterrevolution. In Yugoslavia, decentralization greatly aggravated the inequalities and economic conflicts (e.g., over access to foreign exchange) between Serbia, Croatia and the other national republics, setting the stage for the bloody fratricidal wars of the early 1990s that destroyed the Yugoslav deformed workers state. In the Soviet Union, Gorbachev's assault on centralized planning in the mid 1980s under the rubric of *perestroika* (restructuring) resulted in economic chaos and sharply falling living standards. This conditioned the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the USSR in 1991-92—under the leadership of Boris Yeltsin (formerly Gorbachev's lieutenant) and actively supported by Washington.

Nonetheless, many Chinese intellectuals and student youth buy the bureaucracy's line that the "discipline" provided by market measures and the recent WTO trade agreement is necessary for China to develop into a modern, industrial powerhouse and for its people to reap the material benefits of a growing economy. Anyone who thinks that the "free market" will bring abundance to China should look at the former Soviet Union, where capitalist restoration has brought desperate poverty and ethnic bloodletting. And intellectuals and trained technical personnel did not fare well: after the society's scientific-technical structure and medical system collapsed, Soviet physicists and doctors ended up driving cabs in New York City, if they were lucky.

If this happened to the USSR, which was a global industrial and military power, a capitalist China would subject its masses to far greater impoverishment, and its intellectuals would be thrust back to their degraded status in prerevolutionary society. Capitalist restoration would bring not only economic collapse and immiseration but the danger of the breakup of the country and bloody political chaos. Whatever the nationalist illusions of some Chinese students, the few big imperialist powers that dominate

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China...

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the world economy have no intention of allowing China to become a "great power." One can look at South Korea. As long as the Soviet Union existed, U.S. imperialism acted to shore up the Seoul regime as an anti-Communist bulwark, allowing it to develop its own shipbuilding and auto manufacturing industries. But when the Asian financial crisis hit in 1997, several years after the destruction of the USSR, the American and Japanese rulers pulled the plug on the South Korean economy.

Beijing's "market reforms" have already given the working class a taste of what capitalist restoration would mean, and it has responded with wave after wave of strikes and protests. The fight must be for a political revolution to establish *a regime of workers democracy* committed to *reviving the planned economy, restoring a strict state monopoly of foreign trade and expropriating capitalist holdings* that have made their way onto the mainland.

A revolutionary China of workers and peasants councils would face virulently hostile imperialist reaction. But proletarian political revolution would also electrify the working class internationally and demolish the "death of communism" lie peddled by the bourgeois ruling classes since the collapse of the USSR.

A political revolution in China, waged under the banner of proletarian internationalism, would truly shake the world. It would radicalize the proletariat of Japan, the industrial powerhouse of East Asia, and inspire revolutionary struggles by workers and peasants throughout Asia. It would spark a fight for the revolutionary reunification of Korea—through political revolution in the beleaguered North and socialist revolution in the South. Only through the overthrow of capitalist class rule internationally, particularly in the imperialist centers of North America, West Europe and Japan, can the foundations be laid for the all-around modernization and development of China, as part of a socialist Asia. It is to provide the necessary leadership for the proletariat in these struggles that the ICL seeks to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International—world party of socialist revolution.

The Deadly Fruit of "Market Reforms"

A key factor in the outbreak of labor protest over the last three years was the decision of the CCP's 15th National Congress in 1997 to privatize a number of small and medium-sized concerns and to subject many larger state-owned enterprises to market measures. It is these enterprises themselves and not the central government that have historically been responsible for providing workers with social benefits. When enterprises are declared "bankrupt" or even face significant cuts in subsidies, it is not only the workers' jobs that are at risk but also benefits like medical insurance. The centralized pension system established in 1995 is so underfunded that it is often unable to pay workers' pensions, provoking much of the current labor protest.

Official corruption greatly aggravates the workers' plight. Many of the aging industrial plants are declared bankrupt only to have the former managers steal the assets or sell off the property to private investors. Under huge pressure to show profits, managers often direct loans from state banks not into upgrading production methods or augmenting social benefit funds but into real estate and stock market speculation.

The Beijing auto workers launched their protests after the closing of their plant, which had once been part of a state-owned company. After it merged with American Motors in 1983 to form China's first joint venture, Beijing Jeep, the new company seized much of the plant's assets. This caused production to dwindle until it halted entirely, forcing 5,000 workers into layoffs or early retirement. Now, Japanese auto makers are increasingly shifting production to joint ventures in China, where wages are far lower than at home.

The Daqing protests were the result of Beijing's decision in 1998 to place many of the oil fields under the ownership of PetroChina Ltd., a subsidiary of the state oil company which subsequently issued stock to raise investment funds. Protesting PetroChina's Wall Street stock offering in the U.S. was an anti-Communist cabal led by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and including liberal environmentalists and the CIA-sponsored "Free Tibet" movement. This had nothing to do with defending the welfare of the Daqing oil workers, whose benefits have been stolen from them in the interests of PetroChina's bottom line. Rather, the protests were part of the pro-imperialist labor tops' protectionist campaign against the entry of "Communist China" into the WTO.

The fight to *defend nationalized industry* against privatization and closure is a matter of life and death for the Chinese proletariat. This is literally true in the coal mining industry—the world's largest—where death rates have reached as high as 10,000 per year and new mine collapses are reported almost every week. The horrific death rate is a direct result of cutbacks in state-owned mining operations and the proliferation of mines owned by private entrepreneurs and by township and village enterprises (TVEs). As the *Los Angeles Times* (23 January) reports, "The miners of yesterday were state employees, relatively well-paid and well-respected pillars of the socialist motherland. Today, more and more are working for private mines with minimal or no safety standards, subsisting on the dark side of the new economy, lucky to have jobs at all."

Workers in state mines, which use relatively sophisticated equipment and have stringent safety regulations, typically receive at least three months of training. But as the *Times* article points out, privately run mines rely largely on untrained workers, mainly migrant laborers. With no regard for workers' lives, private mine operators carve out as many shafts as possible, put in fewer exits and run fewer of the ventilation fans needed to remove natural gas fumes—the cause, according to one report, of half of the mine explosions. A retired miner described what usually happens when the rare inspection is scheduled: "When the inspectors do come, they are often whisked straight away to a banquet and stuffed with red envelopes of money. Deng Xiaoping said, 'Let some people get rich first.' They got rich all right, by breaking the law."

The bureaucracy encouraged the growth of the township/village enterprises as part of economic decentralization. Descended from rural industries that accompanied collectivized agriculture, TVEs are in many cases "collective" in name only. Employing low-wage labor to make shoes, textiles and the like, they do not have to provide the benefits accorded workers in state industry. For years, TVEs steadily undercut state-owned plants producing the same kind of products, and in recent years have come close to equaling state industry's share of national output. Beijing has recently moved to rein in these enterprises, shutting down tens of thousands of unsafe mines. Many unprofitable TVEs have closed down; others have been bought outright by private investors. A Leninist-Trotskyist party would call to restore guaranteed benefits for workers in state industry and to extend these benefits to workers in the TVEs.

Reports of labor struggle in the TVEs, which are isolated and dispersed throughout the hinterland, are rare. Not so in the Special Economic Zones, which have concentrations of modern factories and are often located near major cities like Hong Kong and Guangzhou (Canton). In April, more than a thousand workers occupied a toy factory in Guangdong province owned by a Hong Kong company that supplies Wal-Mart and other Western firms. The workers had been fired without pay, a not uncommon practice by SEZ bosses, who act in cahoots with local officials.

The capitalists must be driven out of the SEZs and off the land. This poses the question of forming workers and peasants councils to oust the parasitic bureaucracy. Defend and extend the planned, collectivized economy! Expropriate without compensation the holdings of the bloodsucking imperialists and offshore Chinese capitalists!

A regime based on workers and peasants councils would reverse the current regime's policy of encouraging private property in the countryside, which has spawned a layer of rural exploiters. It would prohibit or restrict the hiring of labor and the leasing of additional land by rich peasants and would promote the recollectivization of agriculture. This is not a matter of reverting to Mao's agricultural communes, which were essentially an aggregate of backward peasant holdings. For the mass of Chinese peasants to give up their private holdings in favor of collective farms, they must be convinced that this will result in a higher standard of living for themselves and their families. Thus a workers government in China would offer reduced taxes and cheaper credits to peasants who joined collectives. But as Trotsky wrote in a February 1930 article titled "The New Course in the Soviet Economy":

> "The collectivization of agriculture presupposes a certain technical base. A collective farm is above all *large*. The rational size for the farm is determined, however, by the character of the means and methods of production being applied. With the aid of peasant plows and peasant nags, even all of them put together, it is not possible to create large agricultural collectives, even as it is not possible to build a ship out of a flock of fishing boats. The collectivization of agriculture can be achieved only through its mechanization. From this it follows that the general level of industrialization of a country determines the possible speed of the collectivization of its agriculture."

Trotsky was writing here in response to the policy of forced collectivization being carried out by the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, which had for years conciliated the wealthy peasants (kulaks) to the point that they posed an immediate counterrevolutionary threat to the workers state. The problems of collectivization addressed by Trotsky are all the more acute in China today. The vast majority of the population lives in the countryside, where production methods are still primitive and there is little modern infrastructure.

A rational collectivization and modernization of Chinese agriculture would signify a profound transformation of the society. The introduction of modern technology in the countryside—from combines to chemical fertilizers to the whole complex of scientific farming—would require a qualitatively higher industrial base than currently exists. In turn, an increase in productivity in agriculture would raise the need for a massive expansion of industrial jobs in urban areas to absorb the vast surplus of labor no longer needed in the countryside. Clearly, this would involve a lengthy process, particularly given the limited size and relatively low level of productivity of China's existing industrial base. Both the tempo and, in the final analysis, the very realizability of this perspective hinges on the aid China would receive from a socialist Japan or a socialist America, underlining again the need for *international proletarian revolution*.

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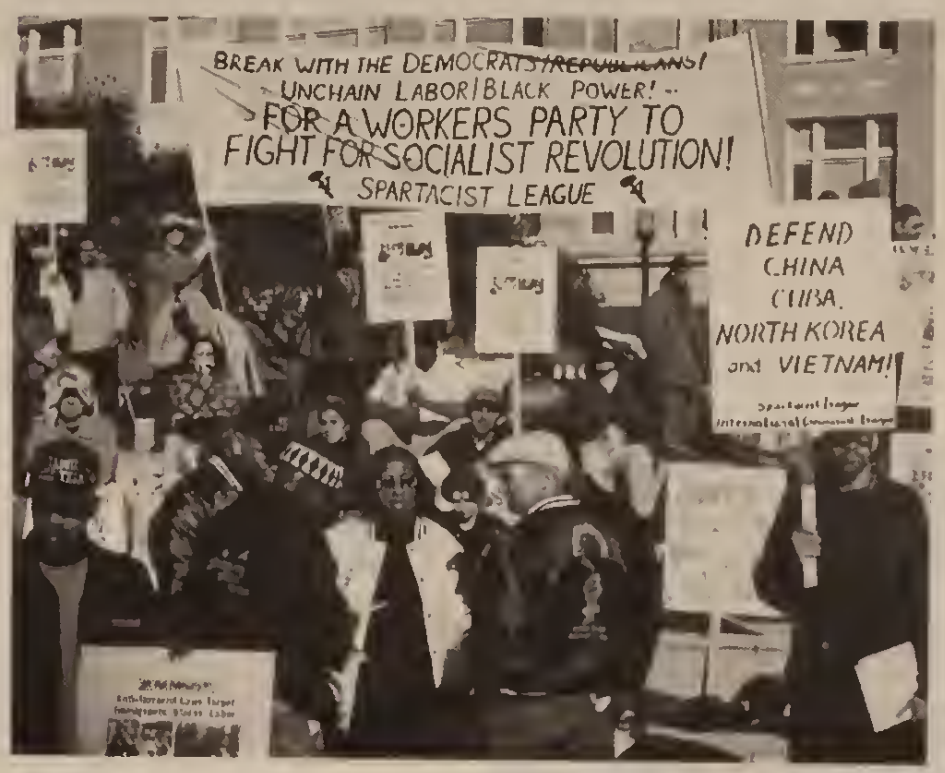

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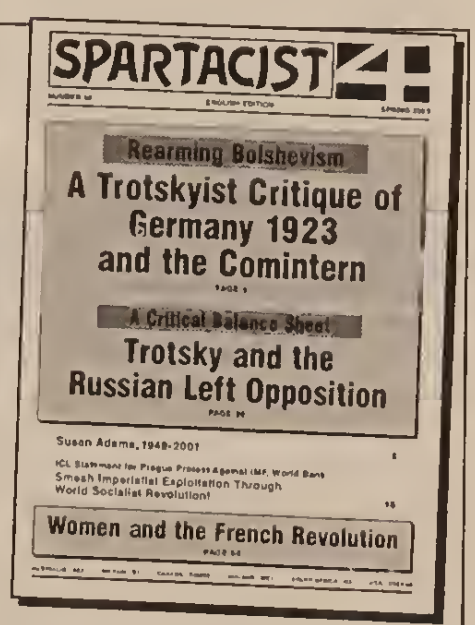

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France...

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opportunist appetites. The IG is no less cynical. For the working class to *boycott* bourgeois elections presupposes a level of class consciousness one would expect in a pre-revolutionary situation posing the question of state power. But the IG's call came as over one and a half million people, including large numbers of workers, were demonstrating in the streets in support of the bourgeois "Republic"—and the rightist Chirac!

The IG's macho phrasemongering is simply a smokescreen for its fundamentally opportunist politics, posturing as the militant in-the-streets wing of the anti-fascist electoral "unity" pushed by the French left in the tow of the popular front. While admitting in passing (in a 4 May statement) that "Le Pen is not about to take power," the IG's articles on the French elections are full of the same "fascism is around the corner" rhetoric that the PS, PCF, LCR et al. used to justify "unity" behind Chirac. In its 4 May statement, the IG draws an analogy with the 1932 election of Hindenburg as German chancellor, who handed over power to Hitler a year later. But by the early 1930s, Hitler had 100,000 stormtroopers on the street terrorizing Jews and attacking trade-union and leftist meetings. Since the French proletariat does not currently pose an immediate threat to the bourgeois order, the capitalists are not about to resort to fascist dictatorship. While Le Pen's gains at the polls will certainly embolden his fascist thugs, the FN's success is an electoral phenomenon.

This same question came up two years ago when Jörg Haider's openly racist Freedom Party (FPÖ) entered a coalition with the right-wing People's Party (ÖVP) in Austria. Social democrats across Europe, screaming that Austria was on the verge of a fascist takeover, mobilized to pressure the ÖVP to kick out Haider and reinstate its longstanding coalition with the Austrian Socialist Party (SPÖ). While noting that Haider's political outlook is indeed fascistic, we wrote at the time: "In a situation in which there are no fascist mobilizations in the streets and the main question is the participation of the FPÖ in the government, the slogans 'Stop Haider,' 'Strike Now' can only be a call for extraparliamentary action for a new parliamentary coalition, that is, a 'more militant' call to replace the FPÖ with the SPÖ" (*WV* No. 730, 25 February 2000).

Then, too, the IG posed as the militant voice of anti-fascist unity. Denouncing us for "lulling the masses," the IG devoted 20 pages of its *Internationalist* (June 2000) to "proving" that Haider's FPÖ is fascist. So does the IG think Austria is fascist today? Have the unions been crushed, political parties driven underground, concentration camps set up? The complete annihilation of the organized workers movement—that is what fascism means, not the election of an ultra-rightist within a bourgeois-democratic framework.

In weaving its pseudo-revolutionary fantasies, the IG seeks to deny the very real obstacles that stand in the way of forging a revolutionary party. Thus it simply equates LO and the LCR, falsely claiming that both are "organizing extra-parliamentary support for the 'Republican front' for Chirac" (26 April) and "openly or tacitly, encouraged a vote for Chirac in the second round" (4 May). In an earlier posting on its Web site (14 April), the IG lyingly denounced our open letter for supposedly granting "conditional critical support" to LO, and instead simply dismissed LO because it has "applauded bonapartist and racist police demonstrations." We seek to win militants who are drawn to LO on the basis of its stated opposition to the popular front by *exposing* how that is contradicted by its tacit support to Vigipirate. Where the IG aims only to be the "militant" tail of whatever's in motion, we engage in clear and honest programmatic struggle because our aim is to build a conscious proletarian vanguard party on the basis of the Trotskyist program.

For the French bourgeoisie, Le Pen's score in the elections—and the popular rallying around the tricolor orchestrated by the reformist parties—was a godsend. Faced with a significant level of labor struggle in response to unemployment and attacks on social benefits, the ruling classes of Europe seek to portray themselves as the democratic representatives of the whole people. The more they can submerge class consciousness under a barrage of "national unity," the easier it will be for them to launch imperialist military adventures abroad and attacks on the working class and minorities at home. Against the reformist misleaders who chain the workers to the capitalist order, we Trotskyists fight for the class independence the proletariat needs to resist the attacks of the bourgeoisie. And we will not let the working class forget the miserable leftists who rallied to the defense of the imperialist "French republic."■

Cuba...

(continued from page 2)

inauguration celebrations for Mexican bourgeois presidents, including Carlos Salinas and Vicente Fox, presenting this grotesque friendliness as proximity to "the people of Mexico." We Trotskyists understand that the nationalist bureaucracy must be overthrown by a *political revolution* that maintains the proletarian basis of the economy and transfers political power to the workers, led by a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party around a profoundly *internotionalist* program.

The Mexican pseudo-left reflects the politics of the bourgeoisie in regard to Cuba. The reformist Partido Obrero Socialista (POS) openly regurgitates counterrevolutionary propaganda, hailing a pro-capitalist riot in Havana and counterrevolutionary *gusano* mobilizations in Miami in 1994, and referring to the *gusanos* as "the Cuban proletariat in the U.S." (*El Socialista*, October 1994). On the other hand, in this country Cuba is admired by wide sectors of workers, students and even the petty bourgeoisie, who see it as a symbol of defiance to the hated American imperialists. A reflection of this are the campaigns of voluntary labor and aid organized by groups like the "Va por Cuba" [Go for Cuba] committee and the tendency En Lucha [In Struggle]. However, without a revolutionary, internationalist, proletarian program, what these groups end up doing is supporting every maneuver of the Castroite bureaucracy, while adapting to capitalism in their own countries, thus keeping the impulses of those who want to defend the Cuban Revolution within the framework of Third World nationalism. Castro explicitly represented this outlook in his brief speech at the Monterrey summit. While pointing out that "the current world economic order constitutes a system of plunder," he said not one word about class struggle and instead appealed to the imperialists and the United Nations to "provide direct help to development with the democratic participation of all" in the underdeveloped world. These appeals for imperialism to become somehow more responsible and humanitarian are not only absurd but reactionary, because they create deadly illusions that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in its "democratic" ornaments may somehow be the agent of social change in favor of the workers and oppressed. This lie ties the exploited to their exploiters and leads social struggle to a dead end. Imperialism is not a policy based on "bad ideas," but something integral to the functioning of the system based upon private property, extraction of profits and the need of capitalism to conquer new markets.

Draper/White House

Bush greeted by Mexican president Fox at Monterrey UN summit, March 22.

In the U.S., the pseudo-Trotskyist organization Socialist Action (followers of the late Ernest Mandel, like the Mexican Liga de Unidad Socialista and Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores [PRT]) recently published an article cheering Castro's speech at the summit. They write that "Castro spelled the only way out for semi-colonial countries like Afghanistan, Mexico, and Argentina" when he said during his speech that "Rich countries should condone foreign debt and concede new loans to finance development" (*Socialist Action*, April 2002).

What all these groups have in common—from the POS to En Lucha, Socialist Action and the PRT—is their illusions in reforming capitalism and their hatred of the USSR, the economic and military powerhouse of the deformed workers states, which represented a real counterweight to imperialism. They all sided precisely with imperialism in celebrating the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the USSR ten years ago.

More urgently than ever, the Cuban Revolution needs international extension to survive. To defend the Cuban Revolution also means to fight for proletarian revolution at home in Mexico and across the border in the belly of the American imperialist beast, with its powerful, multiracial working class. The defense of the gains of the Cuban Revolution necessarily means fighting to break the Mexican working class from nationalism, and building an independent, class-struggle opposition to all the bourgeois parties, whether PAN, PRI or PRD. To build parties around a program capable of leading the working class in this task is the fight of the sections of the International Communist League. *Imperiolism cannot be combatted with notionalism! Defend, extend the Cubon Revolution! For socialist revolution throughout the Americas!*■

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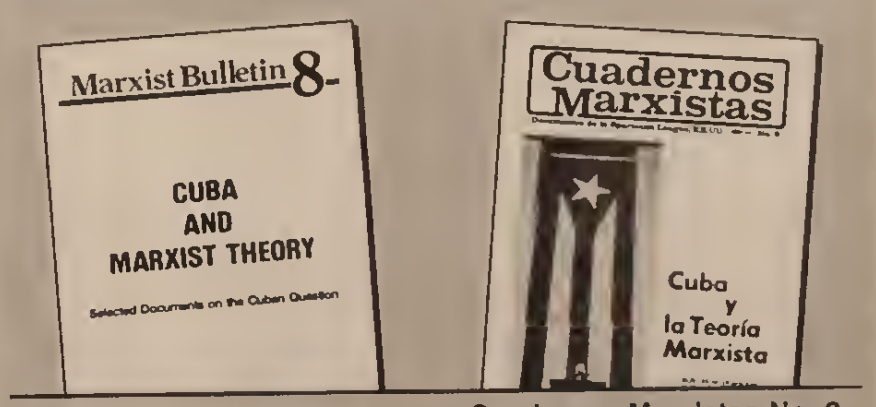

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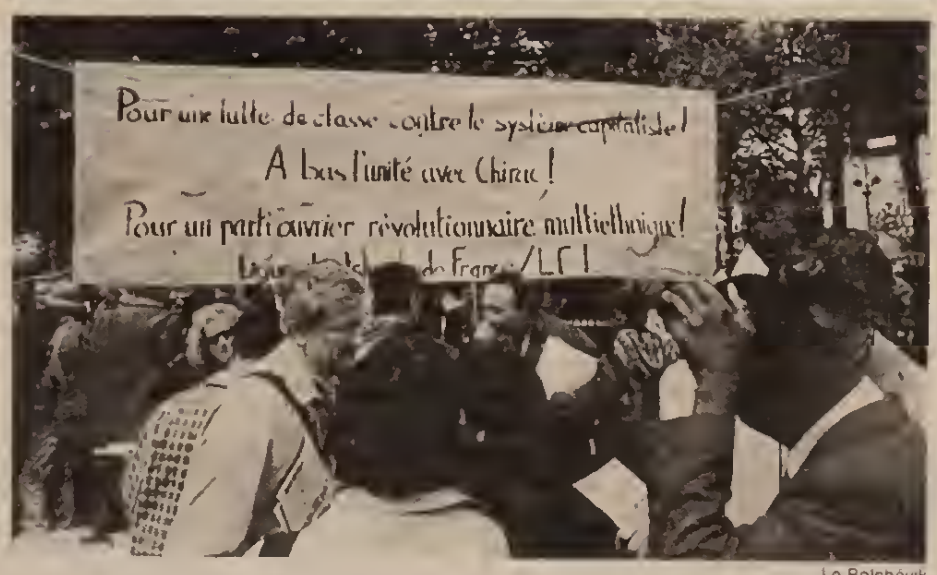
WORKERS VANGUARD

France: Fake Left Backs Chirac

AP

Break with Class Collaboration!
For a Multiethnic Revolutionary Workers Party!



Le Bolchévik

Paris, May Day: Hundreds of thousands protest electoral gains of fascist Le Pen. While fake left pushed support for rightist Chirac, LTF banner called for class struggle against capitalism, proclaiming, "Down With Unity with Chirac!"

MAY 13—Conservative French president Jacques Chirac celebrated his re-election last Sunday by declaring that his first order of business would be stepped up "security," a code word for racist cop terror against minorities. The election offered voters a pernicious "choice" between the racist Chirac and the outright fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the National Front (FN). It was like being asked to choose between smallpox and cholera! Yet virtually the entire left rallied behind Chirac as a supposed champion of "Republican values," forming a reactionary national front that extended from the Gaullist right to the "far left."

Far from being a bulwark against the extreme right, this broad spectrum of support for Chirac—and his 82 percent of the vote—will only lead to even more severe state repression against workers and all the oppressed. Chirac's "thank you" for the support he got from the "left" was to immediately intensify the Vigipirate campaign of cop terror, dramatically expanding subway "identity checks" of blacks and North Africans (Maghrebins) and moving to reinforce police squads by 40 percent in the Paris subway system. He is also shutting down the Sangatte camp for asylum-seekers near the English Channel. During the campaign, Le Pen vowed to load the Sangatte immigrants on a special train—evoking the Nazi deportations of Jews to the death camps during World War II—and ship them to Blair's Britain. Now Chirac is moving to get rid of them and ship them anywhere. This is what the "left" voted for in its hysterical campaign to stop Le Pen!

The election was preceded by almost daily mass demonstrations throughout the country in which hundreds of thousands of mainly young protesters expressed their outrage that a fascist had made it to the second round of the presidential ballot. Practically the entire left, from the Socialist Party (PS) and Communist Party (PCF) to the fake-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), pitched in to help channel that explosion of anger into getting out the vote for the rightist Chirac. It was the popular-front government—led by the PS and including the PCF and the bourgeois Greens—that prepared the way for Le Pen's electoral gains. From the mass expulsion of immigrants to Vigipirate, the popular front's racist attacks helped make Le Pen's venomous rantings "respectable."

The first round of the elections represented a stinging repudiation of the popular-front government. Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin promptly announced his resignation. Now, with parliamentary elections scheduled for next month, the "choice" being offered voters is whether it will be the right or the "left" that carries out more racist attacks and anti-working-class austerity. The electoral campaign is already centered on the same racist themes of "crime" and "security" that dominated the presidential elections.

Meanwhile, the opportunist LCR is riding high, as the bourgeois press touts them as responsible far leftists who rallied support to vote Chirac and save the Republic. Voting Chirac was the LCR's hoped-for entry card into the "United Left," the new name of the PS-led class-collaborationist coalition for the parliamentary elections. The LCR was reportedly granted a seat in the back-room horse trading aimed at cobbling together this new coalition—a process that LCR leader Alain Krivine calls "the reconstruction on the left" (*Libération*, 4 May).

Having helped make Chirac master of the house, as soon as the polls closed the LCR staged a rally at Place de la Bastille, joined by the PS, to begin organizing against Chirac! LCR presidential candidate Olivier Besancenot put on a militant face, declaring: "As in Italy, we need to prepare a general strike." Such prattle is nothing but a cynical attempt to maneuver workers into electing a new popular-front coalition. Meanwhile, the anarchist CNT and the Anarchist Federation (FA) were also very much part of the "stop Le Pen" (read: vote Chirac) swamp—despite all their talk, this time in the small print, against elections. The FA carried a banner in the Paris May Day demonstration that was at best ambiguous and at worst social-chauvinist, which read: "French/Immigrants: Our Country Is Liberty and Equality!" "*Our* country"?!

The LCR likewise prettifies imperialist France as a bastion of liberty and equality, appealing for French military intervention in the Near East and the Balkans. Besancenot refused even to defend soccer players from Corsica, long oppressed and persecuted by France, against a chauvinist tirade by Chirac because they jeered the French national anthem at a May 11 match. "I don't know if one can jeer *La Marseillaise* in the French Stadium," Besancenot told *Le Monde* (15 May), "but in any case one has the right to boo Jacques Chirac."

As the immediate "vote Chirac" frenzy subsides, a lot of workers and minorities will rightly blame those who stampeded them into voting for Chirac. Lutte Ouvrière (LO), an ostensibly Trotskyist organization which resisted the pressure to call for a vote to this rightist—for which it was reviled, hissed and booed—could be well positioned to make gains.

In the lead-up to the first round, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France issued a 10 March open letter to LO (*WV* No. 778, 5 April), which recognized that its presidential campaign sought to draw a crude class line against the Jospin popular front. At the same time, we explained why LO did not warrant even the most critical electoral support:

> "LO does not oppose the government because they are opposed to class collaboration: they empty their correct opposition of all its content by their tacit support to Vigipirate and their explicit support to the reactionary mobilizations of cops in November.... LO's refusal to fight against Vigipirate represents a loyalty oath to the racist bourgeois order and to the anti-working-class austerity of the Jospin government. But if, in its campaign, LO came out clearly against Vigipirate and the cop terror, we would envision calling for voting for LO, without muting our criticisms of their program."

Only after the election has LO "discovered" that the policies of the Jospin government—which LO helped put in office—were racist and paved the way for Le Pen.

LO's main emphasis going into the second round was to appeal to workers who had voted for Le Pen on the first round not to do so again. But in capitulating to the Jospin government's Vigipirate/"security" campaign, LO aided the popular front in driving backward workers into the arms of reaction. This election was a clear demonstration of how, in the absence of a credible left opposition to popular-front austerity and racist attacks, more backward sections of the working class can be attracted to "radical" right-wing demagogues. That underlines why the fight against racist oppression is so central to anti-capitalist struggle. Yet LO's timeworn practice is to capitulate to the existing level of consciousness of the working class rather than struggle against racist, sexist and anti-gay bigotry.

The centrist Internationalist Group (IG), a small clot of defectors from the revolutionary Trotskyism of the International Communist League, struck an ultra-militant posture over the French elections, thundering (in bold print) in a 26 April leaflet that it was "*necessary to mobilize the power of the working class to boycott the electoral circus of the bourgeoisie*" through "*demonstrations and workers strikes*" on the day of the vote. Interestingly, the "boycott" line was also promoted by the cyberspace political bandits of David North's World Socialist Web Site (29 April), who are past masters at cynical posturing to camouflage their

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 782

31 May 2002

Carter/Bush: Two Faces of Counterrevolution

Defend Cuba Against U.S. Imperialism!

U.S. Out of Guantánamo!

Each in its own way, Jimmy Carter's visit to Cuba earlier this month and President Bush's anti-Cuba tirade in Miami underline the determination of all wings of the U.S. ruling class to overthrow the Cuban Revolution. Speaking for a growing wing of the American bourgeoisie which looks to increased imperialist economic penetration to strengthen the forces of counterrevolution within Cuba, Carter called for an end to the 43-year-old embargo. Only days after Carter embraced Castro in Havana, Bush played to a crowd of rabidly anti-Communist Cuban *gusanos* (worms) in Miami, vowing to maintain the blockade with the purpose of strangling the Cuban Revolution.

Bush's speech was not simply aimed at helping his brother ride to re-election as Florida governor on the basis of the *gusano* vote. The Bush administration itself is riddled with *gusanos*, including assistant secretary of state Otto Reich. Other prominent members of the Bush team include John Negroponte and Elliott Abrams, who in the 1980s directed the CIA-backed contra terrorists in Nicaragua and the death squad regime in El Salvador. The Bush administration has provocatively used the U.S. military base at Guantánamo Bay to imprison captives from the U.S. war on Afghanistan. On the eve of Carter's visit, the White House ranted that Cuba was developing biological weapons, a charge reiterated two weeks later by an administration spokesman who ominously warned, "We're thinking about the next steps" (*Business Day*, 22 May). This is no idle threat. Cuba is one of seven countries listed by the Pentagon as potential first-strike nuclear targets.

Ever since the government of Fidel Castro expropriated the capitalist class in Cuba in 1960-61, establishing a bureaucratically deformed workers state, the U.S. ruling class has worked relentlessly to undermine the Cuban Revolution and re-establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie—from the 1961 Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs) invasion to repeated attempts to assassinate Castro; from funding counterrevolutionary terrorists in Miami to the ongoing economic embargo. For more than three decades, the biggest obstacle to Washington's drive for capitalist counterrevolution in Cuba was the existence of the Soviet Union, which supported Cuba with some $4 billion a year in aid and provided a crucial military shield against imperialism. In the wake of the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, the imperialist rulers see their big chance to bury the Cuban Revolution once and for all.

Spartacist Canada

World Youth Festival in Havana, 1997. U.S. imperialists seek to overturn Cuban Revolution, which has brought enormous gains to working people there.

The collapse of the USSR also enabled the American bourgeoisie to pursue different means of promoting counterrevolution in Cuba. After the Democratic Clinton administration twice tightened the embargo in the mid 1990s in an attempt to squeeze Cuba into submission, growing sections of the ruling class have concluded that such moves only serve to rally the population around the Castro regime. Moreover, American corporations have found themselves cut off from access to the markets which the Cuban government has opened up to foreign capital over the past decade. Divisions in the ruling class over Cuba were evident two years ago when Clinton agreed to return six-year-old Elián Gonzalez to his father in Cuba (see "The Elián Case and the U.S. Imperialist Drive for Counterrevolution—Defend the Gains of the Cuban Revolution!" *WV* No. 734, 21 April 2000).

Carter is simply the most recent and most prominent of a string of American politicians, both Democrats and Republicans, to visit Cuba in recent years. His visit was engineered to coincide with the Varela petition campaign by pro-imperialist dissidents demanding, as the *Washington Post* (28 April) reported, "a national referendum to guarantee freedom of expression and association, amnesty for political prisoners, free elections and the right to private enterprise." This amounts to a program for "democratic" counterrevolution. The Varela project, named after a 19th-century Cuban Catholic priest, was launched around the time of the 1998 visit by Pope John Paul II to Cuba and is led by the head of the "Christian Liberation Movement."

In welcoming Carter at the airport in Havana, Castro proclaimed: "It is no secret that for almost a century there have not been optimal relations between the two states. However, I wish to state that in the four years of your tenure as president, you had the courage to make efforts to change the course of those relations" (*Los Angeles Times*, 12 May). In fact, Carter ushered in a renewed imperialist anti-Soviet war drive during his presidency in the late 1970s, wielding the same "human rights" rhetoric he used in Cuba. In Angola, this Cold War drive took the form of a hot war, as the U.S. backed the racist South African army fighting Cuban troops who had been sent in to defend the left-nationalist MPLA regime.

Carter and Bush are simply two faces of the drive for imperialist-backed counterrevolution in Cuba. As the *Wall Street Journal* noted in a 21 May editorial: "Let's remember this is a family spat, between people who disagree on the best strategy for achieving their ultimate goal: bringing down the Castro regime." Upon his return to the U.S., Carter affirmed that "the ultimate goals of the White House and The Carter Center are the same" (*Washington Post*, 24 May).

As proletarian revolutionaries in the belly of the imperialist beast, we fight for the *unconditional military defense* of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We call for an end to U.S. imperialism's embargo against Cuba, a blatant act of war, and demand the immediate withdrawal of American forces from Guantánamo Bay.

Defend the Gains of the Cuban Revolution!

In a White House speech just before his meeting with the *gusanos* in Miami, Bush ranted that Castro was a "tyrant" who has debased the "legacy of courage" dating back to Cuba's fight for independence a century ago and "has turned a beautiful island into a prison." The "independence" and "freedom" the American imperialists seek to restore was 60 years of brutal exploitation and racist brutality—first under direct American rule

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AP

Former U.S. president Jimmy Carter greeted by Fidel Castro, May 12. Carter's "human rights" message is aimed at fomenting capitalist counterrevolution in Cuba.

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On the Hebrew-Speaking Nation

29 April 2002

To the Editor:

Let me say at the outset that I think your line on Palestine, as expressed in "Zionist Bloodbath in Jenin" (*WV* No. 779), is largely correct. However I am concerned about your continual description of the Jewish population of Israel as "Hebrew-speaking people" (and the working class component as "Hebrew-speaking workers"). This formulation is quite misleading.

Modern Hebrew has about as much social roots as Esperanto. Based on the dead language of Ancient Hebrew, it was largely invented by Eliezer ben Yehuda (1858-1922) as part of the Zionist project to manufacture a "Jewish nation." Unlike the socialist movement, the Zionists were contemptuous towards Yiddish and other languages the world's Jews actually spoke. If not for the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, where it became the official language, Modern Hebrew would be a mere curiosity. As it is, Hebrew is the mother tongue of only about half of Israel's Jewish population. There are a lot of recent immigrants who speak Russian, for example. Of course almost all Israeli Jews speak Hebrew as a lingua franca, but so do many so-called "Arab Israelis" (i.e. Palestinians who still live within Israel's official borders).

Bibleland Publications

Yemeni Jews arrive in Israel in 1950s. Sephardic and other Jewish immigrants have been assimilated into Hebrew-speaking nation.

The bourgeois media largely calls this group, "Israelis." I gather you avoid this because you want to distinguish the ethnic group from the current political structure of the State of Israel. In this case you should just call them "Jews." The only reason I can see for you to avoid this is because of the religious connotation. However religion *is* the only common denominator (apart from a distant and dilute "Semitic" ancestry), whether it is personally held or a matter of family tradition.

This opens up a can of worms. I feel that your use of this formulation, "Hebrew-speaking people," concedes to the Zionists in regards to the all-important "facts on the ground." They have not yet created the homogenous "nation state" this implies. In this current article, you oversimplify the Israel-Palestinian question as a classic case of interpenetrated peoples with both deserving the right of national self-determination. You criticise the PLO for treating Jews as a religious minority instead of a nationality, yet (as I have said) religion *is* the common denominator. (The PLO has, in fact, occasionally used the slogan of a "binational state"—see Edward Said, *The Politics of Dispossession.*) What makes this different from the classic case of interpenetrated peoples (like the Balkans) is that the Zionists have deliberately kept on interposing their "Jewish nation" and forcing out the Arabs, up to the present day with mass immigration and the settlements in the Occupied Territories. What makes them different from the Afrikaners in South Africa or the French *pied-noirs* in Algeria? Well, at least these groups could claim ethnic cohesion and roots in the land. This does not of course justify "ethnic cleansing," however bloodless. But there is also no justification to worship the *fait accompli* of a Jewish nation—especially when this has not fully been accomplished. Unfortunately I have to conclude without providing a solution I don't support the Arab nationalism promoted by the PLO, but your critique glosses over this complex issue. All this might seem overly theoretical when there is blood on the streets, but when the only "practical" alternatives on offer are suicide bombings on one hand and mechanised murder on the other, a little rationality is not misplaced.

Niall C.

***WV* replies:**

As Niall C.'s concluding paragraph makes clear, his difference is not simply terminological. He denies that the existence of a Hebrew-speaking nation is an accomplished fact or that Israel/Palestine is a "classic case of interpenetrated peoples." On this basis, he would obviously also disagree with our insistence that both the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab peoples have the right to self-determination and that these conflicting national rights can only be equitably realized through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution and the creation of a socialist federation of the Near East.

To begin with basic considerations, a common language is one of the defining characteristics of a nation, though not the sole one. Indeed, in places like Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina in the former Yugoslavia, distinctive religions, cultures and histories within the context of a more or less common language constitute defining differences. In the case of Israel—an exclusivist, semi-theocratic state—religion and language overlap. But to speak of a "Jewish nation" tacitly accepts the claim of the Zionists (and anti-Semites) that Israel is the "Jewish state," which speaks for and has (or should have) the loyalty of Jews everywhere.

The existence of a Hebrew-speaking nation in Israel—as distinct from the Jewish people in the U.S., Russia or elsewhere—*is* an accomplished fact. As we detailed in some depth in our two-part

continued on page 10

TROTSKY

LENIN

Political Revolution and Defense of the Workers State

In the 1938 Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky motivated the need for the Soviet proletariat to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Stalinists' betrayals of proletarian revolution internationally and attempts to appease world imperialism in the name of "socialism in one country" ultimately led to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92. Today in China, the Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms" increasingly embolden the imperialists and strengthen the forces of domestic counterrevolution. This poses point-blank the need to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party that can lead the combative proletariat in a political revolution to oust the Beijing bureaucracy and defend and extend the gains of the 1949 Revolution.

The Soviet Union emerged from the October revolution as a workers' state. State ownership of the means of production, a necessary prerequisite to socialist development, opened up the possibility of rapid growth of the productive forces. But the apparatus of the workers' state underwent a complete degeneration at the same time: it was transformed from a weapon of the working class into a weapon of bureaucratic violence against the working class, and more and more a weapon for the sabotage of the country's economy. The bureaucratization of a backward and isolated workers' state and the transformation of the bureaucracy into an all-powerful privileged caste constitute the most convincing refutation—not only theoretically but this time practically—of the theory of socialism in one country.

The USSR thus embodies terrific contradictions. But it still remains *a degenerated workers' state*. Such is the social diagnosis. The political prognosis has an alternative character: either the bureaucracy, becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers' state, will overthrow the new forms of property and plunge the country back into capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and open the way to socialism.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (1938)

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No. 782 31 May 2002

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French Trotskyists on Legislative Elections:

Why We Still Don't Call for a Vote to Lutte Ouvrière

May 27—Jacques Chirac was re-elected president of France earlier this month with the support of virtually the entire left, who rallied behind this open rightist as a supposed champion of "Republican values" against fascist National Front candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen. Taking a page from Le Pen's book, Chirac's first order of business was to declare that his top priority will be fighting "crime," ratcheting up racist cop terror in largely

LE BOLCHEVIK

black and North African ghettos. His new interior minister, Nicolas Sarkozy, underlined the point by accompanying a contingent of riot cops on a nighttime show of force in minority and working-class neighborhoods outside Paris. Meanwhile, the popular-front coalition of the Socialist Party (PS), the Communist Party (PCF) and the bourgeois Greens, which until a few weeks ago was the government, complains that Chirac is taking credit for "security" measures, such as the "Vigipirate" campaign of racist cop terror, that they introduced when they were in power.

France today offers a striking demonstration of the reality of bourgeois "democracy," an electoral shell game in which the oppressed simply get to choose which overseer will wield the whip. In the first round of the presidential elections, voters so decisively repudiated the PS-led coalition government that the Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin did not even make it to the second round and promptly retired from politics. Now voters are being asked in next month's legislative elections to "choose" whether it will be the right or the "left" that carries out racist attacks and anti-working-class austerity.

The absolute independence of the working class from the capitalist class and its parties is the necessary starting point for unleashing class struggle against the bourgeois order. We give no electoral support to the parties of the popular front, a class-collaborationist alliance that ties the workers to their class enemy, derails their struggles and poisons their class consciousness. For years, the capitalist popular-front government used terror against immigrants and other minorities to deflect anger over high unemployment and attacks on social programs. Mass deportations and Vigipirate put wind in the sails of the fascists.

The prize for being the most lying cynics on the French left must be awarded to the Pabloites of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). After mobilizing their forces to get out the vote *for Chirac*, the LCR and its youth group, the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, now pretend to be the best builders of a "social third round" against Chirac and even deny they voted for him. The audacity of their lies is in direct proportion to their craven capitulation to the reactionary national unity with Chirac, whom George Bush himself calls his "best friend" in the "war against terrorism." We will not let anyone forget the LCR's class treason. Disgust with the LCR's line has evidently caused enough turmoil that even its newspaper *Rouge* (23 May) felt compelled to print an outraged letter from a reader who decries the "serious political error which raises doubts about the LCR's capacities to evaluate a situation and make historic decisions.... I expect that the LCR will soon re-examine this episode and draw the lessons." The LCR is positively oozing with goo about building "a new force" with a ten-point program which doesn't even mention the working class, much less the need for a socialist revolution. Their "new force" is the old garbage of social democrats who deceive the workers with the lie that "democracy" can be achieved through reforms. Yet as plant closings and police repression in the *banlieues* [working-class and minority suburbs] reveal, *their* "democracy" is a dictatorship of the capitalist ruling class.

Down With Racist Vigipirate!

Le Bolchévik

LTF banner at Paris May Day march reads: "For Class Struggle Against the Capitalist System! Down With Unity with Chirac! For a Revolutionary Multiethnic Workers Party!"

Lutte Ouvrière (LO), a group claiming to be Trotskyist, sought during the presidential elections to draw a crude class line against the popular front by refusing to call for a vote to Jospin. However, LO's stated opposition to the government was belied by its refusal to oppose Vigipirate and by its explicit support to reactionary cop mobilizations last fall. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) refused to give LO even the most critical support, while declaring in an open letter to LO: "If, in its campaign, LO came out clearly against Vigipirate and the cop terror, we would envision calling for voting for LO, without muting our criticisms of their program" (*WV* No. 778, 5 April).

Under the pressure of events, LO has zigzagged sharply. With mass protests sweeping France following Le Pen's first-round electoral success, LO stood up to considerable pressure—even vilification—for its refusal to join the chorus calling for a vote to Chirac in the second round. After Chirac's re-election, LO continued briefly to strike a left posture, stating that the policies of the Jospin government had been racist and had paved the way for Le Pen—something they never deigned to admit when the popular front was in power. But LO quickly lurched back to the right, continuing—and deepening—its embrace of the campaign for "security," a code word for cop terror. When Sarkozy announced that cops in minority housing projects would be armed with guns that fire golf-ball-sized rubber bullets ("flash-balls"), even the thoroughly reformist PCF denounced the move. But not LO, which called it "an electoral trick in order to continue doing nothing serious against insecurity" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 24 May)!

By making common cause with the government's "security" campaign, LO swears fealty to bourgeois "law and order" and demonstrates how its perennial economism and contempt for the fight against all forms of special oppression pander to backward consciousness within the working class. In her keynote speech at the annual LO Fête on May 19, LO presidential candidate Arlette Laguiller never so much as uttered the words "racism," "war" or "imperialism." She went out of her way to solidarize with the "security" campaign and call for a "humanized" police—while bemoaning the fact that "flash-ball" guns are so expensive that not all cops will be given them! Meanwhile, the only criticism the LCR makes of LO in their legislative campaign is that they are "sectarian" for refusing a joint slate: not one word against LO's pandering to the pro-cop vote and capitulation to the racist security campaign!

In a 14 April posting on its Web site, the centrist Internationalist Group (IG), a handful of defectors from our Trotskyist program in the mid 1990s, raved that we had supposedly extended "conditional critical support" to LO. A few weeks later, in a 4 May statement, the IG idiotically asserted that LO "encouraged a vote for Chirac in the second round." Then at a May 17 demonstration in New York, IG founder-leader Jan Norden taunted our comrades, "LO, LO," while one of his acolytes ranted: "It's the LO supporters!"

Such absurdly flagrant lies have all the hallmarks of political desperation. The IG has been trying to posture as the militant in-the-streets wing of the anti-fascist electoral "unity" pushed by the French left in the tow of the popular front—beating the drums for mass mobilizations, even for "demonstrations and workers strikes" to "boycott" the second round of voting. While admitting in passing (in its 4 May statement) that "Le Pen is not about to take power," the IG's articles are full of the same "fascism is around the corner" rhetoric—with analogies to Adolf Hitler in Germany, Marshal Pétain in France, etc.—that the French "left" used to justify lining up behind Chirac.

As we remarked in "France: Fake Left Backs Chirac" (*WV* No. 781, 17 May), the IG pushed the same line in the case of Austria two years ago, when Jörg Haider's openly racist Freedom Party (FPÖ) entered a coalition with the right-wing People's Party (ÖVP). Social democrats across Europe screamed that Austria was on the verge of a fascist takeover and mobilized to pressure the ÖVP to kick out Haider and reinstate its longstanding coalition with the Austrian Socialist Party (SPÖ). Then, too, the IG posed as the militant voice of anti-fascist unity, devoting 20 pages of its *Internationalist* (June 2000) to "proving" that Haider's FPÖ is fascist. "So does the IG think Austria is fascist today?" we challenged them in our last article. Unable to answer this question, these liars and charlatans instead sputter and fume.

Haider's political outlook is indeed fascistic. But the FPÖ's rise is essentially an electoral phenomenon. Likewise, while Le Pen's gains at the polls have triggered a sharp shift to the right in the bourgeois political spectrum and are sure to further embolden his fascist thugs, the National Front's current success is mainly an electoral phenomenon. Indeed, if fascist terror against immigrants is not now rampant in France, it is largely because the popular-front government was already carrying out the kind of program of cop terror and deportations that is the fascists' rallying cry.

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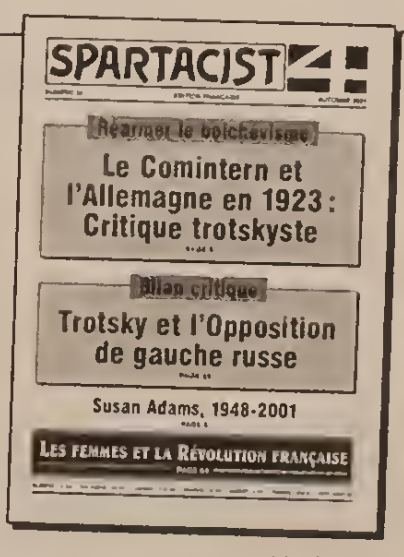

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Workers Protests Shake China

Part One of this article, which we conclude here, appeared in WV *No. 781 (17 May).*

PART TWO

In refuting the Stalinist doctrine of "building socialism in one country," Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky emphasized that the threat to the Soviet Union posed by the forces of imperialism was not just military but even more fundamentally economic:

> "The capitalist world shows us by its export and import figures that it has other instruments of persuasion than those of military intervention. To the extent that productivity of labor and the productivity of a social system as a whole are measured on the market by the correlation of prices, it is not so much military intervention as the intervention of cheaper capitalist commodities that constitutes perhaps the greatest immediate menace to Soviet economy."
>
> —*The Third International After Lenin* (1928)

Indeed, the unremitting military and economic pressure of world imperialism brought about the demise of the Soviet degenerated workers state, which was destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92.

The main weapon available to a nationally isolated and relatively economically backward workers state against the intervention of cheaper goods is the state monopoly of foreign trade—i.e., the strict control of imports and exports by the government. However, the moves toward decentralization of China's planned, collectivized economy by Deng Xiaoping and his successors have led to a breaking down of the state monopoly of foreign trade. Thousands of large state-owned enterprises (as well as foreign firms and joint ventures) have been given a wide latitude to import raw materials and equipment. The Beijing regime has sought to protect state-owned industry and also small-scale peasant agriculture from the full force of foreign capitalist competition through tariffs, subsidies, import licenses, limits on access to foreign exchange and other such palliatives.

But these measures cannot fundamentally protect the Chinese economy against the dominant imperialist powers. The 1949 Revolution that overthrew the Chinese bourgeoisie and ousted the imperialists led to the creation of a centrally planned economy and state monopoly of foreign trade, which resulted in massive social progress, including advancement of industry. But against the economies of the U.S., Japan and West Europe, Chinese industry, with its relatively low productivity of labor, cannot compete on the world market. By abandoning the state monopoly of foreign trade, the Beijing bureaucracy is opening the mainland's economy to even greater imperialist pressures.

With China's recent entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO), Western and Japanese imperialists demand that China's remaining trade barriers be eliminated or radically reduced. Beijing is for the first time granting a foreign bank—America's Citibank—the right to provide foreign-currency reserves to domestic customers. The regime has promised to eventually drop all restrictions against foreign banks offering local currency services to Chinese customers. These moves would provide Western and Japanese bankers points of direct contact on the mainland with entrepreneurs, rural businessmen and other capitalist-restorationist forces.

Meanwhile, the U.S. has adopted "anti-dumping" tariffs as high as 30 percent for Chinese and other steel imports! Faced with U.S. protectionism and seeking to take advantage of lower Chinese tariffs under the WTO agreement, a number of steel-producing countries have sharply increased exports to China, causing revenues at the largest state-owned steel company, Baoshan Iron & Steel, to plummet.

Regime spokesmen openly declare that as the economy adjusts to the terms of international competition stipulated by the WTO, the already soaring unemployment rate will *triple* over the next three years, with as many as ten million workers losing their jobs annually. Even this may be an understatement. Western bankers and academics estimate the current rate of unemployment at around 9-10 percent. The rate in the "rust belt" cities is commonly put at 25 percent. Unlike in capitalist societies, China's state industries are supposed to maintain benefits for laid-off workers; no one is being kicked out of their subsidized housing. But there is enormous pressure for state enterprises to cut back on such benefits, as overseas bankers demand that the central government stop bailing out these companies.

It is among the peasantry that the WTO may take its greatest toll, as import duties are sharply reduced on foreign produce. Some estimate that as many as 40 million Chinese peasants would be displaced if WTO strictures are enforced. Given China's backward agricultural techniques, even relatively well-off farmers will not be able to compete with produce imported from advanced capitalist countries. The poorer northern and western regions, which include most of China's ethnic minorities, would be particularly hard hit, aggravating the yawning gap in living standards between the rural hinterland and the booming eastern coastal regions. Moreover, with local officials charged with raising funds for public services since the mid 1980s, the rural population is subjected to extortionate taxes and specially incurred fees, which also help fill the pockets of thieving officials. The result has been a wildfire of peasant protests and riots.

However, the actual effects of China's entry into the WTO are not predetermined. The rules stipulated by the WTO for trade among member countries, like all other international agreements between sovereign states, are not self-enforcing, and are mainly honored in the breach. Member governments formally agree to abide by WTO rules and decisions and, if necessary, to change their existing policies accordingly. But if a member state violates these rules, openly or surreptitiously, its trading partners have no recourse other than retaliation in kind (just like in the pre-WTO days). Thus the European Union is now threatening to raise tariffs on an array of American imports in retaliation for Bush's recent increase in U.S. tariffs on foreign steel (which certainly violated WTO rules).

Obviously, the current leadership of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has not joined the WTO with the intention of then flouting its rules and thereby antagonizing the American as well as the Japanese and European ruling classes. But greater fear of internal social unrest may cause them to do that.

Three years ago, right-wing American economists Mark Groombridge and Claude Barfield published a book on China's then-pending accession to the WTO in which they expressed skepticism that China's leaders would subject state-owned enterprises (SOEs) to unrestricted international competition:

> "The authors consider it naive to think that China will allow SOEs to make decisions based solely on commercial considerations. China has been attempting to restructure its SOEs since 1978,

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Beijing: Some 200 retired auto workers shut down traffic on a major thoroughfare to protest pension cuts, March 27.

Defend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution!

Brown/AFP

Laid-off factory workers protest in northeastern city of Liaoyang this March. Unemployment has risen dramatically in China's "rust belt."

making the attempt a top priority since 1984. Although considerable progress has been made in some cases, it is clear that commercial factors are not the only considerations; political, social and dubious economic factors count as well. Politically, some Chinese leaders still see SOEs as a tool to protect state leaders from hostile domestic and foreign forces by preserving control over strategic resources."

—*Tiger by the Tail: China and the World Trade Organization* (1999)

The authors voice concern that if the Chinese government does not restructure its economy according to the dictates of Wall Street and Washington, "the WTO will face enervating disruptions and turmoil for many years to come after China's accession."

In their own way, these right-wing ideologues recognize that China is not now a capitalist state. The actual economic effects of entry will be determined by the struggle of the Chinese working class and rural toilers against the privations caused by the "market reforms" instituted by the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy. A parasitic layer administering the collectivized economy that issued out of the 1949 Revolution, this bureaucratic caste is acting ever more openly and directly as a transmission belt for the pressures of world capitalism upon the Chinese deformed workers state.

A proletarian political revolution that ousts the bureaucracy and establishes the rule of workers and peasants councils would re-establish a centrally planned economy and with it a state monopoly of foreign trade. This would necessarily mean pulling out of the WTO and repudiating or radically revising some of the other economic agreements negotiated by the Beijing regime with the capitalist powers. We are not here advocating a return to the economic autarky of the Mao era. To whatever extent possible, a Chinese workers state should take advantage of the international division of labor by promoting a high level of both exports and imports. At the same time, a regime of workers and peasants councils would face intense imperialist hostility, both militarily and economically (e.g., an economic embargo). This underlines the inextricable link between the defense of the gains of the Chinese Revolution and the struggle for socialist revolution internationally.

The Workers State and the Monopoly of Foreign Trade

Some Chinese leftists point to the New Economic Policy (NEP) developed by the Soviet workers state in 1921 as a justification for China's entry into the WTO and the "market-oriented reforms" in general. Such a comparison is false to the core. Unlike the "reforms" of Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin & Co., the NEP was seen as a temporary means of revitalizing the economy of the workers state that issued out of the 1917 October Revolution. On top of the destruction wreaked by World War I, following the revolution industry was further devastated by a three-year civil war and an imperialist embargo. Most importantly, Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks fought for the *international extension* of the revolution, particularly to the advanced capitalist countries. Even as the NEP was implemented domestically, the Bolsheviks dedicated much of their efforts to building the Third (Communist) International—an international of revolutionary parties whose task was to lead the working class in the overthrow of the world capitalist order.

1949 Revolution liberated women from centuries-old bondage, symbolized by crippling footbinding (near right). Present-day university graduation ceremony. Women's gains are being eroded by CCP regime's "market reforms."

Joseph Abeles Collection

Shanghai Century Publishing

Lenin described the NEP as a "strategical retreat" from policies enacted during the Civil War, when the young workers state successfully defended itself against imperialist invasion and counterrevolutionary White armies. Under "war communism," the Soviet regime requisitioned grain from the peasantry in order to feed its army and workers in the cities. This created huge resentments among the peasants, who began to withhold grain. The dictatorship of the proletariat in backward Soviet Russia had to lean heavily on the peasantry, which was the overwhelming majority of the population. As the Civil War wound down and the revolutionary tide that swept Europe after WWI receded, the cracks in the *smychka* (alliance) between the proletariat and peasantry made a turn in policy urgently necessary.

To get the economy moving, the Bolshevik regime made a series of concessions to market forces. Under the NEP, peasants were allowed to market produce exceeding the quota they were obliged to sell to the state. Small-scale industry (employing no more than 20 people) was encouraged. State industries had to sell their products on the market, giving peasants something to buy in exchange for their produce. Leeway was allowed for foreign investment in leased factories or joint ventures, although imperialist hostility largely blocked such investment.

Crucially, trade was kept under the control of the state. Lenin and Trotsky collaborated to beat back proposals put forward by elements in the Bolshevik leadership, including J. V. Stalin, to weaken the state monopoly of foreign trade. When Nikolai Bukharin advocated reliance on protective tariffs, Lenin insisted in "Re the Monopoly of Foreign Trade" (December 1922):

> "No tariff system can be effective in the epoch of imperialism when there are monstrous contrasts between pauper countries and immensely rich countries. Several times Bukharin mentions tariff barriers, failing to realise that under the circumstances indicated any of the wealthy industrial countries can completely break down such tariff barriers. To do this it will be sufficient for it to introduce an export bounty to encourage the export to Russia of goods upon which we have imposed high import duties. All of the industrial countries have more than enough money for this purpose, and by means of such a measure any of them could easily ruin our home industry.
>
> "Consequently, all Bukharin's arguments about the tariff system would in practice only leave Russian industry entirely unprotected and lead to the adoption of free trading under a very flimsy veil."

Lenin concluded: "In the present epoch of imperialism the only system of protection worthy of consideration is the monopoly of foreign trade." This fight with Bukharin, who at that time represented a small minority in the party, foreshadowed a similar fight waged by Trotsky in the mid 1920s, when both Bukharin and Stalin were at the helm of the party.

Industrialization and Revolutionary Internationalism

While the NEP succeeded in reviving economic life, it also created a layer of speculators, small traders and well-to-do peasants (kulaks) who were a corrosive influence on the apparatus of the workers state. Lenin was alarmed at the danger this posed, particularly as these layers found voice among state officials and party leaders. One of the last battles fought by Lenin, who was incapacitated for a year before his death in January 1924, was against the burgeoning bureaucracy that was exerting a conservatizing pressure on the small proletarian vanguard organized in the Bolshevik Party.

As early as April 1923, Trotsky warned of the danger posed by the "scissors crisis" (the lack of sufficient manufactured goods to exchange for agricultural produce, leading the peasants to withhold food from the cities). In early October, he wrote to the Bolshevik Central Committee to demand that it address the urgent need for planned industrialization and open a campaign against bureaucratism in the party. Later that same month, the failure of the expected German revolution shattered the hope of the Soviet workers that a proletarian revolution in Europe would end the desperate isolation of the Soviet republic. The demoralization that swept the working class strengthened the then-ruling "triumvirate" of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev, who expressed the conservative and nationalist outlook of the coalescing bureaucratic stratum.

A loose anti-bureaucratic opposition demanding economic planning and a faster pace of industrialization came together around Trotsky in the leadup to the Thirteenth Party Conference, held in January 1924. At this conference, the Left Opposition was bureaucratically defeated by Stalin and his allies in the triumvirate. With the benefit of hindsight, Trotsky wrote in his 1935 piece "The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism":

> "The smashing of the Left Opposition implied in the most direct and immediate sense the transfer of power from the hands of the revolutionary vanguard into the hands of the more conservative elements among the bureaucracy and the upper crust of the working class. The year 1924—that was the beginning of the Soviet Thermidor."

In late 1924, Stalin propounded the "theory" of "socialism in one country." Initially developed as a rationale for economic autarky, this anti-Marxist dogma later served as the bureaucracy's ideological justification for forfeiting the cause of proletarian revolution internationally in a futile effort to appease world imperialism. As Trotsky noted in his seminal work, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937):

> "Irresoluteness before the individual peasant enterprises, distrust of large plans, defense of a minimum tempo, neglect of international problems—all this taken together formed the essence of the theory of 'socialism in one country,' first put forward by Stalin in the autumn of 1924 after the defeat of the proletariat in Germany. Not to hurry with industrialization, not to quarrel with the muzhik, not to count on world revolution, and above all to protect the power of the party bureaucracy from criticism!"

Coming to the fore as a leading theoretician for the bureaucratic regime, Bukharin argued to "build socialism even on a pauper technical basis" and to grant ever greater concessions to the rich peasants. In 1925, he urged the kulaks to "enrich yourselves," a potentially fatal conciliation of social forces that would inevitably seek the restoration of capitalism in Russia. Encouraged by the bureaucracy, the "NEPmen" continued to grow in strength: at the end of 1926, nearly 60 percent of the industrial labor force worked in privately owned small-scale industry, under the grip of petty capitalists who controlled supply and distribution. The NEPmen and kulaks were demanding that they be allowed to sell their produce on the world market and to import industrial and consumer products.

The bureaucracy's increasing conciliation of the kulaks led to a conflict of interests in the triumvirate, pitting Zinoviev and Kamenev, with their proletarian bases in Leningrad and Moscow, against Stalin and Bukharin's pro-kulak policies. In the summer of 1925, Stalin seized control of the Moscow party organization; later that year he smashed Zinoviev's base of support. In 1926, Zinoviev and Kamenev joined forces with Trotsky's Left Opposition to form the United Opposition (UO). The UO advocated the planned construction of heavy industry, to be financed by increased taxation of the kulaks. The Opposition also called for a rise in workers' wages and for the use of economic incentives to further voluntary collectivization among poorer peasants.

In response to Bukharin's drive to weaken the monopoly of foreign trade,

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Members of Trotskyist Left Opposition exiled in Siberia commemorate anniversary of Russian Revolution, 1928. Banner reads: "Turn the Fire to the Right—Against Kulak, Nepman and Bureaucrat—Not in Words, But in Deeds."

China...

(continued from page 5)

the September 1927 "Platform of the Opposition" asserted that the state monopoly "is a vitally necessary instrument for socialist construction, under the circumstances of a higher technological level in the capitalist countries." But, the Platform continued:

> "No domestic policy can by itself deliver us from the economic, political, and military dangers of the capitalist encirclement. The task at home is to move forward as far as possible on the road of socialist construction by strengthening ourselves with a proper class policy, by proper relations between the working class and the peasantry. The internal resources of the Soviet Union are enormous and make this entirely possible. While we make use of the world capitalist market for this purpose, our fundamental historical expectations continue to be linked with the further development of the world proletarian revolution. Its victory in the advanced countries will break the ring of capitalist encirclement, deliver us from our heavy military burden, enormously strengthen us technologically, accelerate our entire development—in town and countryside, in factory and school—and give us the possibility of really building socialism—that is, a classless society, based on the highest level of technology and real equality among all its members both at work and in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor."

When the conciliation of the kulaks proved every bit the disaster predicted by the Opposition, Stalin moved to purge his former Bukharinite bloc partners and implement part of the Opposition's economic program. This turn foreclosed the immediate threat of capitalist restoration. Having laid none of the technical or economic foundations, the Soviet state—with Stalin's characteristic brutality—moved to collectivize the peasantry and initiate an adventurous rate of industrialization.

In forming the UO, Trotsky and Zinoviev-Kamenev had shared a theoretical opposition to "socialism in one country" and opposition to the pro-peasant economic policies of Stalin and Bukharin. However, on the critical international question of the then-unfolding Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 Trotsky and Zinoviev had fundamental differences. On the instructions of the Comintern, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was buried inside the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang (Kuomintang), a policy which eventually paved the way for a bloody defeat. Even before the UO was formed, Trotsky had called for the full withdrawal of the CCP from the Guomindang. This demand, opposed by Zinoviev and his supporters, was not the public line of the UO.

The UO platform called for the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," insisting that the Chinese Revolution could only be a national-democratic revolution, not a socialist one. Again, this was at variance with Trotsky's position. In September 1927, Trotsky argued that "the business at hand is the *dictatorship of the proletariat*" in China. It was on the basis of the experience of the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 that Trotsky came to generalize his theory of permanent revolution, which had been confirmed by the October Revolution: in countries of belated capitalist development, only the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasant masses and fighting to extend proletarian rule to the imperialist countries, could break the fetters of political despotism and economic and social backwardness. In his 1928 article "The Opposition's Errors—Real and Alleged," Trotsky noted:

> "Last fall we did not explain aloud that the experience of 1925-27 had already liquidated the slogan of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry for the Chinese revolution, and that in the future this slogan would lead either to a regurgitation of Kuomintangism or to adventures. This was quite clearly and precisely predicted. But even here we made concessions (completely impermissible ones) to those who underestimated the depth of the backsliding on the Chinese question."

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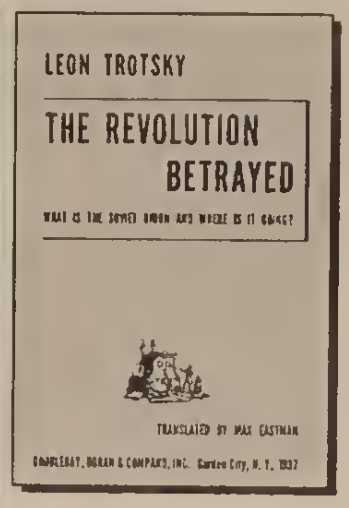

Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* analyzed rise of Stalinist bureaucracy in USSR, pointed to need for workers political revolution to oust bureaucratic regime.

China on the Brink

In China today, the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy closely resemble those advocated by Bukharin, and then some. The current Beijing regime has discarded even the fig leaf of egalitarian socialism, and many of its offspring openly aspire to become capitalists.

One of the most incisive Chinese critics of the corruption engendered by "market reforms" is the journalist He Qinglian, who recently went into exile in the U.S. Her article "China's Listing Social Structure" (*New Left Review*, September-October 2000) takes aim at the Communist Party leadership for setting up their "princeling" sons (and daughters) in business, calling this a "one family, two systems arrangement." This is a play on the regime's policy on the reversion of Hong Kong from British colonial rule to Chinese control in 1997. The policy was dubbed "one country, two systems," referring to the fact that while political power lay in Beijing, Hong Kong remains capitalist.

Some officials have set themselves up as exploiters by routing funds through dummy corporations in Hong Kong back into the mainland as "foreign" investment. Recently, there has been a marked outflow of money from the mainland, despite laws against the export of capital. The "princelings" and other entrepreneurs often invest overseas via connections they made through joint ventures and other dealings with foreign businessmen.

Describing China's growing social polarization, He Qinglian writes:

> "Many large or medium Chinese cities now have wealthy neighborhoods, often guarded by state-of-the-art security systems. Consumption too is highly stratified. Specialty stores sell high-fashion items to the rich; street stalls offer cheap wares to the poor. Commercialized political power redistributes wealth to an elite now reproducing itself across generations. Members of the middle or lower classes are acutely aware of the mechanisms of dispossession and exploitation. The most obvious phenomenon is the contrast in the fate of managers and workers when a state enterprise goes bankrupt. Workers are thrown off-post without the slightest compensation, but a former manager or head of a factory never falls into the same pit of poverty. On the contrary, he will often be re-employed by the buyer of the firm's residual assets—not because of his skill as a manager, but for his cooperation in disposing of state property. Such bosses display ever-stronger anti-social tendencies. The result is a rise in terrorist incidents, physical attacks on the rich, stoppages and sabotage in state-owned enterprises—all manifestations of class conflict."

This is a powerful depiction of a country on the brink of explosion. But where will this lead?

Many purported leftists advance the anti-Marxist notion that capitalist restoration has succeeded in China and the bureaucracy has become a possessing class in its own right (a view apparently shared by He). This position is characteristic of what passes for "Trotskyism" in China, as represented by the Hong Kong-based Pioneer group associated with the United Secretariat (USec). An article in the USec's *International Viewpoint* (March 2002) stated: "The overwhelming majority of technocrats and bureaucrats—the backbone of the CCP—have benefited handsomely from the restoration of a capitalist market economy, and they certainly see no reason to reverse its course."

Many in the bureaucracy may aspire to a place in the ruling class of a capitalist China for themselves and their children. But this would require a *social counterrevolution* that destroys the workers state and creates a new bourgeois state. Writing of the USSR under Stalin, Trotsky noted in *The Revolution Betrayed*: "The contrast between forms of property and norms of distribution cannot grow indefinitely. Either the bourgeois norm must in one form or another spread to the means of production, or the norms of distribution must be brought into correspondence with the socialist property system." In China, despite the erosion of nationalized industry, state enterprises are still the core of the economy. As Trotsky wrote, the bureaucracy "continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat."

From its support to the counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność movement in the early 1980s to the Yeltsin-led counterrevolution in the USSR in 1991-92 to China today, the USec has consistently sided with the forces of "democratic" counterrevolution. The USec has repeatedly backed pro-imperialist Chinese "dissidents" who act as domestic agents for capitalist restoration, and a Pioneer spokesman at a public forum in Tokyo last November declared that his group would defend capitalist Taiwan in a war with China. Against such counterfeit "Trotskyists," the ICL stands for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against Taiwan or any other capitalist state, and against any internal threat of capitalist counterrevolution. The fight for proletarian political revolution is premised on defense of the gains of the 1949 Revolution.

Beware "Labor" Front Men for Imperialism!

Throughout the anti-Soviet Cold War, the American AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy promoted and funded "free trade unions" in East Europe—centrally Solidarność in the 1980s, which spearheaded the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc. Today, the labor lieutenants of U.S. imperialism, working through such agencies as the American Center for International Labor Solidarity, want to carry out a similar operation in China. They hope to exploit the hostility of Chinese workers to the oppressive and corrupt Beijing bureaucracy by appealing to "democracy." In the mouths of the AFL-CIO tops, "democracy" is nothing but a code word for re-establishing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through counterrevolution. The American labor tops combine anti-Communist tirades against China with flag-waving trade protectionism. At a protest outside the Seattle WTO meeting in December 1999, which also attracted a wide range of liberal and leftist youth, a delegation of AFL-CIO officials demonstratively dumped a load of Chinese steel into Puget Sound.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), the only union body legally allowed in China, acts as an arm of the bureaucracy to police the workers, including in the Special Economic Zones (SEZs) where union officials openly act in league with the capitalist exploiters. In a truly grotesque display, this May Day—traditionally a commemoration of international working-class solidarity—ACFTU officials "honored" a group of capitalist entrepreneurs as "model workers"!

Workers organizations independent of the bureaucracy have begun to emerge in the recent wave of labor protests. In Daqing, retired oil workers built their own organization counterposed to the ACFTU. Other workers have tried to install a new leadership in order to transform their ACFTU union into an organization that fights for their interests. Any organization which is to defend the workers' interests must stand in *defense of the workers state and its collectivized foundations*. As we wrote in "Chinese Miners Revolt Against

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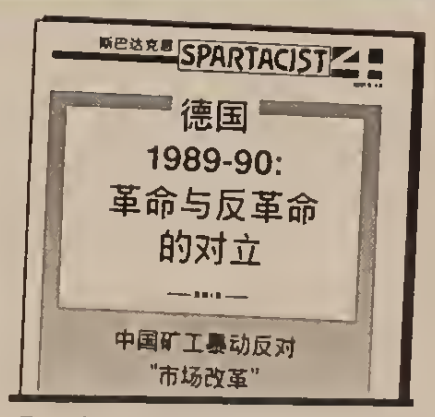

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'Market Reforms'" (*WV* No. 735, 5 May 2000):

> "A proletarian political revolution will begin under the banner of struggles against social inequality and political oppression, as in 1989. The struggle for freedom of the trade unions—based on the defense of socialized property—as well as for the right of assembly and freedom of the press, will unfold as part of the fight for soviet democracy, for the formation of workers councils opposing the bureaucratic parasites and suppressing counterrevolutionary elements. The central question is that of revolutionary leadership, which can only be resolved by forging a Leninist-Trotskyist party to bring revolutionary socialist consciousness to the working class."

As workers struggles develop in China, the central importance of defending the gains of the 1949 Revolution is illustrated in the negative by the history of Han Dongfang, who is upheld by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and the capitalist media as an "independent" labor leader. A railroad worker in 1989, Han emerged as a leader of the Beijing Autonomous Workers Federation, a key workers organization during the Tiananmen protests. Similar groups arose in city after city, joined by many of the regime's own ACFTU unions. The entry of the working class into the student-initiated protests marked an incipient political revolution. Faced with this proletarian upheaval, the bureaucracy was fracturing, with recalcitrant military commanders refusing to follow orders to suppress the protests. Eventually, the regime found units it could mobilize against the protests and carried out a bloody campaign of terror aimed squarely at the workers. What was crucially missing in the 1989 upheaval was a revolutionary leadership.

Der Spiegel

Left: CIA-backed, Vatican-sponsored Solidarność "union" spearheaded counterrevolution in Poland. Today, Han Dongfang, publisher of "China Labour Watch," spews counterrevolutionary propaganda on U.S.-sponsored Radio Free Asia.

Forced to flee China, Han made his way to the U.S., where he was adopted by right-wing Congressmen and the AFL-CIO hierarchy. Converting to Christianity, Han soon became a pro-imperialist "dissident." He eventually set up shop in Hong Kong, where he publishes the journal *China Labour Bulletin* (now available only on the Internet), which includes correspondence with workers on the mainland. The purpose he serves is demonstrated by his regular show on Radio Free Asia, an arm of the U.S. government that broadcasts into China. In 1999, Han and three other Chinese "human rights" activists issued a letter commending California Republican Congressman Christopher Cox for his "courageous work in promoting freedom within the People's Republic of China." Cox spearheaded the racist witchhunt against Taiwanese-born scientist Wen Ho Lee the same year and ranted that all the tens of thousands of mainland Chinese students, scientists and others residing in the U.S. were potential "Communist agents."

In the guise of defending workers' rights, Han's outfit and others, like the New York City-based "China Labor Watch," seek to bring imperialist pressure to bear on the Chinese deformed workers state. They are lauded in the West as harbingers of a Chinese version of Polish Solidarność. In East Europe and the former Soviet Union, many workers bought the lie that capitalist restoration would bring prosperity and living standards comparable to the U.S., West Europe and Japan. But it will not be easy to sell "free enterprise" to Chinese workers, many of whom have already experienced the miseries of "free market" exploitation in the SEZs. It is telling that in his service to imperialism, Han has to resort to leftist-sounding rhetoric in denouncing the corruption of rich cadres and capitalist exploitation in such plants.

Reiser/Bilderberg

Moscow street market. Restoration of capitalism has brought terrible immiseration to working people in former USSR.

The Struggle for the Liberation of Women

It is no accident that women have played a prominent role in the recent workers' protests. While the 1949 Revolution brought enormous social and economic gains to Chinese women, many of these gains have been eroded by "market reforms."

After 1949, women were given access to education and the right to marry whomever they chose (and to divorce as well), as enshrined in the 1950 Marriage Law. However, the weight of traditional peasant backwardness frequently prevented those newly won rights from becoming a reality. Moreover, Stalinist ideology glorifies the family, particularly in China where the Communist Party was based on the peasantry. Party cadre assigned to enforce the Marriage Law in the villages often bowed to the pressure of peasants who wanted to maintain the traditional family structure.

Nevertheless, with the establishment of planned industrial development, women were vaulted into the workforce at many levels, although some discrimination remained. The skills and education they achieved can be measured today at the mammoth Three Gorges dam construction site, where women as well as men operate some of the world's largest and most powerful earthmoving machinery. One would be hard-pressed to find this sight duplicated in even the most advanced capitalist societies. It would certainly not be seen in a country like capitalist India, which before 1949 was roughly at the same level of social development as China but today remains mired in hideous poverty, barbaric anti-woman practices and all-around backwardness.

But today women in cities like Guangzhou (Canton) account for only one-third of workers in state industry, whereas previously they had held nearly half the jobs. In part, this is due to discrimination against older women. For some years, the official retirement age for women has been lower than that for men. After the regime began encouraging "early retirement" in 1994, the age was lowered to the point that in some large plants it is now 42 for women (and 52 for men). In large part, this is a veiled form of layoffs.

With consummate cynicism, the government's 29 April report, "Labor and Social Security in China," crows that "a total of 30 cities so far have carried out a 'starting a business' training program, offering training to laid-off and unemployed persons who wish to establish a small business." This is scant solace to the vast majority of women who have lost their jobs. In the mid 1990s, a study of the economically depressed northeastern city of Shenyang showed that a large proportion of those laid off were women over the age of 35. Many have been forced to eke out a living peddling from street stalls. Predictably, there has also been a rise in prostitution. An additional danger to women's rights is the growth of reactionary religious sects like Falun Gong, which opposes abortion, considers women inferior to men and is rife with anti-homosexual bigotry.

In the countryside, where some two-thirds of the population lives, women have suffered gravely since the decollectivization of agriculture beginning in 1978. While the communes of the Mao era were essentially large aggregates of backward peasant plots, women did achieve a certain degree of equality. But the division of the land into individually leased family-operated plots—the first "market reform"—has breathed new life into centuries-old horrors rooted in the traditional Chinese family structure, such as female infanticide and the buying and selling of "wives." With rural life such a dead end for young women, many flocked to sweatshops in the SEZs, even if this meant toiling up to 14 hours a day with barely a day or two off per month.

As we wrote in "China: 'Free Market' Misery Targets Women" (*Women and Revolution* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996):

> "A China run by democratically elected workers and peasants councils would make short shrift of the scum who traffic in human beings. But to overcome the social pathology that has brought about the return of female infanticide, abandonment of children and selling of women into slavery requires alleviating the poverty and isolation of the peasant masses, which in turn requires the massive modernization and mechanization of the countryside to lay the material basis for a rational recollectivization of agriculture. This task is dependent on the economic integration of China into a socialist Asia based on the advanced industrial capacity of countries like Japan and Australia."

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

The resistance of the Chinese working class to attacks on their livelihoods has

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Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

and then under American-backed puppet dictators.

The U.S. seizure of Cuba from Spain in the 1898 Spanish-American War was followed by a brutal military occupation. Cubans who opposed American decrees were horsewhipped in the street, journalists were thrown in jail and "anti-American" publications were shut down by military censors. The U.S. contemptuously rejected Cuban demands for universal suffrage, not least because it would have meant giving the vote to the 40 percent of the Cuban population which was black. American business interests took over the railroads, mines and sugar properties. The occupation ended in 1902 (with the island poorer than it had been 80 years earlier!) only after Cuba had been forced to incorporate into its constitution a clause giving the U.S. the "right" to intervene whenever it saw fit.

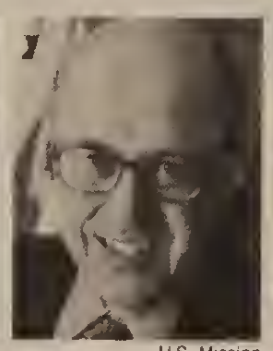
For the next 56 years, the Cuban toilers suffered under the neocolonial domination of U.S. imperialism, and one U.S. puppet dictator after another. The last of these was Fulgencio Batista, who ruled over a society marked by systematic and brutal oppression of black people, mass unemployment and illiteracy, miserable urban slums and a destitute rural population squeaking by through seasonal employment. It was only the overthrow of the hated Batista regime in January 1959 by Castro's rebel army that heralded an end to this squalid imperialist depredation.

The rebel army under Castro—a former supporter of the liberal bourgeois Ortodoxo party—was a politically heterogeneous petty-bourgeois formation. At the same time, the smashing of the Batista regime left the old bourgeois state apparatus shattered. The new government implemented a series of reforms culled straight from the Ortodoxo party's liberal program. But the land distribution and the revolutionary justice meted out to Batista's former police torturers scared Castro's own bourgeois supporters, who started fleeing to Miami. It also scared

Raul Corrales

Cuban soldiers defeat CIA Bay of Pigs invasion, 1961. Below (from left): Bush appointees Otto Reich, John Negroponte, Elliot Abrams—architects of bloody counterrevolution in Latin America.

AP



U.S. Mission

Economist

the American imperialists, not least the United Fruit Company, which controlled much of the island. Washington began to institute punitive measures against Cuba, leading Castro to sign a trade agreement with the Soviet Union.

Faced with an escalating imperialist offensive, the Cuban government nationalized U.S.-owned properties and followed this in October 1960 with a decisive blow against the economic base of domestic reaction, nationalizing all banks and businesses. These nationalizations liquidated the Cuban bourgeoisie as a class.

The elimination of capitalist class rule in Cuba led to enormous gains for its working people that remain tangible today. The centralized planned economy guaranteed everyone a job, decent housing, food and education. Cubans now enjoy one of the highest literacy rates in the world, and nearly one in eleven hold university degrees. The revolution especially benefited women: domination of the Catholic church was broken; abortion is a free health service; and the birthrate is only 1.5 per woman, which is more typical of rich countries. Despite the crippling effects of the U.S. blockade, the free health care system is still far and away the best among "Third World" countries. Infant mortality is lower than in parts of the "First World," and Cuba has more doctors and teachers per capita than just about anywhere in the world. The pretext for the White House's "bioterrorism" slander against Cuba is the fact that in developing a system to provide medical care for its population, Cuba has become one of the world's most advanced manufacturers of pharmaceuticals.

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at NYC demonstration in defense of Cuba, 1994.

But the Cuban workers state has been bureaucratically deformed from its inception, with the working class excluded from political power. In explaining how a petty-bourgeois guerrilla movement led to the creation of a deformed workers state, we wrote in the Spartacist League's Declaration of Principles adopted in 1966:

> "Movements of this sort can under certain conditions, i.e., the extreme disorganization of the capitalist class in the colonial country and the absence of the working class contending in its own right for social power, smash capitalist property relations; however, they cannot bring the working class to *political* power. Rather, they create bureaucratic anti-working-class regimes which suppress any further development of these revolutions towards socialism."

Today, with the Soviet Union destroyed and consequently no readily available lifeline against imperialist encirclement, the narrow historical opening for petty-bourgeois forces to overturn local capitalist rule has been closed.

The SL's precursor, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), waged a political struggle in the SWP over precisely this question. The SWP, which had been the party of revolutionary Trotskyism in the U.S., equated the Castro bureaucracy with the revolutionary internationalist Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky. In so doing, the SWP leaders explicitly rejected both the necessity of a Leninist-Trotskyist party to provide revolutionary leadership and the centrality of the proletariat in the fight for socialism. The RT characterized Cuba as a bureaucratically deformed workers state and showed that the Castroite guerrillas in power had embraced the nationalist-Stalinist model of the USSR after its degeneration, which meant upholding the dogma of "socialism in one country" and opposing the perspective of international proletarian revolution. As we explained in the 1973 Preface to "Cuba and Marxist Theory" (*Marxist Bulletin* No. 8):

> "In opposing the SWP Majority's revisionism, our original tendency came into existence and fought for three main programmatic points in orienting to the Cuban revolution and its defense: insistence on the Permanent Revolution, i.e. the view that no essential task of the revolution could be achieved short of the victory and consolidation of a workers state; and, correspondingly, insistence on the struggle for hegemony of the working class in the revolution; together with the necessity for a conscious Trotskyist party as the proletarian vanguard to lead that struggle."

Trotskyists are the most militant, unconditional defenders of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialism and counterrevolution. At the same time, we fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and place political power in the hands of workers councils animated by a program of revolutionary internationalism.

For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

By 1965, the SWP had degenerated into outright reformism, while remaining cheerleaders for the Castro regime to this day. In an article reporting on Carter's visit, the SWP's *Militant* (3 June) had not a word of criticism of Castro's embrace of this "human rights" imperialist, nor does it even mention the dangers posed to the gains of the Cuban Revolution by the imperialist economic penetration favored by Carter. In fact, it was Castro who invited Carter to Cuba and gave him a platform to attack the revolution on nationwide television.

Similarly, when the Pope visited in 1998 explicitly for the purpose of fomenting counterrevolution, the *Militant* (9 February 1998) fatuously headlined, "Confident Revolutionary Gov't Hosts Pope In Cuba." This is the Pope Wojtyla who was the godfather of the CIA-financed Solidarność movement, which spearheaded the drive for the restoration of capitalism in Poland. Indeed, the few times the SWP has differed with Castro was when they stood to his right, capitulating to the U.S. ruling class by championing anti-Soviet counterrevolutionaries like Solidarność and Russia's Boris Yeltsin. When defense of the Soviet Union, Cuba's main economic lifeline, was posed pointblank in 1991, the SWP backed Yeltsin's forces of counterrevolution, exclaiming "Soviet Workers Win Giant Victory by Defeating Coup" (*Militant*, 6 September 1991).

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) at least manages to recognize that Carter "represents a wing of Corporate America whose interests aren't humanitarian" and which wants "the freedom to locate operations there to take advantage of the country's low-wage workforce, as their Canadian and European competitors increasingly have" (*Socialist Worker*, 24 May). But while it opportunistically caters to the continued popularity of Cuba among leftists and youth in the U.S., the ISO has been defined from its origins by visceral anti-Communist hostility to the deformed workers states, which it characterizes as "state capitalist" and refuses to defend against imperialism and counterrevolution. Several years ago, the ISO's then-cothinkers in Canada ***hailed a counterrevolutionary riot*** in Havana as a sign that "Cuban workers and peasants have begun to break the hold of a repressive regime" (*Socialist Worker* [Canada], September 1994).

Among the most abject apologists for the Castro bureaucracy is the Workers World Party (WWP). An editorial in *Workers World* (23 May) titled "Carter and Cuba" has no criticism of Castro and asserts, "Even after all these years of material difficulties caused by the U.S. blockade, the socialist government in Cuba doesn't have much to fear from the internal opposition." The editorial concludes by calling on the "progressive movement" to "reject Carter's preaching to Cuba on democracy, while taking advantage of the attention focused on the blockade to campaign more vigorously than ever against it."

Workers World's polyannish proclamation to the contrary, the Cuban Revolution is today in great peril. To avert economic disaster following the cutoff of Soviet aid in 1989-90, the Cuban bureaucracy has increasingly opened the country to imperialist economic penetration and instituted a series of "market reforms." Cuba today has substantial imperialist investment, especially from West European and Canadian corporations. This is generally in the form of joint ventures in tourism and mining, among other industries. In the mid 1990s, the regime also legalized the holding and exchange of U.S. currency, a "dollarization" of the economy which has led to sharp and growing income differentials hitting women and black Cubans the hardest. Hundreds of billions of dollars flow into Cuba from the U.S., but black Cubans, whose relatives are not rich Miamians, are far less likely to receive those greenbacks.

The growth of inequality and the danger of the growing free market to the planned economy can be seen in the tourist industry, which now makes up over 40 percent of the Cuban economy. Though paid in pesos, those who work in tourism, which largely excludes blacks, get most of their income in dollars through tips, giving them access to luxuries and even basic necessities which most Cubans can't get. Desperate women trying to feed their families have been forced into prostitution at the edges of the booming tour-

ist industry. While the counterrevolutionary dissidents may be few in number today, the growing imperialist penetration and social inequality serve to continually reinforce pro-capitalist tendencies within Cuba and to undermine support for the revolution among the population.

WWP's refusal to criticize Castro or the Cuban bureaucracy for embracing imperialists like Carter dovetails with its own tailing after liberal Democrats and other "progressives" in the U.S. Like other reformist pseudo-socialists who call for "solidarity with Cuba," WWP is looking for a lash-up with liberal Democrats who oppose the embargo as ineffective from the standpoint of fomenting counterrevolution. In the few mealy-mouthed criticisms of Carter to be found in its editorial, nowhere did WWP point to the counterrevolutionary character of his "human rights" crusade in the late 1970s or to the danger posed by the imperialist penetration Carter and significant sections of the American bourgeoisie advocate for Cuba today.

It was New Jersey Democratic Senator Robert Torricelli who authored legislation under the Clinton administration to *tighten* the embargo. On the other hand, no less a right-winger than Attorney General John Ashcroft was instrumental, when he was a Missouri Senator, in passing a 1999 bill to end the embargo on food shipments to Cuba. Indeed, many Republicans, especially from farm states eager to increase agricultural exports to Cuba, have called for easing or ending the embargo.

By amnestying Castro's nationalist policies, WWP undermines the defense of the Cuban Revolution. The Castro regime has always aimed for "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism, as Che Guevara proclaimed in a 1964 speech to the United Nations. In practice, this has meant opposition to the struggle for socialist revolution throughout Latin America. For example, in 1979 Castro advised the radical-nationalist Sandinista guerrillas who were then in power in Nicaragua *not* to take the "Cuban road" of expropriating the bourgeoisie. This culminated in the defeat of the Nicaraguan Revolution in the 1980s, as the Sandinistas eventually handed power back to the capitalist contras.

Cuba cannot survive indefinitely as an isolated workers state. Genuine defense of the Cuban Revolution against imperialism requires a program for workers revolution throughout the Americas—and above all here in the United States. There is plenty of tinder for revolutionary upheavals throughout Latin America today. Argentina has been on the brink of a revolutionary situation for months, with successive governments trying to enforce IMF dictates amid widespread unemployment, poverty and unrest. In Mexico, the living standards of working people have plummeted as a result of the U.S. "free trade" rape of that country under NAFTA and as the border is tightened as part of the U.S. "war on terror."

The key requirement for victory is the forging of internationalist proletarian vanguard parties.

The Cuban Revolution today stands at a crossroads. Revolutionaries in the U.S. have a special duty to defend Cuba against capitalist restoration and American imperialism. It is in the United States, the bastion of world imperialism, where the decisive struggle will be fought for the emancipation of the working masses throughout the Americas. It is necessary to forge a revolutionary workers party which brings to the proletariat the understanding that the defense of the Cuban Revolution is an integral part of its struggle against the American capitalist exploiters and their system of union-busting, racist oppression and imperialist war. Such a party can only be built by breaking workers and minorities from illusions in the Democratic Party. The SL is dedicated to the fight to build the Leninist vanguard party needed to lead that struggle to victory.■

Germany...

(continued from page 12)

Party (SpAD) and Spartakist Youth went to the picket lines and mobilized others to express solidarity with the strike. On May 13, the first day of rolling strikes in Berlin, the Spartakist Youth at the heavily minority and working-class Technical University organized a successful strike support rally on the campus, declaring: "Victory to the IG Metall strike! Come with us to the picket lines!"

In discussions on the picket lines and at strike rallies, our comrades stressed—both to the many workers of Turkish or Kurdish origin as well as to ethnic German workers—that defense of immigrants and minorities against government persecution and right-wing terror was a central task for the whole of the labor movement. The back-page article on IG Metall in the current issue of *Spartakist*, which was sold on the picket lines, prominently featured the demand "Full Citizenship Rights for All!" More than 10 percent of IG Metall's members are workers of immigrant background. But except for a relative handful, even those who were born and have lived in Germany all their lives are denied citizenship under chauvinist laws that grant automatic citizenship only to ethnic Germans.

Now the government has used the "global war on terror" as a pretext to institute the racist *Rasterfahndung*, a system of computerized "racial profiling" aimed at millions of mainly Muslim immigrants. New "Security Check" laws mandate secret service background checks of airport, transport and other workers, including tracking down affiliation with socialist or communist organizations. Though currently directed primarily at immigrants, such laws are clearly a threat to all leftists and union militants. At several of the struck plants, a significant number of IG Metall shop stewards were of immigrant origin, among them supporters of Turkish Stalinist organizations. Worker and immigrant rights will advance together or be thrown back separately!

Though the ethnic divisions fostered by the bosses were to be seen on the picket lines, where German workers often congregated apart from their Turkish and Kurdish class brothers and sisters, it could also be seen how such divisions can be transcended through class struggle. At a picket line in Stuttgart, a Greek worker led others in singing Turkish songs. A sense of internationalism was also engendered by news that Daimler-Chrysler workers in Brazil had brought off a half-hour solidarity strike, and delegations from the American and Canadian auto workers unions were greeted with enthusiasm on the strike lines.

Most strikers shared the illusions promoted by the union tops that the SPD should be supported as a "lesser evil." Particularly in the wake of the huge electoral gains by the fascist Le Pen in France, even the many workers who hate the SPD said they would vote for Schröder against arch-reactionary CDU candidate Edmund Stoiber, who is an out-and-out racist union-hater. Other workers, especially those of immigrant origin, expressed support for the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), which postures as a "left" alternative to the SPD.

Our comrades explained that while the SPD and PDS claim to stand for the interests of the working people, they are wedded to the bourgeois order. Thus they administer capitalist state repression and anti-working-class austerity and are no barrier against the right, as was seen recently in Saxony-Anhalt, where the PDS had propped up the former SPD government. The PDS has garnered a substantial electoral base in the East by playing to the grievances of working people there. But when these born-again social democrats were the Stalinist ruling party in the former East Germany, they helped push through the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the deformed workers state and turned the East into an industrial wasteland. This could be seen on the IG Metall picket lines in Berlin and other parts of the East, where factories that once employed thousands of workers now employ only a few hundred. In Saxony-Anhalt, the *official* unemployment rate is 22 percent.

Now, in Berlin the PDS has joined with the SPD in a coalition government which is trying to enforce harsh austerity measures against public service workers—including a 10 percent wage cut and 30,000 layoffs—while shutting down or cutting back hospitals, day-care centers, schools and other social services. The closing of day-care facilities in particular angered many women on the IG Metall strike lines in Berlin, as they know that this could force them out of work like hundreds of thousands of other women workers in the East. There have been protests of tens of thousands of unionists in the last couple of months against these cutbacks, but the union bureaucrats refuse to call strike action against "their" SPD/PDS municipal government.

Fake leftists like the centrist Gruppe Arbeitermacht (GAM), affiliated to the British Workers Power group, serve to provide a "militant" cover for the SPD and trade-union tops—the better to help corral disgruntled workers back into the social-democratic fold. At the Berlin May Day march, the only placards carried by the GAM contingent demanded, "All Out on Strike! 6.5 Percent and Not a Cent Less!" Not once in its leaflets directed toward the strike does the GAM even hint at the need to combat racist state terror or to fight for full citizenship rights.

In focusing solely on economic demands, seeking to pressure the social-democratic labor bureaucracy to be more militant, the GAM acts to reinforce the existing consciousness of the workers, which is limited to trade-union struggle *under* capitalism. We seek to bring to the proletariat the understanding that if it is to pursue the class struggle *against* capitalism, it must defend not only its own immediate economic interests but the rights and interests of all the exploited and oppressed.

Spartakist

Spartakist Youth hold rally at Berlin Technical University in solidarity with IG Metall strike, May 13.

The GAM refuses to take up the fight against anti-immigrant racism in its strike propaganda because to do so would mean attacking the SPD and PDS as well as the chauvinist trade-union bureaucrats who oppose mobilizing the unions against racist laws and deportations. In an undated leaflet ("6.5%! Not a Cent Less! Prepare to Strike Now!") issued before the rolling strikes began, the GAM asked incredibly: "On Which Side Do Schröder and the SPD Stand?" Schröder and the SPD stand at the head of the *capitalist* government which is waging war against workers and minorities, a fact the GAM strives mightily to obscure. The GAM leaflet's lip service to building a revolutionary workers party notwithstanding, its perennial electoral support to the social democrats demonstrates that the GAM is just part of the syphilitic chain that binds the working class to the capitalist order through the agency of the social democracy. As in 1998 and in the Berlin elections, for the upcoming federal elections the SpAD declares: No vote to SPD, PDS!

The discontent with the SPD among wide sections of workers provides an important opportunity for Marxists to further the fight for a class-struggle leadership of the unions and for a multi-ethnic revolutionary workers party. That means relentlessly exposing the role of the social democrats as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class in order to split the SPD's working-class base from its pro-capitalist program and leadership. As we wrote in "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! SPD, PDS, Greens Attack Workers, Minorities—Unchain the Power of IG Metall" (*Spartakist* No. 147, Spring 2002): "The only way forward is the forging of a revolutionary workers party whose aim is the expropriation of the capitalist class and the creation of a planned, collectivized economy under a workers government, which will benefit not the profits of the few but the needs of all."■

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China...

(continued from page 7)

created some fissures in the bureaucratic caste itself. Moves by Chinese president Jiang Zemin to invite capitalists to join the CCP were met with significant internal opposition. Fearing that disgruntled workers may link up with such leftist elements, the regime recently placed a prominent Maoist named Wei Wei under house arrest and shut down at least two journals reporting on corruption and the plight of the working class. (For a Trotskyist polemic against Wei Wei's views, see "Whither China? 'Market Socialism' and the Legacy of Mao," *WV* Nos. 743 and 745, 6 October and 3 November 2000.)

In Shenyang a few years ago, CCP veterans went into rebellion after the arrest of a local official, Zhou Wei. A CCP cadre for more than 40 years, Zhou had led a series of protests and petition campaigns denouncing the government for corruption and for refusing to defend peasants, workers and retirees like himself. Protests in the city became so common at one point that the day's road blockages were announced on the morning news! Such events illuminate the potential to forge a new, egalitarian communist party in China. But this requires a sharp political struggle to break such militants from the dead end of Maoism and win them to the genuine communism of Lenin and Trotsky.

A Chinese Leninist-Trotskyist party would wage uncompromising struggle against the Han chauvinism promoted by the nationalist CCP regime. It would seek to imbue the proletariat with the understanding that it must fight for the interests of all the oppressed—from women and homosexuals to the poor peasantry and national and ethnic minorities.

A crucial task is the defense of migrant laborers who have flocked to the cities and towns. Forced into the most dangerous and menial work, they lack the rights of legal city residents and are typically forced to live in segregated areas. Under conditions of rising unemployment, tensions are mounting between urban residents and migrant workers, who are seen as stealing jobs and depressing wages. Working-class militants must fight for migrants to receive all the rights enjoyed by legal residents, including access to housing and public education, and demand equal pay for equal work.

To date, the most militant protests have generally been by workers who have been laid off or older workers living on meager pensions. What is necessary is to bring the strategic core of the Chinese proletariat—those employed in basic industry and transport—into battle. These are the workers who have the social power to oust the bureaucracy and defeat the forces of capitalist restoration. But such a development will not happen automatically or spontaneously. There must be built in China a revolutionary vanguard party which can unify in struggle all sectors of the working class in alliance with the rural toilers and urban poor.

Spartacist Japan

Spartacist Group Japan at April 1996 protest against U.S.-Japan military alliance. Signs at center read: "For the Right of Nuclear and Military Testing for Chinese Workers State!" and "Not One Man, Not One Yen to Imperialist Japanese Military!"

Above all, a Leninist-Trotskyist party is needed to provide Chinese workers with a revolutionary proletarian internationalist strategy. For even the most advanced leftist Chinese workers, the prospect for socialist revolution in Japan or the United States may seem remote or utopian. What is actually utopian is the belief that there is a nationally limited road to socialism in China. The modernization of China—ensuring a decent life for all its inhabitants on the basis of access to advanced technology and productive resources now concentrated in North America, West Europe and Japan—requires proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centers, establishing an *internationally planned socialist economy*. The International Communist League fights to build revolutionary workers parties which are the necessary element to lead the working class to power internationally.■

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

article, "The Birth of the Zionist State" (*WV* Nos. 33 and 45, 23 November 1973 and 24 May 1974), what was originally a small colony of Zionist settlers had been consolidated by 1947 into a nation, largely as a result of two waves of refugees from the Nazis—before and after the Holocaust—who were not allowed to go elsewhere.

Niall C. notes that Hebrew is the mother tongue of only about half of Israeli Jews and many of the recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union still speak Russian. (One might add that there are four Russian-language dailies and two political parties representing recent Russian immigrants.) In fact, every new wave of immigration, from the original Zionist settlers to East European survivors of the Holocaust to the large influx of Sephardic Jews from the Arab countries, arrived speaking a language other than Hebrew—Yiddish, German, Russian, Arabic, Ladino, etc. But their mother tongue was almost literally beaten out of them and they were made to learn Hebrew, which is the language of their children.

Of course, immigrants settling in any country ultimately adopt the language spoken there, but language plays a particular role in Israel because of its history. Modern Hebrew is an artificial language created for the sole purpose of creating a nation out of disparate Jewish populations, seeking to bind together atheists, secular Jews and the ultra-Orthodox, including the Hasidim (many of whom, ironically, do not recognize the "Jewish state" and deliberately continue to speak Yiddish). For example, a July 1996 paper on language education ("National Profiles of Languages in Education: Israel: Language Policy," posted on the Internet) by two Israeli academics, Bernard Spolsky and Elana Shohamy, noted: "Significantly, the revitalization of Hebrew as a major component in Zionism and Jewish nationalism has guaranteed the language a status that is ideologically highly privileged. One of the concomitants of this secular Zionist ideology has been the strong encouragement of Hebrew learning and use by immigrants, and the active discouragement of public (or even private use) [sic] of the other languages known by the population." To that end, Israel has a Cabinet-level Ministry of Immigration *and Absorption*, and a whole series of subsidized language institutions, *ulpanim*, which new immigrants have to go through.

Reuters

Israeli tank moves through Bethlehem last month, part of Zionist blitzkrieg against Palestinian people.

Language is used not only to create a common national identity among Jewish immigrants but also to reinforce the segregation and oppression of the remaining Palestinian Arab population within Israel. Though 20 percent of Israel's total population, the Arab population is overwhelmingly confined to a handful of poverty-stricken areas and exclusively Arab villages; only 8 percent live in "mixed" cities like Haifa. Arabic is the language of instruction in all schools in the "Arab sector." It is not surprising, then, that while Hebrew and Arabic are both nominally official languages, it is English which is the second language for both Hebrew- and Arabic-speakers. A February 1997 study by the same academics, "Language in Israeli Society and Education," notes:

> "Because of the accepted minority status of Israeli Arabs, their language poses no threat to the hegemony of Hebrew in the society as a whole.... It is without a doubt a minority language, denied in law and in fact the status that might be expected to result from being the second official language....
>
> "From the point of view of Israel, the integration of a non-Jewish minority raises serious issues concerning the nature of Jewish state. This issue no doubt underlies the willingness to allow and even encourage Arab language maintenance while at the same time discouraging Jewish immigrants from loyalty to their languages."

This gets to the nub of the question: in the case of Israel/Palestine, we are dealing with two distinct nations, not simply different religions (in fact, a sizable number of Palestinians are Christian, not Muslim). Niall C.'s comparison with the Afrikaners or the French *colons*, the *pieds-noirs*, in Algeria is at best confused and misleading. From the outset, the Zionists sought to create a separate political economy based on exclusion of the indigenous Palestinian population (though over time, many Arabs were hired by Israeli capitalists as menial laborers). The white settler population in South Africa, in contrast, did not primarily aim to displace the indigenous African peoples but rather to exploit them ever more extensively and systematically. As for the *pieds-noirs*, it is enough to note that they were automatically citizens of France, and when Algeria won its independence in 1962 the Europeans got out.

The notion that the Hebrew-speaking people cannot be fully deemed a nation because the Zionists keep on "forcing out the Arabs" is moralism, not Marxism. It is of a piece with the line pushed by various "leftist" apologists for Arab nationalism that oppressor peoples do not have the right to self-determination. All nations have been formed through the bloody dispossession of weaker peoples. In the case of interpenetrated peoples—including in the Balkans, as seen not least over the past decade with the nationalist fratricide unleashed by counterrevolution—under capitalism such national conflicts can only be resolved through forcible expulsion or genocide. In any case, we reject the irredentist program of driving out entire peoples, whether or not they are nations, whether or not they were formerly oppressors.

Those who reject the Hebrew-speaking people's right to a national existence serve only to drive the Israeli proletariat even more deeply into the arms of their Zionist capitalist exploiters. The only salvation for the Palestinian people lies in a socialist federation of the Near East forged through the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois order throughout the region. As we wrote in "Defend the Palestinian People! All Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!" (*WV* No. 778, 5 April):

> "There can be no justice for the Palestinian people within the framework of capitalist rule. On the contrary, the system of private property and private ownership of the means of production necessarily contains within it the components of nationalism and religion, which make impossible the settlement of the conflicting national claims of the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking populations. Only through the overthrow of both the Israeli bourgeoisie and all the Arab ruling classes can the right of national self-determination for these peoples and the many other peoples of the region be equitably realized."■

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French Elections...

(continued from page 3)

As we wrote last issue: "Where the IG aims only to be the 'militant' tail of whatever's in motion, we engage in clear and honest programmatic struggle because our aim is to build a conscious proletarian vanguard party on the basis of the Trotskyist program."

We reprint below the translation of a 17 May leaflet by the LTF distributed at the LO Fête and elsewhere.

* * *

Anyone who thought LO had finally woken up to the need to fight racist oppression and the security campaign, which above all targets dark-skinned workers, is going to be bitterly disappointed. Despite LO's commendable opposition to the swamp of reactionary unity with Chirac on the second round of the presidential elections (a swamp into which the miserable LCR jumped headfirst) and despite their acknowledgement (better late than never) that the Mitterrand and Jospin governments paved the way for Le Pen with their anti-immigrant policies, LO has returned to its shameful line of capitulation to racist police repression, exactly one week after "France's top cop," Jacques Chirac, named his new government.

Faced with the escalation of Vigipirate (on which LO maintains a deafening silence), with anti-woman and anti-immigrant roundups in minority communities, LO gives its advice on how better to police the *banlieues* and doesn't utter a single word against racist terror! LO "opposes" the Chirac government because its security campaign is not effective enough! The content of LO's nauseating call on those who voted for Le Pen to not vote for him a second time now becomes more understandable. Instead of defending immigrants and all those targeted by the CRS [riot police] and racist roundups, LO declares in their editorial this week:

> "The first act by Sarkozy, the new minister of the interior, was a staged photo op showing him in a Seine-Saint-Denis district accompanying a police patrol in plebeian neighborhoods. This will not solve insecurity in the plebeian neighborhoods. It will eliminate neither the pimping of prostitutes nor the exploitation of these unfortunates from East European countries, but it will satisfy right-thinking people and will, with a cheap fix, restore state authority over the weakest."

With this prostitution before bourgeois "morality" enforced by the CRS, one has to wonder what LO will say in their presentation on the Bible at the "scientific" stand at this year's LO Fête.

In the same issue of *Lutte Ouvrière* (17 May) there is a long article in which LO explains how to really fight crime. Since September 11 and the ratcheting up of Vigipirate, minority youth are besieged by an army of cops who stop them for identity checks in the *Métro*, in the streets and in the entrance halls of their own apartment buildings. While the Chirac government announces an escalation in the police occupation of Paris with an additional 400 cops, LO writes: "The policy of state budget cuts has, in turn, led to a...virtual disappearance of the police presence in plebeian neighborhoods." What planet do you live on, LO? France is the European country with the highest number of cops per citizen (one for every 265 people). The cops are the guard dogs of capital against the working class and the oppressed.

In the same article, LO demands:

> "As for police duties which are indispensable to society, they should be carried out by people who are close enough to the inhabitants of the neighborhood where they are deployed to be able to defuse many conflicts."

It is *criminal* for a supposedly leftist party to speak of "police duties which are indispensable"! Their duties are to break strikes and oppress youth who oppose this society which offers them no future! Furthermore, LO's proposal to deploy even more cops and *gendarmes* in the *banlieues*/ghettos and to station cops closer to the housing projects was already implemented by the Jospin government, and it provoked riots against police repression!

WV Photo

French soldiers at Eiffel Tower in April. Vigipirate campaign means racist cop terror against immigrants, minorities.

To cover this rotten line, LO might remind you of their more seemly (and rarer) articles in defense of *sans-papiers* [undocumented immigrants] and against the security campaigns of all the governments of the past 20 years, articles which they published as the country was shaken by the gigantic anti-racist and anti-Le Pen demonstrations. Regarding LO's zigzags, it must be noted that LO bowed before the anti-racist demonstrations by youth, but it has not broken with its grotesque historical line. Hence, it appears that LO's declarations against the past anti-immigrant security campaigns of the Mitterrand and Jospin governments were only embellishments to cover its capitulation before the current security campaign.

We say: Beware of false advertising! LO's opposition to class collaboration is emptied of all content by its capitulation to the racist security campaign, which is a crucial mechanism in France for tying the workers to their own bourgeoisie. As we explained in our open letter to LO, LO's indifference to racial oppression is the consequence of their perspective of class collaboration, to reform the rotten capitalist system instead of sweeping it away through proletarian socialist revolution. There is no party in these elections for which one can vote to advance the interests of the working class and the oppressed. This party has to be built. The Ligue Trotskyste de France fights for a genuine revolutionary multiethnic workers party. We say: *Down with Vigipirate! Down with the racist security campaign! For full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Stop the deportations and racist roundups!* ■

ILA...

(continued from page 12)

operators' concerns (Charleston *Post and Courier*, 20 May). The SPA is pushing to expand the Port of Charleston, the country's fourth-busiest container port, and all the cargo is handled by the 33 crane operators. Within two days, the SPA had relented, agreeing to negotiate on the outstanding issues, even though state law forbids collective bargaining with state employees.

This victory came 43 days before the contract expiration of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union on the West Coast, where the ship operators association has declared its intent to attack work rules and a wide range of union gains. The Charleston walkout illustrates the type of determined labor action needed to beat back the bosses' anti-union attacks.

In January 2000, the Charleston waterfront was the scene of a bitter confrontation, as longshoremen protesting attempts to use non-union stevedores defied hundreds of cops firing tear gas and shock grenades at the picketing workers (see "Charleston ILA Battles Racist Union-Busting Assault," *WV* No. 728, 28 January 2000). That labor action resulted in a victory over the union-busting efforts of the Nordana Line and the SPA. Late last year, following a defense campaign that drew support from unions around the world, the state finally dropped its vendetta against the Charleston Five, who had been framed up on bogus felony "riot" charges for defending their union against the massive police assault.

WV Photo

Trade unionists from around the country at June 2001 protest in Columbia, South Carolina demand freedom for Charleston Five.

It was around the time of the longshoremen's successful struggle against union-busting that the crane operators and a hundred other formerly non-union port workers joined Local 1422. In an interview with *WV*, Cross explained that the SPA had launched an attack on the crane operators because "they wouldn't tolerate us joining the union." He added that following the criminal attack on the World Trade Center, the SPA "told us times were rough and everybody took a crunch and we've got to cut back." This only serves to underline that the flag-waving "national unity" promoted by the capitalists means attacks on the working class.

That the predominantly white and highly skilled crane operators joined this overwhelmingly black ILA local shows how class struggle can cut across the racial divisions fostered by the ruling class to divide and weaken the whole working class. To this day, decades after the formal abolition of Jim Crow segregation, there are still some segregated ILA locals and hiring halls in the South. This speaks to the refusal of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy to mobilize labor's power in struggle against every instance of racial oppression and discrimination. Yet such a struggle is key to organizing the racist "open shop" South—not least in South Carolina, where barely 4 percent of workers are currently unionized.

The struggles for black rights and union rights are inseparable. But the pro-capitalist labor tops shackle the power of the working class to the class enemy, primarily through the Democratic Party. It is necessary to fight for a new, class-struggle leadership of labor committed to the political independence of the working class and to the cause of black freedom. Union-busting, racial oppression and the increasing immiseration of workers and the poor will only be eradicated through a socialist revolution that smashes the capitalist system and places the multiracial working class in power. Break with the Democrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

South Carolina Port Walkout

ILA Crane Operators Defeat Anti-Union Assault

For two days beginning May 17, the Port of Charleston in South Carolina was paralyzed as 33 crane operators, members of International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1422, walked off the job to demand the reinstatement of a victimized worker, Virgil Cross. The walkout ended after the State Ports Authority (SPA) agreed to reinstate Cross and not fire or discipline any of the workers who walked out. The SPA also agreed to modify and re-examine pay and work rule changes it had imposed, including the elimination of nighttime and weekend overtime differential pay. ILA Local 1422 president Kenneth Riley told *Workers Vanguard* that the crane operators "recognized the strength that they had. If they stick together, they can demand that [the SPA] come to the table. And they did that. They withheld their labor, they assembled at the union hall and demanded that the state negotiate."

The SPA had suspended Cross for talking about the crane operators' grievances to a TV crew doing a story on the port. The other crane operators immediately met in the ILA union hall and decided to walk out, defying a South Carolina law that bans state workers from striking. Unlike the longshoremen, who work for private stevedore and shipping companies, the crane operators are employed directly by the SPA, a state agency. But as cranes were idled and container-laden ships tied up in the harbor, SPA chairman Whitemarch Smith discovered that "you have to be sensitive" to the

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Bureaucrats Sell Out for Ruling Social Democrats

Germany: Metal Workers Strikes Rattle Government

BERLIN, May 25—Hundreds of thousands of members of the IG Metall industrial union staged a series of one-day rolling strikes earlier this month. Centered in the auto and electrical industries in the southwestern state of Baden-Württemberg and in the Berlin/Brandenburg districts, the strikes vividly demonstrated the potential power of this integrated workforce: men and women, ethnic Germans and workers of Turkish, Kurdish, Greek and Yugoslav descent all stood side by side on the picket lines.

The counterrevolutionary annexation of the former East German (DDR) deformed workers state in 1990 meant devastation in the East and escalating attacks on workers' living standards in the West. After ten years of dwindling wages and austerity cutbacks in social services, the metal workers were demanding a 6.5 percent pay raise. The strikes were widely popular; workers around the country understood that a victory by the powerful IG Metall union—which represents 2.7 million workers—would make it easier for them to successfully fight attacks on wages and benefits.

Berlin, May 13: IG Metall strikers at DaimlerChrysler auto plant.

Spartakist

The strikes came only weeks after the Social Democrats (SPD), who rule Germany at the federal level in coalition with the bourgeois Greens, suffered a stinging defeat at the hands of the right-wing Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in state elections in Saxony-Anhalt. From Austria and Italy to France and Holland, capitalist governments led by social democrats or class-collaborationist popular-front coalitions have paved the way for rightist demagogues by carrying out anti-labor and anti-immigrant attacks. A solid strike and decisive victory by the huge multiethnic IG Metall union would have set a powerful example for workers throughout West Europe. But the IG Metall bureaucrats pushed through a sellout.

SPD chancellor Gerhard Schröder feared that an extended strike might cost his government a victory in federal elections scheduled for September. A day after the strikes began, Schröder demanded that both sides "return as soon as possible to the negotiating table and solve the wage conflict." Less than two weeks later, the IG Metall bureaucrats dutifully settled the strike in the key Baden-Württemberg district, accepting a wage increase amounting to less than 3.5 percent and continuing the lower wages and longer hours imposed on workers in the former East Germany. The financial newspaper *Handelsblatt* (16 May) headlined: "Metal Contract Helps Schröder."

But on the picket lines, the contract was greeted with anger. Workers in major factories in Baden-Württemberg voted against it by 53 to 59 percent. But the union rules require a 75 percent vote to overturn a settlement! It is such bureaucratic rules—accompanied by the whole structure of institutionalized class collaboration sanctioned by law—that the pro-SPD union misleaders wield in their efforts to prevent class struggle. Germany has approximately 10 percent as many strikes as the U.S., where strike activity has been at its lowest point in decades.

The IG Metall tops' betrayal will only encourage further attacks by the bosses, as employers organization president Dieter Hundt immediately made clear in threatening further plant "rationalizations" and layoffs. In selling out workers struggles in order to secure votes for the SPD as a supposed way to "fight the right," the social-democratic union tops only help to strengthen the forces of right-wing reaction.

It was only the extreme anger of the IG Metall ranks that compelled the union leadership to call a strike. Even before the leadup to the contract dispute, massive opposition within the working class to the U.S.-led bombing of Afghanistan and Germany's participation in the war impelled the unions onto a collision course with the SPD/Green government. When IG Metall called for a halt to the bombing, Schröder arrogantly warned the union to "keep your fingers out of foreign policy." In January, thousands of IG Metall shipyard workers went on strike, followed two weeks later by a walkout at the GM Opel plant in Bochum. Mass meetings of shop stewards at the giant Siemens corporation and other electrical and auto companies angrily demanded wage increases of up to 10 to 12 percent and made clear that they were ready to strike.

From the outset, the IG Metall bureaucracy did everything in its power to keep from hurting the bosses' profits, refusing to call all-out strike action in favor of "flexi-strikes," which meant in practice that a one-day plant strike was followed by massive overtime to make up lost production. The union tops even used a specially developed computer program to avoid striking plants that might cause parts shortages elsewhere!

Comrades of the Spartakist Workers

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 783

14 June 2002

Cointelpro-Style Spying and Provocation

New FBI Rules: A Danger to All

On May 30, Attorney General John Ashcroft announced new "guidelines" for FBI operations to "combat terrorism." Each of the FBI's 50-plus field offices will now have full authority to infiltrate political and religious groups, conduct surreptitious break-ins of homes and offices and seize information, including on computers, without a scintilla of evidence of *any* criminal activity. The standards for conducting an investigation under the new guidelines are blatantly put as "substantially lower than probable cause." In fact, the basis for FBI investigations will be "thought crimes," i.e., political advocacy. Ashcroft's guidelines allow the FBI to initiate "a terrorism enterprise investigation" of organizations even if their statements or activities "would not warrant such a determination." And if the government labels you a "terrorist" it means you're an outlaw to whom they can do anything they want.

The FBI's Counterterrorism Division is shifted from "reactive orientation to proactive"—i.e., "prevention of terrorism" rather than criminal prosecution. The operational point is to provide justification and a mandate for massive and intrusive state surveillance, suspension of democratic rights and the use of extralegal force. Investigations for "prevention" provide the perfect open-ended situation for the government. Full-scale state intervention is justified; if there are no terrorist attacks, then the methods are "proven" successful; if there are terrorist attacks, this is justification for even further state surveillance. In short, the "new" guidelines are that *there are no guidelines*.

Ashcroft's announcement resurrects the notorious Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). This operation was begun in the

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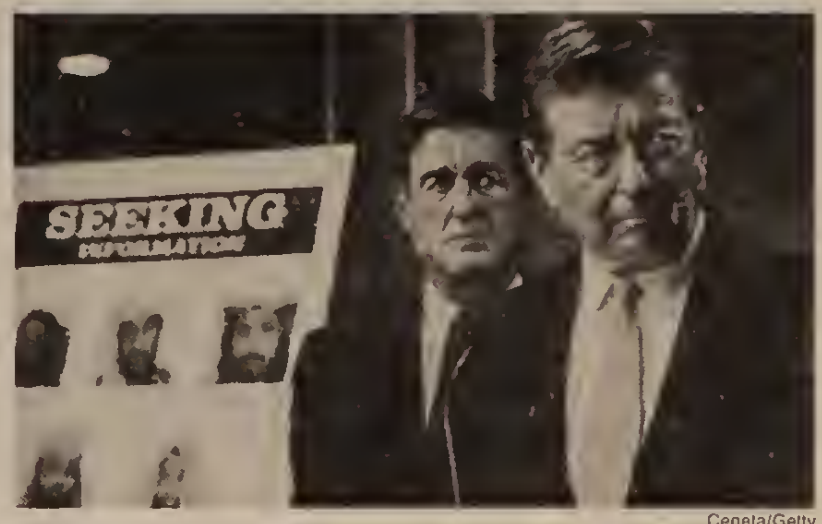

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In the name of "war on terrorism," FBI head Robert Mueller and Attorney General John Ashcroft shred democratic rights.

All Indian, Pakistani Troops Out!

Kashmir: Flash Point for War

AP

Reuters

Reuters photos

Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf and Indian prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee threaten war over Kashmir.

JUNE 11—The latest confrontation between India and Pakistan over the disputed territory of Kashmir brought the two regional powers to the brink of another full-scale war, potentially with nuclear weapons. Some one million troops still confront each other at the Line of Control dividing Kashmir between India and Pakistan. Intense artillery shelling in recent weeks has already killed hundreds of villagers on both sides, and tens of thousands more have been forced to flee their homes for safety. While both India and Pakistan seem to be backing down under pressure from U.S. imperialism, Kashmir remains a potential trip wire for war between the two countries. As in the three wars already fought between India and Pakistan, Marxists would advance the position of *revolutionary defeatism*, calling on the workers to turn their guns the other way. As the reactionary capitalist governments in New Delhi and Islamabad threaten to plunge the subcontinent into a nuclear conflagration, it is all the more necessary for the workers of India and Pakistan to unite around their common class interests in opposition to the chauvinism of their "own" bourgeoisies.

The appeals for peace by the Bush administration and its junior partner, the British Labour government of Tony Blair, reek of imperialist arrogance and hypocrisy. It was British imperialism, under an earlier Labour government, that implemented the 1947 partition of India along religious-communal lines, leading to the slaughter of up to a million people and paving the way for the subsequent decades of war and fratricide. As for the sanctimonious lectures by U.S. imperialism about the dangers of nuclear brinkmanship, these come from the only country ever to *use* nuclear weapons; even now, as it prepares for an assault against semicolonial Iraq, Washington refuses to rule out the possibility of a nuclear strike against that non-nuclear state. All imperialist troops out of Central Asia and the Near East—U.S. hands off Iraq!

It is the U.S. that has stoked the flames of war on both sides, helping to bring

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Protest Police Killing of Santiago Villanueva!

New Jersey

On April 16, when Dominican immigrant garment worker Santiago "Chago" Villanueva suffered a severe epileptic seizure, his co-workers dialed 911 for medical assistance. Instead of an ambulance, four white Bloomfield, New Jersey cops appeared on the scene. One of them took a look at the 35-year-old black man with dreadlocks writhing in convulsions and declared, "This man is on drugs." After slapping handcuffs on Villanueva, two of the cops put their knees on his back and another stepped on his head, while his horrified co-workers pleaded with them to stop. The cops repeatedly screamed at Villanueva, "Speak English!" This racist tirade may well have been the last words he heard. Within 30 minutes, he was dead. According to the medical examiner, the cause of death was "mechanical asphyxia following physical restraint." In layman's terms, Santiago Villanueva was strangled to death.

A month later, the Medical Examiner's Office in Newark classified Villaneuva's death as a homicide. But the killer cops remain on the job. The police brass have not even taken the usual step of placing them on desk duty pending what will no doubt be a whitewashing grand jury "investigation."

This racist killing sparked a series of protests, including in the Dominican community of Washington Heights in Manhattan where Villanueva lived for nine years. "Chago" was well known as a percussionist committed to preserving and extending Caribbean culture by performing with his band at Dominican festivals and volunteering to teach Afro-Dominican dance. A bodega on Audubon Avenue in the neighborhood hung a large banner reading "*Verdad, Justicia y Paz Para Santiago Villanueva*" (Truth, Justice and Peace for Santiago Villanueva).

In the aftermath of September 11, the bourgeois press and politicians, beating the drums for "national unity," have endlessly portrayed the cops as "heroes." This only emboldens the police in their terrorizing of black and Latino youth. Within the ghettos, the "national unity"

New York Times

fraud is perpetrated by black Democratic Party politicians. While many of these earlier sought to contain outrage against racist "profiling" by getting in front of protests against police killings, in New Jersey and New York the black politicos have been virtually silent on the brutal killing of Villanueva. At an April 26 press conference in Bloomfield, several black ministers placed a new twist on the tired demand for "sensitivity training" for the cops by calling for better medical training. But the cops who squeezed the life out of Santiago knew exactly what they were doing—Police Chief Jack McNiff told reporters that two of them had already heen trained as emergency medical technicians!

At a May 23 protest outside the Bloomfield Law Enforcement Building, protesters chanted, "*Por qué lo mataran? Porque era negro; porque era Latino!*" (Why did they kill him? Because he was black; because he was Latino!) A speaker for the People's Organization for Progress called for an "independent" police review board. But such agencies are merely a way to make the system of racist capitalist repression more efficient and "credible" as the cops carry out their daily reign of terror against working people and minorities.

Prominent at a number of the protests has been the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose maximum call is to "Jail the Guilty Cops." It would certainly be appropriate for these racist thugs to spend the rest of their lives among their victims in living hells like Rahway prison. But behind the SWP's demand is the reformist notion that the capitalist state will dispense "justice" against its own agents of repression. Along with the cops, the courts and prisons are at the core of the capitalist state—the repressive apparatus protecting the property, profits and class rule of the tiny minority that owns the wealth of society and is intent on squeezing labor to maximize profits.

The cops cannot be "reformed" or "controlled by the community" because their job is to operate as the armed enforcers for the rule of racist American capitalism. The racist brutality of the cops cannot be ended short of sweeping away the capitalist state through workers revolution. The necessary instrument to unite the working class in revolutionary struggle against the class enemy is a multiracial workers party that champions the cause of all the exploited and oppressed.■

TROTSKY

LENIN

U.S. Imperialism: Greatest Enemy of World's Workers

Proclaiming itself the "world's only superpower" following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union a decade ago, U.S. imperialism increasingly asserts its "right" to dominate the planet. Addressing a 1948 convention of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, after the U.S. had emerged from World War II as the hegemonic imperialist power, SWP leader James P. Cannon stressed that only proletarian revolution could end the capitalist system of exploitation and imperialist war. Today, when there is no significant class of small farmers in the U.S., we call for a workers government, not a workers and farmers government, as an expression of the proletarian class rule needed to expropriate the rapacious American bourgeoisie.

The Wall Street money-sharks, and the brass hats of Prussian mentality, are riding high in Washington these days. The masters of America, drunk with power, are threatening and terrifying the people of the world—seeking to dominate and enslave them—striving to transform the other countries of the world into colonies of the American empire.

Their program is a program of madness, and it is doomed to failure. The great majority of the peoples of the world do not want to be slaves of America. That is to their credit and we applaud them for it. The attempt to enslave them would be profitable only for the small group of monopolists—and the military caste, who dreams of careers as colonial administrators of conquered peoples....

All this is part and parcel of the development of capitalism—the system which puts profits above all other considerations. The capitalist system has long outlived its usefulness. Capitalism offers no future to the people but depressions, imperialist wars, fascism, universal violence and a final plunge into barbarism.

To avoid such a fate, the workers of the United States must go into politics on their own account, independent of all capitalist politics. They must take power, establish a Workers' and Farmers' Government, and reorganize the economy of the country on a socialist basis. Socialist economy in the United States, eliminating capitalist wars, profits and waste, will be so productive as to ensure a rich living for all who are willing and able to work, and provide security and ample means for the aged and infirm.

We should also help the hungry people of the world to improve their standard of life. Socialist America will rapidly make that possible by helping them to secure their own freedom and develop their own economy. Eventually, the economy of the entire world will be united and planned on a socialist basis. This will bring universal peace—and undreamed of abundance for all people everywhere. The real upward march of humanity will begin.

—James P. Cannon, "The Two Americas" (July 1948), reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* (1958)

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Turkey

Hands Off Ömer Asan!

The following Partisan Defense Committee letter was sent to Turkish prime minister Bülent Ecevit on June 11.

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the criminal proceedings that the Turkish government has brought against the writer Ömer Asan and his publisher and demands that the case against them be dropped immediately. Facing possible imprisonment, they have been ordered to appear in court without even being informed of the charges against them. We also protest the government's act of censorship against Asan's highly acclaimed book *Pontas Kültürü* (*The Culture of the Pontus*), which has been banned from sale.

The proceedings against Asan followed a campaign, spearheaded hy the fascistic Grey Wolves of the Nationalist Action Party (part of the current governing coalition), in which Asan was accused of heing a "traitor" to Turkey and a "friend of Greece" because of his study of the Pontian minority, a community in the northeast of the country whose language and culture have Hellenic roots. The repressive apparatus of the state has now taken up the campaign against Asan, threatening legal repression for the "crime" of doing an academic study of the history and (almost extinct) language of his native region.

This is a threat to anyone who would even affirm the existence of non-Turkish peoples and cultures within the frontiers of the Turkish state. We intransigently defend the democratic rights of all peoples, whether they be Kurds, Armenians or others—including the Turks themselves. When thousands of Turks were expelled from Bulgaria in 1989 following a failed campaign of forced assimilation, we protested to the Bulgarian government demanding an end to the expulsions and brutal oppression of that country's Turkish population.

We repeat: *Drop the case against Ömer Asan!*

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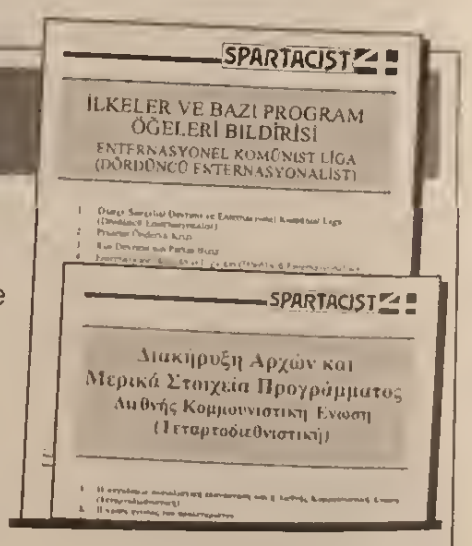

British Columbia: Down With Racist Referendum!

Native People's Rights and Labor Struggle in Canada

The following article is reprinted from Spartacist Canada *No. 133 (Summer 2002), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/ Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League. The article was first published as a* Spartacist Canada *supplement for distribution at a May 25 labor demonstration in Vancouver, British Columbia against the austerity attacks of the B.C. provincial government under the right-wing Liberal Party. Some 40,000 trade unionists, youth, indigenous Native people, immigrants and other minorities joined the protest*

SPARTACIST CANADA

Spartacist Canada

Native people's contingent leads May 25 march through downtown Vancouver to protest austerity attacks by right-wing British Columbia government.

Gordon Campbell's Liberals came to office a year ago with three prongs to their reactionary program. They swore to step up the attacks on social programs already begun by the NDP [social-democratic New Democratic Party], to savage the public sector unions, and to trample Native rights by means of a sham referendum on land claims. Working people who are determined to turn aside the first two, which are aimed straight at their lives and livelihoods, must also strenuously oppose the third.

The Liberals' treaty referendum, like their frontal assault on labor and the poor, was crafted to appeal to their middle-class base, especially outside the multi-ethnic Lower Mainland [Vancouver and surrounding area]. However, the referendum also seeks to chain key sectors of the working class tighter to their exploiters by manipulating widespread anti-Native racism. For nearly ten years, economic crises in Asia and elsewhere have hit British Columbia hard, reliant as the provincial economy is on exports of lumber, minerals and fish. As mines and mills shut down, throwing tens of thousands out of work, Native people struggling to assert some measure of control over their territories and the resources they contain are supposed to take the blame.

This is sucker bait, designed to blind workers to the real enemy—the capitalist class and its bloodsucking resource corporations. The referendum is the Liberals' offer of racist "unity" between workers and bosses against the poorest of the poor, and it is poison. As an integral part of its own struggles, *labor must defend Native rights.*

Capitalist Canada: Hell for Native People

The racist lie that land claims are lining the pockets of Native people while undermining the livelihoods of "ordinary British Columbians" is beyond grotesque. By every conceivable measure, Natives are the poorest and most marginalized people in B.C. and throughout Canada. Canadian capitalism was founded on the destruction of the pre-existing aboriginal societies, whose lands were expropriated through fraud and military conquest by the European colonialists. Today the majority of Native people live in urban centers where, forcibly isolated from any role in social production, they are targets for all-sided racism and police terror. Aboriginal people are disproportionately represented both among the homeless and in the prison population, and the massive welfare cuts now being imposed will strike them especially hard.

Nowhere is the nightmare of poverty, despair, disease and cop violence clearer than in Vancouver's heavily Native Downtown Eastside. In this, the poorest neighborhood in all of Canada, ravaged by AIDS and drug abuse, the disappearance of more than 50 prostitutes—the majority of them Native women—was ignored by the cops for years. Under intense pressure from relatives, the police are now investigating what may be the worst serial killing in Canadian history.

Hundreds of thousands of other Native people live on the squalid reserves established to formalize their dispossession, or in isolated communities where no treaties were ever signed, as in most of B.C. The working class must defend whatever political autonomy aboriginal peoples with a land base are able to wrest from the courts and government, including the right to govern their land and control their resources. But treaties in and of themselves—necessarily negotiated on wildly unequal terms—can fundamentally do little to relieve the misery of Native people in Canadian society. That requires a fight to uproot the entire brutal and racist capitalist system.

The referendum and other Liberal attacks in B.C. come in the context of the Canadian rulers' "war on terror": a program of stepped-up state repression which targets immigrants in the first instance, but which directly threatens the rights of the entire working class. Working people must clearly understand that an injury to one is an injury to all, that the oppressed must go forward together if they are not to be driven back separately.

Thanks to its central role in capitalist production, the working class, including its strategic component of foreign-born workers, uniquely has the social power to beat back the capitalists' onslaught on jobs, social programs and basic rights and open the road to a socialist future. In order to rally all the victims of capitalism for such a struggle, the proletariat must champion the cause of *all* the oppressed. Any concession to the bourgeois enemy's consciously fostered bigotry—anti-immigrant or anti-Native racism, anti-Quebec chauvinism, fear and hatred of gays—can only poison unity and derail class struggle.

Native Rights and the "Treaty Process"

The very first item on Campbell's ballot—"Private property should not be expropriated for treaty settlements"—cuts to the heart of the land claims issue, the sanctity of the capitalists' property relations. Under the system of private ownership of the means to produce wealth—which lines the pockets of a handful of capitalist parasites while exploiting and immiserating the vast majority—there can be no lasting justice for aboriginal people, or working people either.

So cynical is the Liberals' referendum, with its blatantly rigged questions, that the government announced it would simply ignore the results if any of its reactionary-populist proposals were turned down! Aboriginal groups, joined by many others, have quite rightly called for a boycott of this in-your-face fraud.

Campbell's attempt to bury treaty negotiations is also opposed, for their own reasons, by important elements of the ruling class, who worry that it will only inflame relations with Native people determined to pursue their land claims. The absence of treaties in B.C. has increasingly made corporations "insecure" about doing business here: if companies like [pulp and paper giant] Weyerhaeuser are going to invest billions, they don't want unresolved land claims getting in the way of exploiting "their" resources. This was the explicit rationale behind the then NDP government's 1998 Nisga'a treaty. NDP premier Glen Clark boasted that this settlement would "send a strong signal to the world that our province is open for investment." Today, even [financial center] Bay Street's conservative mouthpiece, the [Toronto] *Globe and Mail* (14 March), sternly denounces "B.C.'s referendum folly."

The arrogant racism of Canada's rulers toward the Native population saturates the "treaty process." Of the nearly 50 [Native] bands engaged in the process, more than three-quarters have been mired in "Stage 4" (negotiating an "agreement in principle") for years, with no end in sight. In fact, the only agreement signed in the past hundred years—the Nisga'a treaty—was settled outside of the process, following three decades of legal battles.

The Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands (Haida Gwaii) are a classic case. Their treaty process claim stymied for almost a decade while corporations plundered their forests, the Haida are suing for title of an area containing an estimated ten billion barrels of oil. While Chief Reynold Russ (Iljawassa) maintains the Charlottes are theirs "lock, stock and barrel," they have also made clear that they have no intention of interfering with other residents on the islands, which remain overwhelmingly undeveloped. Rather they seek to prevent their resources being pillaged by the oil companies. The Haida have lived on these islands for millennia, surviving the ravages of smallpox introduced by European visitors, the removal of their children to residential schools and more than two centuries of racist degradation. The Charlottes and their resources should belong to them, period.

A suit involving the Tsawwassen First Nation, a band of 200 living on a small reserve stuck in the middle of the Vancouver Port Authority (VPA), presents a different aspect of the fight for Native rights. The Tsawwassen are suing the VPA and government because the two mammoth causeways built in the 1960s (and, over the years, extended) for B.C. Ferries and the port have all but destroyed their fishing grounds. The port now resides on a 113-hectare island at the end of the causeway.

As the Tsawwassen have acidly noted, in 2000 the port shipped 22.5 million tonnes of coal and almost 700,000 containers, while the ferry terminal handles 7.8 million passengers each year—and the band gets nothing. Frustrated by the decades of expansion without their consent, their suit seeks an injunction to both restrict the port and ferry operations and require "the causeways to be removed or altered so as not to interfere with the water flows."

The Tsawwassen should be massively compensated for deprivation of their land and resources—they deserve every penny that can be squeezed from the government. However, after four decades of construction around and through the reserve, the removal of, or probably even significant alteration to, the terminals would likely mean permanently closing the port. We are not for dismantling ports or other

Stoody/CP

William "Wolverine" Ignace at Gustafsen Lake, 1995. Social-democratic NDP government sent army, Mounties to suppress Native protest.

facilities of broader utility to the population as a whole. Where land claims run up against socially useful developments like ports and railways, Native peoples should receive generous compensation for deprivation of land or disruption of activity, based on their completely consensual agreement.

continued on page 14

Defend the Palestinian People!

AP

Economist

Above left: Israeli troops terrorize Palestinians in Balata refugee camp, June 2. Right: Jenin in ruins after Zionist blitzkrieg in April.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

We publish below an edited version of a presentation by WV *editor Len Meyers at an April 25 Spartacist League forum in New York City.*

The Zionists have an expression, "creating facts." Creating facts means that if the Palestinians claim Arab East Jerusalem as their own, you kick out all the Arabs who live there; destroy their housing and replace it by Jewish-only housing and there's no longer an Arab East Jerusalem. Creating facts means that you tear up 100-year-old olive groves to make sure there are no longer any Palestinian farmers in the West Bank. Creating facts means that you build settlements which are in fact fortified bastions manned by fascistic Israeli fanatics who walk around with Uzi machine guns and expropriate the land that Palestinians formerly lived on. And then for good measure you build Jewish-only highways that divide the whole of the Occupied Territories into a couple of hundred tiny ghettos.

What we've been seeing in the last three weeks is an example of "creating facts." You want to negotiate with the Palestinian Authority? There is no Palestinian Authority. They've even destroyed the Department of Education and the curriculum records. You want to build a Palestinian state? Try building it out of a pile of rubble. What we've seen is massive and deliberate devastation and destruction of the kind that has not happened since Israel occupied those territories in 1967.

Coincidentally, 59 years ago tonight the uprising of the Jewish fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto against the Nazi occupation forces was in its fifth day. The scenes from Jenin evoke scenes from the Warsaw Ghetto. The fighters in the alleyways, the burning buildings, the rubble all around them. Now, of course, it's not the same situation—the Israeli Army did not go in there to cart people off to an extermination camp like Auschwitz. Interestingly enough, one of the Israeli soldiers in Jenin compared the refugee camp to Vietnam. And there certainly is some truth to that. Vietnam was carpet bombed and napalmed so there was hardly anything left standing.

There have been huge demonstrations all around the world in outrage and horror at what has been going on in the Occupied Territories in recent weeks—demonstrations in virtually every Arab capital, extending all through the mainly Islamic countries all the way to Indonesia, and also in West Europe and even in the United States. And that is all very good, because if there were no demonstrations of outrage it would've been worse. But then one must ask the question, what are these demonstrations for? Most of these demonstrations have either openly or implicitly issued appeals for one or another imperialist agency to intervene on behalf of the Palestinians as either "peacekeepers" or through economic sanctions against Israel.

This is a very dangerous call, and it is particularly dangerous right now when American imperialism is, in fact, planning a military intervention in the Near East in the form of an attack on Iraq. Just as we defend the Palestinian people against Zionist terror and call for Israel out of the Occupied Territories, we call for military defense of Iraq against American imperialism in the event of an attack.

What we have argued for and what we think would be a lot more powerful is mobilizations of the working class in the Near East, in West Europe and in the United States in solidarity with the Palestinians. I'll give you an example, because to a lot of people, especially given that there hasn't been a lot of class struggle in this country recently, that may seem farfetched. I happened to be in Detroit in the early 1970s. At that time, the leadership of the United Auto Workers (UAW) had purchased a large amount of Israeli bonds. In other words, it was basically financing the Israeli state. The auto companies in the years just before had imported a lot of workers from Arab countries, especially Yemen. The reason is interesting—because they wanted to quell black militancy in the auto plants. They thought with their usual divide-and-rule strategy that bringing in Arabs would have that effect.

But, in fact, it worked the other way because the Arab workers became militant. So one day all of a sudden the assembly lines stopped running. When assembly lines stop running, cars stop being produced and the company stops making profit. The reason they stopped running is that the Arab auto workers staged a protest strike against the purchase of Israeli bonds by the pro-Zionist UAW bureaucracy. Now, if you can imagine something like that happening today in Detroit, which still has a lot of Arab auto workers, and then repeated in another city and another and another, it would have a pretty powerful effect. For example, our comrades in France have made the point that one protest

Mass demonstrations in Lebanon (below) and Morocco (right) in April protesting Zionist rampage against Palestinians.

AP photos

All Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!
All U.S./UN Forces Out of the Near East!

strike against "Vigipirate," which is the campaign of police terror against youth of North African and African descent in France, would do a lot more for the Palestinians than all the appeals for intervention.

The recent Israeli onslaught is unprecedented in terms of the Occupied Territories. Unfortunately, it is far from the first atrocity committed against the Palestinian people and probably far from the last, and not just at the hands of the Zionists, but also at the hands of the various Arab capitalist governments. So the real question is not simply what do we do today, but what do we do in the future. It is necessary for Palestinian and other Arab activists, for leftists throughout the world who defend the Palestinian people to learn the lessons of previous defeats and why things have developed to where they are now.

AP

UPI

Above: UN imperialist "peacekeepers" in Lebanon. UN's disarming of PLO fighters in 1982 set up massacre of Palestinians at Sabra and Shatila.

British Imperialism Sponsors Zionist State

Let me start with one of my favorite passages from V.I. Lenin, who dedicated his life to building a party that could lead the working class to power and succeeded in doing so. In 1913, in an article entitled "Critical Remarks on the National Question," Lenin wrote: "Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism. Be it even of the 'most just,' 'purest,' most refined and civilised brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism." We believe that this principle is the starting point for any struggle for national liberation and equality.

Ironically, those whom Lenin was polemicizing against in this instance were Jewish nationalists—though the Jewish people were not a nationality—and that is why he talked about the "purest, most just" nationalism, because the Jewish people in the Russian tsarist empire were oppressed, downtrodden and impoverished. In fact, in many ways, and this observation has been made by plenty of

UPI

Survivors of 1970 Black September massacre of Palestinians by Jordan's King Hussein.

people, the Palestinians today are like the Jews of East Europe before the two world wars—generally educated, cosmopolitan and because of their experience in diaspora not wedded to one or another bourgeois state.

Four years after writing that article, Lenin and his Bolshevik Party led the multinational working class of Russia to victory in the first successful workers revolution in history. This was the greatest victory for the working class internationally that has ever happened. It was also the greatest victory for the Jewish people. But it was not a victory for the Zionists because what they wanted was their own capitalist state. And in order to create their own capitalist state they needed imperialist sponsorship.

The same year the Russian Revolution happened, Theodore Herzl, the founding father of Zionism, went to the British imperialist rulers and begged them for a declaration in favor of a so-called "Jewish homeland." The British ruling class, anti-Semitic to the core, agreed and you got as a result something called the Balfour Declaration. The reason they decided to go along with the Zionists in creating a "Jewish homeland" was twofold. One was because they intended to conquer the Near East which at that point did not even belong to Britain. It was still part of the old Turkish Ottoman Empire (an ally of Germany in the First World War). The British wanted to use the usual divide-and-rule strategy, setting Jews against Arabs, Arabs against Kurds, and so on.

The other argument that Herzl used with the British ruling circles was that if they came out for a Zionist state this would dissuade the Jewish people of East Europe from supporting the Bolsheviks. Here I should point out that when I said that in 1913 Lenin was polemicizing against Jewish nationalists, these were not Zionists. They were Jewish socialists who basically had a nationalist outlook. At that point, the Zionists were so small, so uninfluential, particularly in the Jewish working class, that Lenin didn't consider it worth polemicizing against them. The overwhelming mass of the Jewish working people of East Europe were socialist and internationalist in outlook.

In 1916, Britain and France signed the Sykes-Picot Treaty, an agreement to carve up the Near East which they intended to take over from Ottoman Turkey after the war. And they did carve it up in such a way that almost every border in the Near East, especially east of Suez in Egypt, is totally artificial. They picked two sons of a Saudi Bedouin emir and installed one as king of Jordan and one as king of Iraq.

Proceeding on the time line a few decades later, you get to the 1947 partition of Palestine between what was called the "Jewish state" and what was supposed to be a Palestinian state. The Palestinians call this the Catastrophe, *al-Nakba*. Palestinians were uprooted from their homeland and driven into exile through a series of massacres; hundreds of thousands fled in fear of their lives. One of the purposes of pogroms is not simply to kill people, but to terrify everybody else.

The creation of the Zionist state came on the heels of the greatest catastrophe ever suffered by the Jewish people and one of the greatest atrocities ever inflicted on humanity—the Nazi Holocaust. If not for that, there would have been no Zionist state. Our theoretical journal *Spartacist* (No. 56, Spring 2001) has a very interesting article on a failed proletarian revolution in Germany in 1923 and a critique of why it failed. I would point out that if a communist-led revolution in Germany in 1923 had succeeded, there would have been no Zionist state because there would have been no Nazi Holocaust. That's one of the main themes of this talk. You cannot look at things simply within a nationalist framework.

As a result of the influx of several hundred thousand refugees from Nazi Germany and the concentration camps—who by the way were not allowed into other countries like Britain and the U.S.—what had previously been a small colony of Zionist settlers in Palestine was transformed into a nation. Every time the Israeli bourgeoisie carries out an atrocity and gets criticized, it waves the flag of the Holocaust; like now, they're saying that any criticism of the massacre in Jenin is a "blood libel." A "blood libel" is when anti-Semites accused Jews of killing Christian babies in order to justify carrying out anti-Jewish pogroms. Interestingly, given that the Zionists hide behind the Holocaust, David Ben Gurion, the founding father of the Israeli state, called the victims of the Holocaust "human dust." He thought they were beneath him, because they were Jews in the Diaspora. "Human dust." Sounds just like the Nazis.

The *Times Literary Supplement* (1 March) has a review of a new book by an Israeli on the *sabras*, the name for native-born Israelis, really for the native-born Israeli elite. So here's what the author says in this article: "The sabra was not a racist, except perhaps in his attitude to his fellow Jews. He did not hate the Arab, but was not seriously interested in him, viewing him either as noble savage or primitive ingrate." Basically, this is the outlook that the Palestinian is an *untermensch*, a subhuman in the Hitlerian lexicon, and that is the way they are treated.

"Pax Americana" Means Palestinian Blood

Let's move along a few more years. In 1956, Britain and France joined Israel in an attack on Egypt after it nationalized the Suez Canal. The United States then moved in to call off the attack. Now this would seem to make the United States a "friend" of the Arab people and the Palestinians. We know better. It was a statement that Britain and France had had their day. The U.S. was now ruling the roost, and that included the Near East. And that's what we've seen ever since—what we call, particularly in recent years, an attempt at a Pax Americana in the Near East, at the expense of the Palestinian people.

Then you get to Lebanon, 1982, where Yasir Arafat was headquartered and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) fighters were concentrated. The reason they were in Lebanon was because they were formerly in Jordan but in 1970 the Jordanian king, a "friend" of the Palestinian people, slaughtered 10,000 of them and drove them into Lebanon. In Lebanon, the Palestinians were being slaughtered again by the invading Israeli army, commanded by Ariel Sharon, and its Lebanese allies. Arafat called for an "international protection force," which is, by the way, the demand being raised by many so-called revolutionary leftists in Europe today, including a French group called the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, which even occasionally claims to be Trotskyist. American and French "peacekeepers" did move into Beirut and disarmed the Palestinian fighters, shipping them off to Tunisia. With the Palestinian people left defenseless, Sharon called in his dogs of war and carried out a massacre of some 2,000 refugees in a couple of camps called Sabra and Shatila.

One more event on the time line: 1993 on the White House lawn. Arafat shakes hands with the Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin. The man in the middle is President Clinton. This is after the first *Intifada*, an uprising that began in late 1987, and also, pointedly, after a capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union, which had been one of the PLO's main international sponsors. The result was the "peace" accord, an autonomy deal that was hailed by the Palestinian nationalists, by almost every liberal and by many left groups.

We did not hail it. In fact, we denounced it for what it was: an attack on the Palestinian people. Far from leading to independence, we said it would mean —and this is what it has meant—more misery, more unemployment, more poverty, more fascistic settlers, and the orgy of death and destruction we have recently seen. The punchline is you cannot fight for national liberation or any other kind of liberation with a nationalist strategy, and imperialist governments are not the friends of the oppressed, least of all the Palestinian people.

The Campus Divestment Campaign

Many liberal and leftist student activists are now campaigning for their universities to divest their investments from companies that do business with Israel. The UC Berkeley Students for Justice in Palestine, which is led by a supporter of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), has been playing a prominent part in promoting this demand on the campus, for example. Here we should point out that they're calling upon the same university administrators who have been handing over the names of Arab and Muslim students to the FBI as part of the "war on terror." It's understandable that many of those involved want to do something. You're a student; you don't have a lot of power; you don't have a lot of influence; here's one concrete thing that you can do—you can agitate for the administration on your campus to divest.

But the people who organize these campaigns are not so naive. And a lot of them point to the divestment campaign against the South African apartheid

continued on page 9

AP

1993: Israeli prime minister Rabin and PLO leader Arafat seal phony "peace" agreement brokered by Clinton White House.

FBI...

(continued from page 1)

1950s McCarthyite witchhunt, initially directed at the Communist Party, and then shifted into high gear during the 1960s. Its purpose was to intimidate, incarcerate and even kill those who dared lead opposition to racist American imperialism. None were spared its attentions, from avowed socialists to liberal pacifists like Martin Luther King and even dissenting bourgeois politicos, but its savagery was directed at those who were perceived as challenging the mainstays of the American imperialist order.

In 1968 FBI director J. Edgar Hoover declared, "The Negro youth and moderate must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." He was deadly serious. The cop/FBI killings of 38 Black Panthers and the arrests of hundreds more were a message to those who would challenge the bedrock of American capitalism, the racial segregation of black people. Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) was imprisoned for almost three decades with full government knowledge of his innocence. Mumia Abu-Jamal was first targeted by COINTELPRO as a spokesman for the Philadelphia branch of the Panthers at the age of 15. After more than a decade of constant surveillance and cop harassment and failed attempts to railroad him, he was finally convicted in a 1982 frame-up trial and sentenced to death on false charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer. The FBI continued to spy on him even as he sat on death row.

Steven Rubin

INS detainees in Baltimore. Since September 11, Feds have rounded up over 1,200 immigrants, deporting 500 and holding 100 others indefinitely.

Today, no less an authority than William Safire, a former speechwriter for Richard Nixon in the heyday of COINTELPRO, argues:

> "Ashcroft claims he is merely allowing the feds to attend public events, or to surf the Internet, which 'even a 12-year-old can do.' That's a masterful deceit....
>
> "Consider the new reach of federal power: the income-tax return you provided your mortgage lender; your academic scores and personnel ratings, credit card purchases and E-ZPass movements; your political and charitable contributions, charge account at your pharmacist and insurance records; your subscription to non-mainstream publications like The Nation or Human Events, every visit to every Web site and comment to every chat room, and every book or movie you bought or even considered on Amazon.com—all newly combined with the tickets, arrests, press clips, full field investigations and raw allegations of angry neighbors or rejected lovers that flow into the F.B.I."

Safire continues: "Some sunshine libertarians are willing to suffer this loss of personal freedom in the hope that the Ashcroft-Mueller rules of intrusion may prevent a terror attack. They won't because they're a fraud." Indeed, while Ashcroft's plans were long in the works, it was the Democrats' efforts to make political hay out of pre-9/11 "intelligence failures" by the FBI that set the stage for the Bush administration to issue its marching orders.

UPI

Black Panther militants in chains after their headquarters were shot up in SWAT team attack, Los Angeles, 1969.

In our statement issued the day after the attack on the World Trade Center, we warned:

> "The ruling parties—Democrats and Republicans—are all too eager to be able to wield the bodies of those who were killed and wounded in order to reinforce capitalist class rule. It's an opportunity for the exploiters to peddle 'one nation indivisible' patriotism to try to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of this society away from themselves and toward an indefinable foreign 'enemy,' as well as immigrants in the U.S., and to reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people."

Immigrants of Arab or South Asian descent continue to languish in the jails in which they were confined in the immediate aftermath of September 11 without any legal recourse. The arrests of Muslim immigrants continue, as do the attacks on Islamic religious charitable organizations, all without an atom of evidence of any connection to terrorism. The rapidity with which Bush, Ashcroft & Co. rammed through their repressive measures has been made possible by the illusion that only a specific small and vulnerable sector of the population—immigrants from Muslim countries—would be denied legal recourse. But now American citizens John Walker Lindh and Yasser Esam Hamdi, both accused of fighting on the side of the Taliban, find their right to examine prosecution witnesses and, in the case of the latter, even to meet with an attorney challenged by the government. And with Ashcroft's announcement, the government's intent is clear: we're all potentially *the enemy*.

If you want an idea of what this means, look at the extensive reach of the government's original COINTELPRO. In 1956, the FBI had over 900 active informants in the Communist Party. In 1961 COINTELPRO was extended to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and over the next five years the FBI conducted at least 90 burglaries ("black bag jobs") of the SWP's national office. In short order the government's political police massively expanded COINTELPRO to go after civil rights protesters, antiwar activists, feminists, supporters of gay rights, environmentalists, Indian rights activists, tenants' organizations, and virtually anyone critical of government policies. In 1975 the FBI was conducting surveillance of 1,100 organizations.

In the aftermath of the Watergate scandal in the mid 1970s, the government's secret police were nominally reined in. Revelations that the Nixon administration was carrying out "black bag jobs" even against the Democratic Party were cause for concern among significant sections of the American bourgeoisie over such "excesses." At the same time, exposure of the FBI's massive spying on civil rights and anti-Vietnam War activists elicited public outrage. Shortly after Watergate COINTELPRO was officially ended.

But even then, all restrictions on FBI activities were putatively self-imposed. They could still do whatever they wanted without violating any known laws. Take the case of the "L.A. Eight"—seven Palestinians and a Kenyan who have been fighting deportation orders for the last 15 years for political advocacy on behalf of the Palestinian people. In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (4 June), their lawyer, David Cole, painted a stark picture of what it means to have an FBI agent at your meetings:

> "For three years agents attended public demonstrations and meetings, seized literature and had it translated, and reported on the 'anti-Reagan' slogans chanted at rallies.... In 1986, agents attended a public community dinner the students held to celebrate Palestinian culture and politics. Although none of the agents could speak or understand Arabic, they reported afterward that by observing posters of people with assault rifles, the 'tone' of the speeches, and 'the music and entire mood' of the gathering, they had divined that it was a fund-raising event for terrorism."

Though the FBI "found no evidence that anyone in this group had engaged in anything criminal, much less terrorist," the Feds nonetheless moved to deport them.

Fight the FBI's "Anti-Terror" Witchhunt!

In 1983, the FBI adopted the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines, which equated left-wing political activity with terrorism and organized crime. We responded with a lawsuit, as a result of which the government conceded the central aim of our legal challenge—that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or terrorism. This was a modest but genuine blow to the government's efforts to criminalize leftist political dissent. But as we wrote at the time (*WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984):

> "We have no illusions that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration and disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government. We do know that the secret police have not changed since Karl Marx was harassed by secret agents of Prussia, that as long as the capitalists hold state power, their police agents will continue their dirty work against any real or perceived challenges to their class rule."

The U.S. rulers have used the criminal attack on the World Trade Center to assert their "right" to chart the political and military agenda on the planet to suit their own particular imperialist appetites. Thousands have been killed in wretchedly backward Afghanistan; subsequent mopping-up operations have entailed the seemingly random killings of various tribesmen, by the administration's own admission, to no particular benefit. One direct result has been the destabilization of the area and the possibility of a nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan. Another has been to give Israel a free hand in its unending attacks on Palestinian towns and mass roundups of "suspects" (any young Palestinian male) in service of its own "war against terror," i.e., its "right" to dominate and, if necessary, expel the Palestinian population. These unforeseen offshoots of the U.S. invasion now threaten to stymie stage two of the "war against terrorism"—Bush's plans to invade Iraq sometime next year.

American imperialism's aspirations to dominate the world unimpeded are both insane and dangerous to the world's masses. The U.S. bourgeoisie wields the September 11 attacks to promote "national unity" patriotism and peddle the lie that they are defending the population against terrorism. Such calls to patriotism against the "foreign threat" are always used to attempt to quash working-class militancy and social protest. Following the post-World War I strike wave, the 1919-20 Palmer raids expelled thousands of radical immigrants thought to be agents of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The giant strike wave in this country that followed World War II was met by the bourgeoisie's Cold War drive against the USSR that had as its first target the trade-union militants and socialists who had built the unions in the class struggles of the 1930s. This purge, with its underlying themes of anti-Semitism and anti-black racism, put the unions under the firm control of the "America First" trade-union bureaucrats who dominate the union movement to this day and who are responsible for the decline of union strength. In the 1960s, those who protested against U.S. imperialism's dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants were painted as traitors while the government unleashed its secret police against fighters for black rights at home.

With recession-generated joblessness stalking the land today, America's rulers, having gorged themselves on the fabulous and ephemeral profits of the 1990s and reeking with corruption, seek to stamp out even the thought of resistance, opposition or social struggle. The American populace is ***ordered*** to now accept repression of their rights as the norm for a "war" that the rulers proclaim will last a lifetime.

"National unity" patriotism is a noose around the necks of all working people. As the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee emphasized in the call for the February 9 Oakland labor-centered mobilization of trade unionists, Asians, blacks, students and others in defense of immigrant rights against the government's new repressive laws:

> "Bush and Attorney General Ashcroft—that apologist for the Confederate slavocracy—have taken first aim at people of Near Eastern descent who were rounded up and thrown in jail where hundreds still remain. They've created the spectre of an 'enemy within' in order to strengthen the powers of their own consummately violent state. But what America's racist rulers can get away with will be determined by class struggle. We must fight ***now*** to defend our rights and jobs, and the rights and jobs of our immigrant brothers and sisters."

We had better fight for more and larger such mobilizations in defense of our rights against a government whose equation of political advocacy with a criminal terrorist enterprise is a license to kill.■

Young Spartacus

Defend Pro-Palestinian Protesters!

Bay Area

As Israel continues its bloody offensive in the West Bank, terrorizing Palestinian towns and demolishing the compound of the Palestinian Authority in Ramallah, a sinister campaign is gaining steam in the U.S. to smear as "anti-Semites" and persecute students and others who defend the Palestinian people. In tandem with the "war on terror," local police and prosecutors and campus administrations, abetted by the virulently Zionist Anti-Defamation League (ADL), are seeking to set up such students for state surveillance and repression.

This crusade has reached a fever pitch at San Francisco State University (SFSU), where the administration is pushing for "hate crime" charges to be brought against protesters at a May 7 pro-Palestinian demonstration for such activities as allegedly stomping on an Israeli flag and engaging in "hate speech." Railing against "pro-Palestinian groups fueled by hatred of Israel and Jews," the ADL claims that the SFSU protesters "verbally assaulted and threatened" pro-Israel Hillel students, who were staging their own demonstration at the same time. The story was picked up as far away as Israel, where the right-wing *Jerusalem Post* (16 May) headlined on its front page: "Anti-Semitic Riot at San Francisco State University."

Goaded by the head of the Jewish studies program, SFSU president Robert Corrigan issued a statement soon after the protest which declared the anti-Zionist students guilty as charged. Corrigan subsequently singled out two pro-Palestinian students and one pro-Zionist student for university discipline and also called on the San Francisco district attorney's office to prosecute the three students on criminal charges.

This incident is far from the only case of victimization of those who sympathize with the plight of the Palestinians. On May 25, Sophia Ibrahim, an eleven-year-old girl, and 30 others were arrested at a protest demanding an end to U.S. aid to Israel at the Golden Gate Bridge. California Highway Patrolmen in riot gear blocked the march back across the bridge and physically assaulted the protesters, including with pepper spray. For yelling at and allegedly hitting the cops, Sophia was thrown to the ground, handcuffed and left face down for several minutes. She was charged with felony assault of a police officer. When her brother Mousa went to pick her up from police custody, he was arrested for felony endangerment of a minor—because he had driven Sophia to the protest! *Drop the charges against all the protesters!*

Around the same time, two courageous University of California students studying in Cairo, Robert O'Neill of UC Berkeley and Nauman Zaidi of UC Riverside, were subjected to university discipline for having put their lives on the line in defense of the Palestinians. Their "crime" was to answer the call of the International Solidarity Movement and enter Bethlehem's besieged Church of the Nativity on May 2 to bring food and water to those seeking refuge from the rampaging Israeli army. After being confined for more than two weeks in an Israeli jail at the conclusion of the siege on May 10, both were deported from Israel and subsequently dropped from UC's Education Abroad Program, ostensibly for violating a rule against endangering themselves while abroad. *No reprisals against O'Neill and Zaidi!*

At UC Berkeley itself, 41 students still face up to a year's suspension from school for supposedly violating the "core mission" of the university by allegedly disrupting a handful of classes on April 9.

SF Indymedia photos

Above: Pro-Palestinian UC Berkeley students stage sit-in protest in classroom building on April 9. Left: Cops arrest eleven-year-old Sophia Ibrahim at May 25 protest near Golden Gate Bridge.

More than a thousand students took part in a protest that day against the Zionist massacres in the Occupied Territories. This protest, organized by Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), culminated in the occupation of a campus building for a couple of hours. Cops assaulted the protesters, arresting 79. Since then, criminal charges have been dropped, although the protesters were required to pay nominal fines. The administration suspended the SJP as a student organization but recently backed down in the face of opposition (including by the SYC) to this suppression of political dissent. *No administration reprisals against the Berkeley protesters!*

ADL: Zionist Fingermen

The ADL has worked as an unofficial adjunct to the FBI and other state agencies for more than 50 years in a variety of anti-Communist and other reactionary causes. On May 30, the ADL issued a statement hailing the overhaul of the FBI and lamenting, "For too long, the FBI has been hamstrung in its efforts to combat extremism and has taken a too timid approach to initiating investigations against potential terrorists." The ADL recently hosted a daylong meeting of the "Committee on Terrorism" with the FBI and has formed a partnership with various state and federal law enforcement agencies to help wage the domestic "war on terror." One ADL spokesman in L.A. gloated: "We have extensive resources available to law enforcement, including current and archival information, analysis and programs."

We're sure the ADL has plenty of "current and archival information" after decades of spying on not only Arab activists but also leftists, black leaders, unions, gay organizations—and, only incidentally, fascist and anti-Semitic groups. The ADL provided extensive information to the FBI as well as to the apartheid regime in South Africa and Latin American death squad regimes. In 1993, the San Francisco D.A.'s office released a flood of documents that revealed the ADL's extensive spy web (see "Zionist Fingermen for Apartheid, Salvador Death Squads—ADL's Massive Spying Operation," *WV* No. 577, 4 June 1993). The ADL—after initially claiming the charges were an anti-Semitic "Big Lie"—has been forced by various lawsuits to pay up to the victims of its spy operation. The latest of these lawsuits against the ADL culminated this February in a significant cash payment to the plaintiffs, who moreover won the right to continue to expose the ADL's spy operation.

"Hate Speech" Legislation: Tool of Repression

On campus, the ADL brags of having been "proactive in working with campus groups, administrators and faculty." The SFSU incident on May 7 is a case in point. From the outset, the administration had it in for supporters of the Palestinian cause. While the Zionists were allowed to demonstrate unmolested, the protest organized by the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) was forced into a police pen.

Responding to the accusations of anti-Semitism, GUPS held a press conference at which it replayed a videotape of the protests. The videotape showed Zionists hurling racist anti-Arab epithets at the counterdemonstrators but did *not* show the pro-Palestinian activists using anti-Semitic slurs as the ADL claimed. Only after the press conference did Corrigan scramble to present a more "balanced" approach to the persecution, adding a pro-Israel student to the list of those facing disciplinary action. One student was suspended. We say: *No reprisals against any of the SFSU protesters!*

Racist slurs are vile, but stomping on an Israeli flag is an expression of political opposition to the Zionist state. We don't know who shouted what or how much of all this is a Zionist fabrication. But neither the bourgeois state nor the university administration has any business passing judgment on what students yell at each other, even if what is said is racist or otherwise offensive. Both GUPS and Hillel have been working with the D.A.'s office to better enable it to launch "hate speech" charges against each other's supporters. As we said in the *WV* No. 533 (30 August 1991) article "Racism and Witchhunts on Campus," when "politically correct" academics and anti-racist students pushed for such laws. "Ninety-nine out of a hundred times, speech codes will be used against the left and anti-racists.... The problem with this strategy is it disarms the victims by fostering illusions in the supposed 'neutrality' of the racist university administrations and the cops." As the ADL's wielding of "hate speech" laws demonstrates, such legislation has little to do with fighting racism and everything to do with ratcheting up the repressive power of the state and its university auxiliaries, allowing them to dictate what is "acceptable" political activity.

There have in fact been vile expressions of anti-Semitism on the SFSU campus, most notably on April 4 when grotesque flyers were posted for a Muslim Student Association (MSA) event. The flyer featured a bloodied Palestinian baby with the caption: "Palestinian Children Meat—Slaughtered According to Jewish Rites Under American License." MSA later issued an apology for the flyer, and GUPS, which co-signed it, denied responsibility and subsequently declared its opposition to anti-Semitism and racism. This flyer was a gift to the Zionists in their crusade to equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism and was a pretext for the Zionist rally on May 7.

The crackdown on protests sympathetic to the plight of the Palestinians illustrates that the university administration is far from neutral. Soon after September 11, more than 200 universities, including SFSU, handed over the records of Near Eastern students to the Feds. A December 12 united-front demonstration at SFSU initiated by the SYC and endorsed by GUPS, among others, demanded: "Down with SFSU collaboration with FBI anti-immigrant witchhunt! Defend immigrant rights!"

American imperialist aggression abroad and that of its regional allies like Israel are necessarily reflected in domestic repression against the supporters of the oppressed Palestinian people. It is necessary to translate this support into struggle against the American imperialist behemoth, drawing in particular upon the power of the multiracial working class. *Defend the Palestinian people! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories! U.S./UN out of the Near East!*■

Down With Anti-Sex Censorship!

Students display controversial *Ravaillac* cover. AP

France

Earlier this spring, the headmaster of the Henry IV high school in Paris banned the student publication *Ravaillac* after it ran nude photos of high school youth on its cover. The magazine, named for the assassin of the school's royal namesake, has featured articles on homosexuality, pornography, sex and prostitution. The attack on the pro-sex publication takes place in the context of a major rightward shift in French bourgeois politics, exemplified by the second-round presidential election in May that pitted the racist right-wing incumbent, Jacques Chirac, against outright fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen. The anti-immigrant, anti-labor policies of the Socialist Party-led "left" coalition government paved the way for this shift. We publish below the translation of the 26 May statement by the Comité de Défense Sociale (CDDS), a legal and social defense organization in political solidarity with the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the ICL, protesting this anti-sex censorship and the intrusion of the state into private life.

* * *

Why has the headmaster of Henry IV secondary school suspended the magazine *Ravaillac*? Very simply because it talks about sex! The students at the prestigious Parisian high school Henry IV published the second issue of their journal *Ravaillac* with the title: "Some Ass, Some Ass, Some Ass." On the cover of this issue, men and women pose nude. In fact, these youth are part of the editorial board of the journal. Immediately after the appearance of this issue, the headmaster suspended the publication in the name of the "protection of youth." What hypocrisy! The truth is that in Catholic France, sex can't be read about or discussed! We demand the *immediate lifting of the ban on* Ravaillac*! Down with the witchhunt against the students!*

The editors of *Ravaillac* are not only under attack by the administration of the school and risk expulsion, they are also facing physical aggression at the hands of the fascists of French Action! These youth must be defended against this royalist rabble!

As Marxists, we oppose attempts by the bourgeois state and its institutions to interfere in all aspects of life. We say: *Down with censorship!* We oppose the school administration deciding what youth can publish and discuss! Cops, priests, headmasters: Out of the bedrooms and the classrooms!

The repression against *Ravaillac* shows the total hypocrisy of bourgeois "morality," where students are repressed because of some innocent nudes in a photo; go to the nearby kiosk and there you'll find some *hard* stuff; and if you want some really bloody nakedness go to see the portraits of Jesus in the church at the corner. Meanwhile, the capitalists present as the height of "democracy" the "choice" between a crook and a fascist! They talk about the "protection of youth" while with their racist security campaign, from both the right and the "left," they jail more and more youth, mainly of Maghrebin [North African] origin, in prisons where everyone knows that what rules is rape.

We fight for a socialist society which will be free from exploitation and oppression, and free of this kind of regimentation of youth and the grotesque interference by the state into the private lives of individuals.■

SYC Says: Free Pedro Colón!

Pedro Colón Almenas, a student militant at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) and a member of the Unión de Juventudes Socialista (UJS—Union of Socialist Youth), was arrested at home by eight FBI agents on 3 July 2001. Colón had taken part in an anti-ROTC protest on UPR's Rio Piedras campus in April of that year, and the UJS had been active in protesting the military's presence at the university for almost two years. Colón was arrested for supposedly attacking an ROTC major during the UPR demonstration. This was a frame-up! Colón acted as a mediator in a fistfight that broke out during the protest, not as a combatant. The Feds targeted Colón because of his political activism and opposition to the U.S military. We say: *Free Pedro Colón!*

Colón is currently serving a one-year prison sentence plus three years of probation. The Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club read a statement in support of Colón at its anti-ROTC demonstration at UC Berkeley on April 20, linking the struggle against the colonial occupation of Puerto Rico with our overall struggle against the U.S imperialist behemoth. We reprint below a letter by the Bay Area SYC sent to Colón this April.

* * *

As we rally against the ROTC recruiters here in the belly of the imperialist beast, we in the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club extend our solidarity to you and all those fighting against the American imperialist military in Puerto Rico. Your incarceration for protesting the presence of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps on the University of Puerto Rico campus is an outrage! We stand in solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico against the oppression of the American colonial occupying forces. Puerto Rico has been used as a training ground for imperialist incursions from Serbia to Iraq, and as a reminder to the peoples of Latin America of the American rulers' criminal intentions. As revolutionary internationalists who oppose all the colonialist machinations of our "own" capitalist rulers, we say: For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Vieques and all of Puerto Rico! For the revolutionary unity of the working masses of Puerto Rico and the mainland in the struggle against colonial oppression and capitalist exploitation!

We oppose the presence of ROTC recruiters on campuses. We understand that ROTC's role is to recruit the next generation of men and women to direct mass slaughter for the rapacious American imperialists. In Puerto Rico ROTC carries the added weight of an occupying force, and its return to the island's campuses is especially ominous. The military arsenal of death from the huge American military installations in Puerto Rico is directed against the Cuban deformed workers state above all. But as powerful as the imperialists' weapons are, they are no match against the working class, who alone has the power to stop production and bring the capitalist rulers to their knees. That is why the struggle against the imperialists cannot be confined to Puerto Rico but must be spread to the rest of the Americas, in particular the powerful American proletariat. It has to be centered on a class understanding that imperialism and capitalist exploitation must be smashed through workers revolution, by means of united class struggles against the capitalist rulers, in the United States as well as in Puerto Rico, Mexico and every other capitalist country. As you have witnessed yourself, there can be no justice under capitalism!

As you wage the fight for your immediate freedom, rest assured that your ordeal is not going unnoticed. Today, April 20, here at the University of California in Berkeley, we protested ROTC, and raised the demand: Free Pedro Colón Almenas! We demand the release of all class-war prisoners, like Mumia Abu-Jamal, from the claws of the American bourgeois rulers. We will continue to oppose American imperialism at home and abroad—U.S. imperialists, hands off Vieques, Iraq, Afghanistan, the whole world! And we will continue the fight to build a workers party that fights for the rights of all the oppressed, for an end to capitalism, for a socialist future. ROTC off campus now! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico!■

SYC Class Series

CHICAGO

Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.

July 11: **Marxism: A Guide to Action**

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Young Spartacus

On May 14, the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club organized a picket-line protest against pro-imperialist ideologue Dinesh D'Souza at the University of Chicago. D'Souza, a former editor of the arch-conservative *Dartmouth Review* and a longtime braintruster for the Republican Party, was on campus to whitewash the manifold crimes of American capitalism, including chattel slavery. D'Souza's presence on campus was a provocation aimed at minorities, immigrants, leftists and all opponents of the U.S. government's "war on terror." A Spartacist League/SYC spokesman noted, "[D'Souza] and other conservative ideologues like David Horowitz are trying to lead a campaign to make college campuses like they were in the 1950s and to get rid of leftists."

While a few right-wing yahoos made childish attempts at disrupting the anti-D'Souza protest, the SYC-led action refuted and exposed the racist pig D'Souza and his reactionary agenda. Solidarizing with the anti-D'Souza protesters from across the street, black campus workers pumped their fists to our chants, which included, "Dinesh D'Souza is a dog of war! A workers party is what we're for!" Earlier in the year, SYCs mobilized protests against D'Souza and Horowitz at UCLA, Columbia and Harvard to champion on campus the cause of black freedom, which ultimately can only be achieved through socialist revolution.

Palestine...

(continued from page 5)

regime some 15 years ago as an example of a great victory. So, let's deal with that. First of all, apartheid South Africa was not Israel. In South Africa you had a thin layer of white exploiters living off an overwhelmingly black majority country and black working class. In Israel you have an entire Hebrew-speaking population, an entire nation, and then you have an entire other nation, the Palestinian people.

Moreover, it is simply not true that divestment led to the victory over apartheid. What led to the end of legal apartheid was the rise of a powerful black workers movement in the late 1970s and '80s, culminating in the formation of the COSATU trade-union federation. It was the struggle of these black workers that created fear of instability—and indeed fear of revolution—in South Africa in the minds of the American, British and other European imperialists. And that's when they started thinking that maybe they should have a different policy—maybe put some pressure on the apartheid regime to change its ways a little bit because otherwise there might not be any investments left at all. By and large the divestment that did take place was mainly a matter of big American and European corporations signing over their "control" to South African subsidiaries or junior partners.

Daniel/Media

Israeli rubber workers protest layoffs in Tel Aviv, 1989. Zionist garrison state must be destroyed from within through Arab-Hebrew workers revolution.

Institute for Palestine Studies

Palestinian women and children flee Jaffa during 1947-48 Zionist terror campaign that gave birth to Israeli state.

An interesting thing is that in 1989 there were two strikes against divestment by the very black workers in South Africa in whose name the divestment campaign had been carried out. Because what divestment meant was that the mines and factories sold to local South African capitalists were subjected to even more union-busting and wage-cutting. We wrote in an article at the time: "It's obscene to imagine that racist American imperialism—which put its own citizens in concentration camps while A-bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which carpet bombed Indochina, and props up every 'moderately authoritarian' butcher dictator on earth—can be pressured into pressuring their South African allies to dismantle apartheid" (*WV* No. 486, 29 September 1989). Very much the same applies to the U.S. and its Israeli ally today.

The final point is that even though legal apartheid was ended, the superexploitation of the black working people of South Africa continues, except in this case the government has black faces. We call the governing ANC (African National Congress) black front men for white capitalist rule. Yes, blacks now have the right to vote, which is no minor matter, and they are not humiliatingly segregated into different compartments on trains and the like. But the economic and social conditions of the black toilers have not improved one iota. And they won't until there's a workers revolution in South Africa.

In discussions that some of our comrades have had with people from the ISO, they will say, "Oh yeah, we know that divestment won't work, but at least it gets people out and it brings attention to the question." Well, we have a saying in our movement. It's better to fight for what you want and not get it than to fight for what you don't want and get it.

A "Democratic, Secular" Palestine?

Interestingly enough, there has in fact been some divestment from Israel recently. And for much the same reason it was taking place in South Africa. The constant fighting is bad for business. Tourism is massively down to the tune of something like $5 billion. The high-tech industry exports are down by $10 billion, and these are two main money earners besides the direct American aid that Israel gets. There has also been simple capital outflow—$500 million just in the first quarter of 2002. In other words, even Israeli capitalists are taking their money out of the country.

There's an article in *Business Week* (19 April) dealing with this which quotes some Israeli capitalists. "The danger for Israel," in their view, "is that its economy could slip back to what amounts to a charity project sustained by donations of the U.S. and world Jewry." We used to call Israel a "shnorrer state"—"shnorrer" is a Yiddish word for beggar, freeloader.

There are two points coming out of this. The first is that Sharon's policy is not the only policy that the Israeli bourgeoisie could pursue vis-à-vis the Palestinian people. They could have pursued the Oslo "peace" accords. You know, set up some phony autonomy situation where the Palestinians are firmly under their thumb, but everything looks quiet. And that was what the Israeli capitalists hoped for because they wanted to branch out to markets in the Arab countries. In fact, there is an alternative policy to Sharon's being proposed. It's called "unilateral separation." It means that you just build fences throughout the West Bank the way they did around Gaza: Israel on one side, Palestinians on the other—they stay there, we stay here, except they have no economy, no jobs, and are surrounded by Israeli fortresses, so they can't "step out of line."

The second point is that Israel is a capitalist class society like any other. It has a capitalist class, it has a working class and it has intermediate classes. The Israeli population is not just some seamless, unitary, reactionary mass. And this is very important in terms of the differences we have with most left groups. It means that there is a *working class in Israel whose class interests are objectively counterposed to those of the Zionist rulers.* That is the force that can be mobilized, under a revolutionary leadership, to fight for a socialist revolution to oust the Zionist rulers. And that is very good news indeed, because otherwise there will be no Palestinian liberation.

Most of our opponents on the left call for a "democratic, secular" Palestine, which on the face of it sounds quite good. Unfortunately, you are not going to have a democratic secular anything in Israel-Palestine as long as private property continues to exist. There is simply no way. Because what you have there is a situation where two nations are laying claim to the same land. We call this interpenetrated peoples. Now, the right to self-determination, the right to form your own state, is a democratic question. In other words, it's a question that can be resolved normally in some democratic way under capitalism, at least on a formal level.

But when you have a clash between the right of self-determination for one people and another people in the same territory, that cannot be resolved democratically to the benefit of both as long as capitalist relations prevail. The whole logic of capitalism is basically dog-eat-dog. One capitalist against another, one nation against another. One will be on top, and the other will be on the bottom. Every "solution" to the Palestinian national question under capitalism either perpetuates the oppression of the Palestinian Arab people or envisions a reversal of the terms of oppression, denying the legitimate national rights of the Hebrew-speaking people.

One of the founders of the Zionist movement noted in 1940: "Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country.... We shall not achieve our goal of being an independent people with the Arabs in this small country. The only solution is a Palestine, at least Western Palestine (west of the Jordan River), without Arabs" (quoted in Arie Bober, ed., *The Other Israel*). In his own way, he understood that you can't have self-determination for both peoples in this little country, at least not under capitalism. Note also the reference to "Western Palestine." Now, of course, the more extreme Zionists don't simply want to take over the West Bank and Gaza. East of "Western Palestine" is a country called Jordan, and beyond that there are other countries. In fact, a historic Zionist slogan for a "greater Israel" is "from the Euphrates to the Nile." The Euphrates is all the way in Iraq. The Nile is in Egypt. That's a big chunk of territory for a greater Israel.

This bears on another point about what is wrong with the idea of a democratic, secular Palestine. It cannot lead to real self-determination for the Palestinian population, which extends beyond the confines of Israel or the Occupied Territories. Palestinians are and have always been the majority of the people in Jordan, for example. So in order to get Palestinian self-determination, you have to sweep away the capitalist governments of Israel and Jordan. And there are a good half-million Palestinians in Lebanon as well. Lebanon's patron is Syria. The only real solution is a socialist federation of the Near East.

The Genocidal Logic of Nationalism

The question of interpenetrated peoples is one the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia itself encountered in regions (like the Caucasus) where different nationalities intermingled in the same territory. At the Communist International's Second Congress in 1920, there was an amendment to a motion which made the point that "Republican [bourgeois] democracy, forced by its struggle against the proletariat to substitute national war for the class struggle, quickly became permeated with xenophobia. It easily converts to its own use the experiences of the old masters

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(Fourth Internationalist)

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Palestine...

(continued from page 9)

of national oppression and applies them ardently." And it concluded that "no 'democratic' forms within a republican-democratic order...can ensure protection of the rights and cultural interest of the minority nationalities in areas with a mixed population." By democratic forms, it meant capitalist democratic forms.

If you look at Israel, you can see what it means to use the experience of the old masters. The Zionists aped the Nazi tormentors of the Jewish people. It was reported in Israeli newspapers last month that a senior army commander said, if and when troops go into refugee camps like Jenin, they should learn the lessons of the Germans who went into the Warsaw Ghetto. On the other side, when Arafat set up his own forces to police the Palestinian people, they aped the Zionist torturers who had earlier tormented them.

That's the logic of all nationalism, which ultimately means genocide of one people by another. Given the current political/military balance of forces in the Near East, it is the Palestinian Arabs who now face the possibility of massacres on a truly genocidal scale.

However, one also sees suicide terror attacks carried out by Palestinians against innocent Israeli civilians. It is one thing to carry out an attack against Israeli troops or settlers who are basically fascistic auxiliaries of the Israeli Army. They are enforcers of the military occupation of the Palestinians. It is another thing to attack a bunch of teenage kids at a disco on a Friday night date in Tel Aviv or some people out doing their shopping in a shopping mall in Jerusalem or Haifa. Such indiscriminate terror is criminal from the standpoint of the working class. Behind it lies the nationalist ideology that equates the whole population with the rulers. Far from advancing the struggle for Palestinian liberation, it actually sets it back. What it says to the working people of Israel is: "Our government must be right; the Arabs hate us all."

In this sense it's comparable to the attack on the World Trade Center last September, which was also a criminal attack from the standpoint of the working class. Look what it did for the Bush administration which came into office with a minority of the vote and now is able to carry out the most draconian attacks on civil liberties we've seen since the 1950s with an 80 percent popularity rating.

What we fight for in the Near East is Arab-Hebrew workers revolution as the only just solution to this question of interpenetrated peoples. Looking at the situation today, this prospect may seem pretty way out. But there are historical precedents.

Let me give you an example. If you look at the former Yugoslavia, today there's Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Kosovo; the number of countries multiplies. This is where the expression "Balkanization" came from. You've seen for the last ten years intercommunal massacres, the driving out of entire villages and towns. But it wasn't always that way. From 1945 to the early 1990s, you had a situation for much of that time where the various nationalities—the Croats, the Serbs, the Bosnian Muslims, the Albanian Kosovars—lived in relative harmony and national equality.

But before 1945, it was pretty much the way it is now. Then something intervened to radically change things. The Yugoslav Communist Party under Tito in World War II led a partisan resistance against the Nazi German occupation. The leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party was multinational. It was the only pan-Yugoslav party in the country. There were Jewish people in the leadership; there were Croats; there were Serbs. Tito himself was half Croatian and half Slovenian. Now, this was a Stalinist party. It did not have a program for socialist revolution and it tried to form alliances with various bourgeois formations at that time.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

Yugoslav Communist Party under Marshal Tito (fourth from left) forged multinational Partisan force that defeated Nazi occupiers in WWII, leading to creation of deformed workers state.

However, one of these bourgeois-nationalist formations from the Croatian side—the Ustasha—was pro-Nazi and was running a puppet government for the German occupation forces. The Titoists couldn't exactly ally with them. On the other side were Serbian royalists—the Chetniks—who for a time were allied with the Titoist Partisans against the Germans and their Croatian puppets. But then the Chetniks started attacking the Yugoslav Communist forces, so it was sort of hard to maintain an alliance with them too. In the upshot the anti-Nazi Partisan war turned into a civil war against all the bourgeois-nationalist forces in Yugoslavia. As a result, when Tito's Communist Partisans were victorious over the Nazi occupation they were also victorious over what was left of a bourgeoisie in Yugoslavia.

New York Times

Mass demonstration in Baghdad, July 1958. Revolutionary upsurge under Iraqi CP leadership brought powerful proletariat to the brink of power.

What came out of that is what we call a deformed workers state—a state where capitalism had been overthrown but under the political rule of a bureaucracy like what existed in the Soviet Union under Stalin and his successors prior to the downfall of the USSR in 1991-92. But even with that deformation, you had a situation where there were no longer bourgeois-nationalist forces carrying out massacres against each other. You had development of the most impoverished regions and relative equality on the basis of a collectivized economy. Then in the early '90s you had a counterrevolution, and now you see what you get from that.

For Communist Parties in the Near East!

If you look around today, it seems like in almost every Arab country what's on the rise is Islamic fundamentalism. And in most countries you have either dictatorial regimes or some democratic facade for military rule. But if you go back to the 1940s and '50s, you had large Communist parties in many of these countries. Most of these Communist parties were either formed by or included or were based heavily on the minorities in those countries. The various Egyptian Communist formations were all formed by Egyptian Jews. The Iraqi Communist Party had in its leadership Kurds and Jews. Kurds are an oppressed minority in Iraq. For a period of time the chief leader of the Iraqi Communist Party was a Jewish man.

Mémoires Vives Productions

Henri Curiel, an Egyptian Jew, helped found Communist movement in that country in 1940s.

In 1958, the king of Iraq, I believe the son of the man that the British installed, was overthrown. This opened up a revolutionary situation. The Iraqi Communist Party had the overwhelming support of the multinational Iraqi working class. It also had broad support among other layers of the population, including within the army and even some sections of the officer corps. It could have taken power. There could have been a socialist revolution in Iraq. In fact the American government was sufficiently worried that U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower sent the Marines into Lebanon just to have them there in case they had to invade Iraq. The Kremlin, the Moscow Stalinists, sold out that revolution in the interests of maintaining "peaceful coexistence" with the U.S. They knew the U.S. wouldn't like it if one of the major countries in the major oil producing region of the world went Communist. And the Iraqi Communist Party, being a Stalinist party, went along with that.

The Stalinists have a program called "two-stage revolution" which means first we block with the bourgeois nationalists—like the predecessors of Saddam Hussein—and only later will we fight for socialism. Of course, the later never comes because in between comes a massacre of the working class, which is what happened in Iraq. This led to Saddam Hussein, who at the time was supported by the United States because he was killing workers and Communists, which is something the United States government always likes.

Let's take another example a decade later. I referred to the massacre of Palestinians (Black September) in Jordan in 1970. That did not have to happen. In fact, Jordan was on the verge of a civil war. But none of the Palestinian nationalists—not simply Arafat, but even the most left-wing Palestinian nationalists—sought to organize the Jordanian and Palestinian masses against King Hussein. These groups included the Democratic Front and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which claimed to be either Marxist-Leninist or Marxist and which are seen that way by much of the left today. Instead of appealing to the population to rise up against the king, they left themselves disarmed and 10,000 Palestinian fighters were slaughtered.

A few years later, in 1975, a civil war broke out in Lebanon. This started basically as a civil war between the poor and the rich, although the rich were largely the Christian Maronites. But it was turned into a war between Muslims and Christians as the PLO and Lebanese Stalinists threw their forces in with one or another of the Lebanese Muslim groups who were simply communalists. So a potentially revolutionary civil war turned into an intercommunalist slaughter that went on for years and led to the deaths of tens upon tens of thousands of people.

So revolutionary opportunities do arise, but when they arise—and they don't happen every day, obviously—what has to be in place is the kind of party that Lenin painstakingly built in Russia through education and struggle to take advantage of that opportunity. It's got to be a party based on the understanding of proletarian class independence from the bourgeoisie as against the idea of

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"two-stage revolution." What we fight for in backward neocolonial countries like those of the Arab East is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, which means that only when the working class takes power can you break the stranglehold of imperialism and put an end to national oppression. Communist parties in Third World countries must also be based on the understanding that the working class in the United States and West Europe must be mobilized for proletarian revolution as well, because as long as imperialism remains no revolution in a small country will long survive.

We have a perspective of building Leninist-Trotskyist parties not only in Arab countries but also in Israel. Israel is not, as I said before, simply a seamless society where nothing can ever change. You might have read about the reservists in the military who refuse to do service in the Occupied Territories. There are all sorts of fault lines in Israeli society, including secular opposition to Jewish fundamentalism and theocracy. There's a large Israeli Arab population, which is actually a part of the Palestinian nation that remained within Israel's borders. They are subject to intense segregation, enormous poverty, basically restricted to Arab-only villages, and economically marginal. But Israeli Arabs certainly have no great love for the Zionist state and could obviously be a leaven for socialist revolution in Israel.

Then there are class and other divisions within the Jewish population. The majority are what is called Sephardic or Near Eastern Jews, who are overwhelmingly treated as second-class citizens. They are very poor by and large compared to the European-derived Jews, and mainly live in what are called "development towns," which are basically glorified slums in desert areas. Today the Sephardic population is largely under the sway of right-wing and religious parties. But such things can change very quickly, and I'll give you an example. I happened to be in Israel for a brief visit in the early 1970s. There was a group there called the Black Panther Party. I'm sure you're all familiar with the Black Panther Party which originated in Oakland, California. This was not them. This was a group of several hundred Sephardic Jewish militants who were fighting against the discrimination against their people, but in fact they did get their name from the Black Panther Party in Oakland.

There was likewise at that time a fairly sizable New Left movement in Israel of young Israelis, many of whom were openly anti-Zionist. And I could speak to them because in some ways we had both been influenced by the same events: the struggle for black equality in the United States, which had international repercussions, and, of course, the Vietnam War, which radicalized a whole generation around the world. So again, the point is that if you have a narrow, nationalist framework and look only at your little piece of territory and what's going on there and what you can do about it, you will never succeed

The Struggle for Revolutionary Consciousness

There's a little group on the left called the Internationalist Group. If anybody here has ever seen their material, you may think that much of their stuff sounds the same as ours. They call for Arab-Hebrew workers revolution, for example. I was looking at a 30 March leaflet they put out and it says, "Defeat Israel's Genocidal Blitzkrieg! Drive Zionist Army/Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!" It's like "macho man Marxism"—"defeat 'em," "drive 'em out," "smash 'em!" Who's going to do the driving? The lightly armed Palestinian resistance against Israeli tanks, F-16s, armored helicopters?

Then I remembered something they wrote a year ago: "The settlers should be driven out by militant action of the oppressed Palestinian population. This could gain considerable support from Hebrew working people in Israel" (*Internationalist*, Summer 2001). I remember while reading that at the time, I just started laughing. We do look to mobilize the Hebrew working people for revolution, but to think that right now, with the level of intense chauvinism infecting the Israeli proletariat, that they're just going to cheer on Palestinians as they drive out Jewish settlers from the Occupied Territories is demented.

For the Internationalist Group, revolution is something quick and easy. You don't have to have that hard struggle *to change people's minds, to affect consciousness, to build a party*. The Palestinians are just going to engage in militant struggle, and the Israeli working class is going to cheer them on. If life were only so easy!

The real punchline of this attitude is that you cut corners. But history doesn't have pop-up menus for shortcuts, so when you start looking for shortcuts what you do is tone down this bit of your program and tailor that bit in order to appeal to lower consciousness. The Internationalist Group claims to agree with our line on the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan against the CIA's Islamic reactionaries in the 1980s. Especially in defense of women's rights, we said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" And the Internationalist Group says: we stand by that.

But then they organized a demonstration a few months ago at Hunter College in New York City against the post-September 11 government attacks on immigrants from Islamic countries. And the one thing that never came out of their mouth was "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan." And this was shortly after the U.S. had launched its attacks on Afghanistan. Why? Because that might have annoyed the Arab nationalists who were there, the Islamic women wearing veils who were there, or groups like the International Socialist Organization, who are virulently anti-Communist, who were there. See, you don't say things that are going to upset the apple cart. But on that basis you're never going to build a party that can make a revolution.

Another thing that they've attacked us for is that we declare ourselves to be the vanguard against Islamic reaction. Yes, we are. We are in the vanguard against Islamic reaction, against Jewish reaction, and particularly in this country, against Christian reaction.

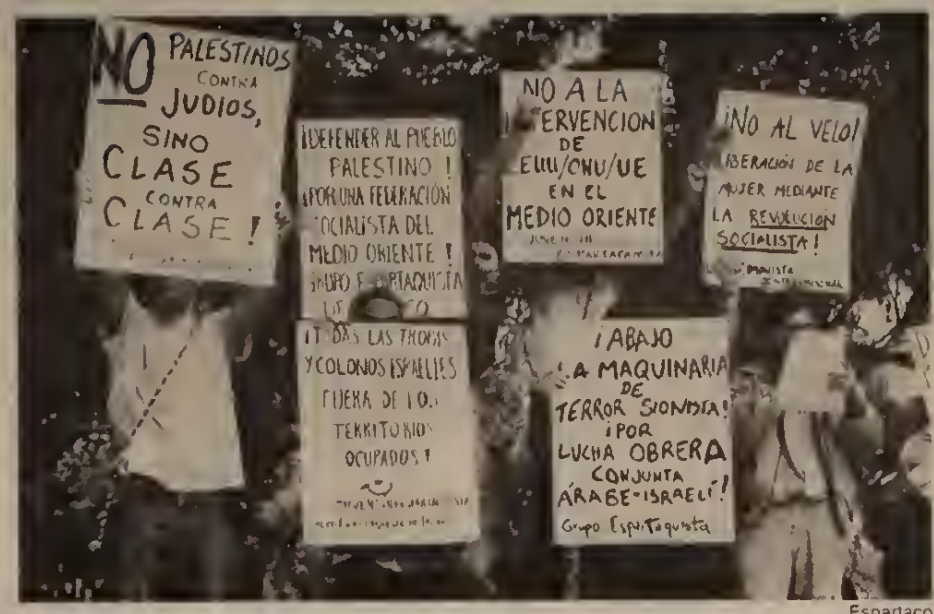
Fundamentally, if you are not against *all forms* of religious reaction then all talk of socialist revolution and permanent revolution is a lie. It means nothing because you are not fighting against the backwardness that keeps the oppressed and the working class in those societies in chains. And central to that, and to the whole perspective of permanent revolution, is women's liberation against which religious reaction is the greatest enemy.

The Palestinian people, as I said earlier, as compared to virtually every other Arab population in the Near East—and as compared to the Israeli Jewish population as well—were decidedly more cosmopolitan. But by 1990-91, the growth of Islamic fundamentalism had become so severe that women who had participated in the first *Intifada* said they were afraid to go out in the streets of Gaza without a veil, and by the mid 1990s this had spread to the West Bank as well. If you don't see yourself as a vanguard fighter against Islamic fundamentalism, how are you going to defend those women and win them to the banner of communism?

And it's not just religious reaction that is opposed to women's liberation; it is nationalism as well. In Algeria in the late 1950s-early 1960s a radical-nationalist movement waged a successful struggle against French colonialism. As soon as they took power, they started putting women "in their place"—the very same women who had been vanguard fighters in the struggle against French imperialism were now told to shut up and get in the kitchen. The Algerian nationalist regime implemented laws based on traditional Islamic law.

So unlike such people as the Internationalist Group who peddle daydreams and illusions, we don't think socialist revolution is an easy road. However, it is the only road if you are for liberation of the oppressed; if you are for the emancipation of women; if you are for an end to poverty, an end to imperialist war and an end to exploitation of the working people in this country, in Israel, in Arab countries, in every country. We don't claim to have the power currently to drive the Zionists out of the Occupied Territories. We do have a very powerful set of ideas, however. And those ideas, if implanted among the working masses as happened in Russia in the years leading up to and during 1917, have the power to change the world.

The last 100 years, the 20th century, have probably been the bloodiest period in the history of humanity. It's not just Palestine. There's been two world wars and the Nazi Holocaust. The American imperialist war in Korea cost something like 3 million lives, and the one in Vietnam even more. To put an end to all of these atrocities once and for all requires putting the working class in power internationally. If you're interested in defeating oppression and in driving out the oppressors, you should join us in building the kind of internationalist, revolutionary party that it's going to take to turn this world into a world commonwealth of socialism.■



Espartaco

April 4: Trotskyists hold speakout at Mexico City's UNAM university. Signs include: "Down With the Zionist Terror Machine! For Arab-Israeli Workers Revolution!" and "No to the Veil! For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

Humbert-Droz Archives

Turkish delegate to 1920 Soviet Baku Congress addresses struggle for women's emancipation in Muslim East.

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Waterfront...

(continued from page 16)

Los Angeles Business Journal (27 May) warned: "A 10-day work stoppage would create a $19.4 billion loss to the national economy."

On the East and Gulf Coasts, shipping interests are also attacking the closed shop organized by the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). The shipping companies' efforts are now assisted by the Feds, who are moving to intervene in the ILA in the name of prosecuting "mob elements" in the New York/New Jersey port area. Government, courts out of the unions!

These attacks underline the need for one national longshore union that can carry out a national struggle. Especially if the ILWU were to forge a fighting alliance with rail, trucking and airport workers, longshore workers could deal a devastating blow against the anti-union attacks not just on the waterfront but throughout the country. This would resonate internationally, most directly but not only with dock workers.

"Mechanization and Modernization" Revisited

An article titled "Let the Games Begin" in the *Journal of Commerce* (18-24 February) states, "The PMA is seeking a contract patterned after the historic Mechanization and Modernization Agreement of 1960, which freed employers to automate but ensured that longshoremen would be compensated for lost jobs." What the employers now want, they continue, is "broad language giving them flexibility to use equipment, information technology and manpower to maximize productivity."

The infamous Mechanization and Modernization (M&M) Agreement gave the PMA a virtual free hand to eliminate jobs with the introduction of powerful labor-saving container shipping technology. Almost overnight, the amount of cargo moved on and off ships skyrocketed; for some loads containerization reduced man-hour requirements by a factor of 13, and dropped turnaround time from five and a half days to 40 hours. In exchange for the M&M Agreement, historic ILWU leader Harry Bridges negotiated the "Pay Guarantee Plan" (PGP), under which those workers lucky enough to still be on the books were guaranteed minimum pay. For many years the PGP was used by the bosses to blackmail the union, threatening to cancel it at even the hint of a job action.

By 2001, the number of registered longshoremen had decreased to some 10,500 from 65,000 in 1959. Reporting on Bridges' settlement of the last ILWU strike, the 134-day 1971-72 walkout, we noted: "*The central issue is containerization.* In a very few years containerization will automate away the longshore job and with it the longshore union—unless the ILWU together with the ILA, Teamsters and other unions *creates more jobs* through the shorter workweek with increases in daily and weekly pay. The workers must force technological improvements to benefit *them*" (*WV* No. 6, March 1972).

The productivity increases from containerization have now been pushed as far as they can go on existing technology. Shipping employers now want to attack union work rules in order to reduce the costs of delays involved in getting the containers into and out of the harbor area.

The *Los Angeles Times* (5 May) reports, "The Pacific Maritime Assn. says the union must accept new equipment and work rules that will make the ports more efficient," quoting PMA head Joe Miniace saying, "The only thing we are interested in is introducing technology with [the union's] support." In fact the only thing the PMA is really interested in is a huge increase in profits. The same article indicates that the PMA is "pushing for greater flexibility in technology and work rules" in order to save the maritime industry an estimated $1 billion annually. These new technologies are already being used in ports like Singapore, Hong Kong and Rotterdam. In Hong Kong, docks handle over 15,000 containers per acre; the West Coast average is 3,000. In Singapore, a single crane operator using computers transfers containers onto waiting trucks; on the West Coast, each crane has a crew of four. The first ILWU members to be targeted by the PMA's intention to introduce computerized cargo tracking are ILWU clerks who currently work closely with the crane crew to keep track of containers and manifests. The PMA estimates that the new technology would eliminate 50 percent of the ILWU clerks, or about 1,000 jobs.

The PMA's modernization plans also would eliminate an estimated 10,000 future longshore jobs. The *Washington Post* (5 January) reports, "The PMA acknowledges that without the new technology, West Coast longshoremen jobs would probably grow to 20,000 over the next 20 years," i.e., the same period in which Pacific Rim trade is expected to double. The PMA says "work opportunity" will be guaranteed only to "currently registered workers." This sounds like a freeze on new registration and a slow death by attrition.

Union Tops Sign On to Government "Security" Witchhunt

Despite the powerful bargaining leverage ILWU longshoremen have by virtue of being able to control all trade coming into West Coast ports, the ILWU bureaucracy headed by International president James Spinosa has apparently decided to knuckle under to the PMA, giving them an updated version of the notorious 1960 M&M sellout. "We know we are going to lose jobs to technology," Spinosa said (*Journal of Commerce*, 18-24 February). Instead of fighting to defend ILWU jobs against company attacks, the ILWU tops are trying to grab the jobs of the non-union and heavily immigrant port truckers, thus setting one group of workers against another.

The *Journal of Commerce* article reported that the February ILWU longshore Coast Caucus called "to expand ILWU jurisdiction," including to intra-port trucking, adding, "The caucus said the expanded jurisdiction would compensate ILWU members for the loss of jobs that will result as terminals become more computerized." Intra-port trucking (or drayage) is the trucking of containers within the port between berths and between rail lines and berths. Shipping companies have contracts with trucking companies who in turn hire owner-operators, many of whom are Latino, Asian and Arab immigrants, at a fraction of the cost of union drivers. These port truckers are paid strictly on a per-trip basis, have no benefits, and no guarantee of work. Truckers have told *WV* salesmen that the trucking companies will fire them on the spot if they even mention the word "union."

The overwhelmingly Latino L.A. port truckers have waged a series of militant strikes since the late 1980s to demand union recognition, including an unsuccessful 1993 bid for Teamsters representation that paralyzed the port for eleven days. Last December the Teamsters, the ILWU and the ILA announced an alliance to make all U.S. ports "100 percent union." At the time this was seen by many port truckers as opening up the possibility that they would be organized by the Teamsters. Now, it has been reported that, in a very unusual move, Teamsters president James Hoffa will be sitting in on the negotiations between the ILWU and the PMA. What the ILWU tops are aiming for is to drive unorganized Latino, Asian and Arab truckers out of the intra-port trucking jobs they now have and replace them with registered longshoremen.

This policy is directly counterposed to what's needed: union organization of the port truckers. This is a basic requirement for working-class unity. It would open the road to uniting all dock workers into one industrial union and beating back the capitalists' divide-and-conquer strategy. But such a perspective would require mobilizing the union's power in defense of the port truckers against anti-immigrant racism. The unions should be fighting for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants*.

Instead, the union tops have signed on to the government's "security" witchhunt, which is directed in the first instance against immigrants. Writing in response to the proposed Maritime Security Act, Spinosa vituperated in the union's September 2001 *Dispatcher*: "Why are hard-working, productive longshore workers being targeted for extensive security clearances while unknown truck drivers are being allowed free access to our work environment?" In response to this poison we wrote, "Such chauvinism plays right into the capitalists' divide-and-rule schemes aimed at pitting white against black and American-born against foreign-born workers. This undermines union power and strikes back against all the oppressed" ("Bosses Target Dock Workers," *WV* No. 769, 23 November 2001).

Indeed, the MSA would lead to the victimization of not only immigrant workers but of many U.S.-born black and Latino ILWU members. The MSA mandates background checks under which waterfront workers could be fired on the basis of any conviction in the past seven years on any of 20 different felony offenses. Systematic cop harassment of ghetto and barrio youth means that many black and Latino men have a rap sheet and could be screened off the waterfront. Spinosa's column in the *Dispatcher* amounted to a call on ILWU members to fink on their fellow workers, just as McCarthyite witchhunters fingered radicals and other union militants in the 1950s. Since his column appeared, port truckers in the L.A./Long Beach and Oakland/Bay Area ports have complained bitterly to *WV* salesmen that longshoremen have become increasingly abusive toward them.

Labor Lieutenants of Capital

Bridges' justification for the 1960 M&M deal was that mechanization was inevitable and his job was to get the best deal he could in exchange for helping implement it. But the devastation it has wrought on waterfront jobs demonstrates that defense of the workers' interests invariably comes up against the constraints of the capitalist property system. The introduction of new technology should benefit the whole of society. But under capitalism, it is used to eliminate jobs, throwing ever more workers into the ranks of the unemployed.

In a workers state, where the means of production have been taken away from the capitalists and made the collective property of the working class, labor-saving technology would mean less time spent at work and a vast improvement in conditions of life for the population as a whole. Moreover, technological progress would be greatly accelerated under a centralized planned economy and an international division of labor. This would lead to an enormous expansion of production and the elimination of scarcity, laying the basis for the abolition of class society with all its barbaric inequality, racism and war.

Particularly now, as the boom-bust cycle inherent in the capitalist mode of production has generated another international recession, workers kicked out of their jobs face little hope of getting decent-paying work. Against the mass unemployment created by the capitalist system, it is necessary to fight for a *sliding scale of hours* to divide the available work among all workers, uniting the employed and unemployed in class struggle. Writing

Acme

San Francisco Archives

Strike by longshoremen and seamen (left) in 1934 led to San Francisco general strike. Top: On "Bloody Thursday," cops killed two striking longshoremen.

Financial Times

1998 strike by Australian dock workers against union-busting assault.

as the world economy was emerging from the Great Depression, revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky asserted in the 1938 Transitional Program:

> "Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the crumbs of a disintegrating society. The *right to employment* is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step....
>
> "The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

Any serious struggle to defend the interests of the working class must begin with the understanding that the interests of the workers and the capitalists are irreconcilably counterposed; workers are forced to sell their labor power in order to survive and the property-owning capitalist class derives its profits from the exploitation of the workers. The labor bureaucracy seeks to obscure this fundamental counterposition by peddling the lie that there can be a "partnership" of give and take between the workers and the bosses.

On an economic level, this means accepting the employers' argument that concessions by the trade unions—e.g., cuts in wages and benefits, layoffs and speedup—are necessary to help ensure the competitive edge of individual companies and of corporate America as a whole. On the political level, it means support to the capitalist political parties, chiefly the Democrats. This was no less

WV Photo

Los Angeles, 1994: Latino port truckers protest anti-immigrant Prop. 187. Sign reads: "Long Live the Immigrant Workers' Struggle—United Against Racism and Discrimination."

true of the "progressive" Bridges with his occasional socialist rhetoric than of the business unionist Spinosa. Under Bridges, the no-strike pledge and binding arbitration became a feature of every contract after the 1948 strike, and since then there has only been one other coast-wide strike, in 1971. The *Economist* (11 May) observes that "For most of its existence, the ILWU has had good relations with the shippers.... The two sides co-operated effectively over the biggest upheaval in cargo transport, the introduction of standard containers in the 1960s and 1970s." In fact, Bridges himself arrogantly called the M&M deal a "beautiful piece of class collaboration."

Indeed, "progressive" trade-union reformists like Bridges, and those misleaders in the ILWU today who uphold his "legacy," are better able to carry out betrayals of the workers' interests than the straight business union bureaucrats because they know how to put a "left" polish on their treachery. Behind the cultivated "progressive" image stands the same class collaboration that characterizes the rest of the AFL-CIO labor officialdom. In the late 1930s Bridges and the Communist Party (which was by then a thoroughly reformist organization) tied the working class to the Democratic Party of Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose "New Deal" was aimed at heading off the working-class upsurge. Today ILWU Local 10 headquarters is used to mobilize support for the likes of San Francisco mayor and key black Democratic Party power broker Willie Brown, who has held election victory celebrations in the union hiring hall.

The labor bureaucracy looks to the government as a "neutral arbiter" in conflicts between the unions and the employers. In reality, the government represents the class interests of the bourgeoisie against the working class and oppressed. The entire apparatus of the capitalist state—the cops, the courts, the prisons, the military—is a machinery of repression aimed at enforcing capitalist rule. In any serious struggle, the ILWU will quickly face union-busting attacks by the capitalist cops and courts. Likewise, anti-labor laws and government intervention in the unions are aimed at weakening and undermining the labor movement and subordinating it further to the capitalist state. The precondition for unions to defend the workers is complete independence from the capitalist state.

As the U.S. geared up for World War II and the Democratic Roosevelt administration implemented an array of laws to hamstring the newly forged industrial unions of the CIO, Trotsky explained that in this era in which capitalism is dominated by huge trusts and monopolies, the trade unions

> "have to confront a centralized capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. Hence flows the need of the trade unions—insofar as they remain on reformist positions, i.e., on positions of adapting themselves to private property—to adapt themselves to the capitalist state and to contend for its cooperation. In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade union movement, the chief task lies in 'freeing' the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of superprofits of imperialist capitalism....
>
> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
>
> —"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940)

In times of sharp class struggle or war, the union tops become the open political police of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement. Only by political struggle within the unions to oust these misleaders can the working class take the road of class struggle.

Gains for Workers, Blacks Won by Class Struggle

The PMA bosses have declared their intent to eliminate the union hiring hall and replace it with a computerized or Internet-based automatic dispatching system, which would reduce union members to atomized individuals sitting at home waiting for a job. The class battles of the 1930s that created the ILWU, most critically the 1934 San Francisco general strike and the 1936 maritime strike, ended the hated "shape-up" where workers were

WV Photos

Oakland, February 9: Bay Area longshoremen were at core of labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrant rights.

picked each day for jobs on the docks by the employers, who played favorites and pitted worker against worker. Instead, longshoremen were dispatched daily to jobs from the union hiring hall. The mechanization of the docks has made the hiring hall an anachronism for the employers, since labor is no longer the single most important factor in loading and unloading. But it remains a bulwark of strong union control over job conditions.

Every year there is a memorial to "Bloody Thursday," when striking longshoremen were shot to death by the cops during the 1934 longshore strike. But today's ILWU officials have *foresworn* the methods of independent class struggle that defeated the maritime bosses, their cops and National Guard in 1934. Spinosa's class-collaborationist strategy is *counterposed* to the methods with which the workers built the union.

Reviving the class-struggle traditions that built the CIO unions requires understanding exactly who and what you are up against. Speaking of "The Great Minneapolis Strikes" of 1934, which were led to victory by Trotskyist militants and helped build the Teamsters into a powerful national union, James P. Cannon, a founding leader of American Trotskyism, underlined the political program which lay behind those victories:

> "The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that.... The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were....
>
> "Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue."
>
> —*The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

The Minneapolis strike leaders were guided by the Marxist understanding that the workers could not rely on the agencies of the class enemy—either the government, its political parties, the cops, the courts or the arbitration boards. This understanding is equally critical today, when the capitalist government has weakened the labor movement's ability to fight back with myriad anti-labor laws, which the AFL-CIO bureaucracy capitulates to.

The battles that forged the ILWU not only won union dispatch of workers based on seniority; they helped open up longshore jobs for black workers—a pioneering victory for integration of unions and a major break from the Jim Crow practices of the craft-based American Federation of Labor. In 1934 the longshore union actively recruited black workers into the union. And through hundreds of work actions over the ensuing years, the ILWU was able to determine manning scales, work rules and safe working conditions; in other words, union control of how longshoremen worked.

The M&M settlement brought about the institutionalization of the discriminatory division of longshore workers into unequal layers of more senior A-men and less senior B-men. Formed in 1959, the B-list was a new category of longshoremen who were kept out of the

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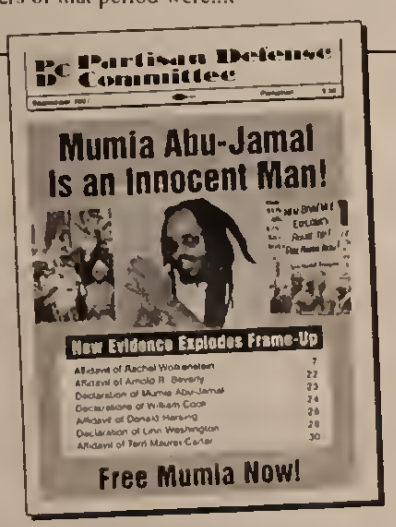

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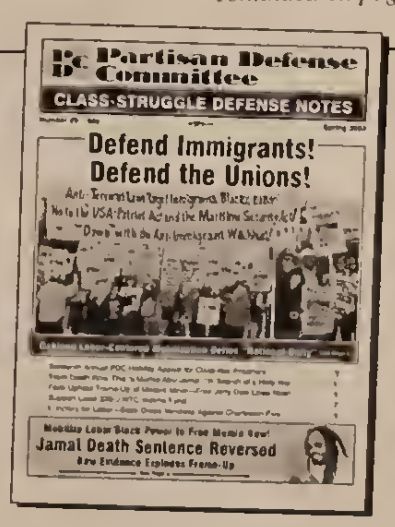

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Waterfront...

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union. The workforce is further divided with a category of "casuals" who have no union rights and no benefits at all. These divisions have poisoned the union, buttressing all the divisions—racial and sexual—used by the capitalists to keep the workers down. The B-men and casuals, who currently work far fewer hours than the A-men, must be brought into the union with full rights, pay and benefits, with special training and recruitment programs for minorities and women. This must be coupled with the demand for a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay to ensure work for all longshoremen.

International Workers Solidarity vs. Labor Chauvinism

Even more clearly than in other industries, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's support for flag-waving chauvinism and "buy American" protectionism is patently counterposed to the defense of the interests of longshore workers, whose very jobs depend on international trade. Moreover, longshore workers have a proud tradition of international labor solidarity. This was demonstrated with the international campaign to defend the locked-out Liverpool dockers in the early 1990s. Even more recently, it was illustrated by the successful defense campaign for the ILA "Charleston Five," who were threatened with jail sentences for defending their union in a South Carolina waterfront battle in 2000.

The vital necessity of international labor solidarity is stark here on the East Coast of the Pacific Rim. World War II in the Pacific between U.S. and Japanese imperialism was primarily fought to determine who would "get" China for capitalist exploitation. But the social revolution in China in 1949 took that country out of the capitalist market, thwarting the imperialists' plans. Today the continuing introduction of capitalist "market reforms" by the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy threatens the working-class property forms created as a result of the 1949 Revolution. U.S. capitalists are now seeking wider imperialist penetration into China, hoping to once more get their claws into the Chinese workers for unlimited exploitation through bloody counterrevolution to overthrow the Chinese deformed workers state.

The pro-capitalist AFL-CIO misleaders, who have sabotaged hundreds of strikes in the last 20 years to make U.S. capitalism more "competitive," support this reactionary goal. While the U.S. capitalists talk about the lack of "democracy" in China under the regime of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the union tops complain about "slave labor" in order to justify their protectionist campaigns to stop Chinese imports to "protect American jobs"—in effect, telling American workers that the workers in China, not the U.S. capitalists, are their enemies. When the U.S. capitalists talk about "freedom" in China, they mean the freedom of U.S capitalists to exploit the workers of a fragmented China. Sweeney and the other AFL-CIO tops' campaign against "totalitarian" China bolsters the imperialists' counterrevolutionary aims.

This is a betrayal of workers in the U.S. as much as of their working-class brothers and sisters in China. Should unionized workers allow the bosses to smash another union because its leadership is corrupt? Absolutely not! They should defend the union against the bosses' attack so that the workers can clean their own house. Likewise, the workers of the world cannot allow capitalism to be restored in China as it was in the former Soviet Union. That was a tremendous defeat for the working class internationally which has only encouraged the capitalists of every country to step up their attacks on the working class.

The 1,000 ILWU members who participated in the China-bashing protests in Seattle in 1999—dumping mock Chinese steel into Puget Sound—were misled by the AFL-CIO and ILWU labor bureaucrats to act against their own class interests by taking action in support of the counterrevolutionary goals of the U.S. government. ILWU members and all class-conscious workers must defend the Chinese workers state against imperialist attack from without and counterrevolution from within and support the struggles of the Chinese workers to take control of their state by throwing out the Stalinist bureaucracy through a workers political revolution.

Break with the Democrats—Forge a Multiracial Workers Party!

Last February 9, the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense organized a labor-centered united-front mobilization in Oakland against the USA-Patriot Act and Maritime Security Act and in defense of immigrants targeted by the U.S. rulers' "war on terrorism" (see "Defend Immigrants! Defend the Unions!" *WV* No. 775, 22 February). The core of the demonstration were longshoremen from ILWU Local 10, who along with some 300 other unionists, immigrants, blacks and youth, rallied in opposition to the anti-immigrant witchhunt.

For many black longshoremen, acting in defense of immigrants—including the unorganized port truckers—represented a conscious break with attempts pushed by the capitalist rulers to pit black and immigrant workers against each other. We sought to win workers to the need to cut through the ideological straitjacket of "national unity" and break down the poisonous racial and ethnic divisions among the oppressed. In building this mobilization, the Spartacist League sought to raise the consciousness of the working class for independent struggle against the capitalist rulers. On that day this action gave those unionists a sense of struggle based on their independent class power.

There must be a political struggle within the trade unions, the only significant racially integrated institutions in segregated America, to break from the Democrats and build a new leadership based on a program of class struggle that will champion the cause of black freedom and the defense of immigrant rights. That struggle requires a political expression, a workers party to give conscious leadership to the struggle of the workers to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery. The labor-centered united-front demonstration on February 9 illustrated on a small scale what a revolutionary workers party would do. The task ahead of us is to forge such a party, which will mobilize all the oppressed in a united struggle for workers power. Those who labor must rule! ■

Canada...

(continued from page 3)

Only a workers government can guarantee these conditions. The supposed guarantees of the Canadian constitution and bourgeois law are an illusion. The only rights that are guaranteed under capitalism are the bourgeoisie's "rights" to exploitation and plunder. To maintain its unjust order against the working class and oppressed, the bourgeoisie has at its disposal the capitalist state—the cops, courts, prisons and army—to utilize as instruments of violent repression. The vicious and inhumane treatment of Native people by the forces of the capitalist state was brought home recently at the trial of two Saskatoon cops who dumped a Native man on the outskirts of town in subzero temperatures, where he froze to death. Convicted amid revelations of daily brutality, the two cops were sentenced to light jail terms, while their cohorts carry on as before.

No Illusions in the Pro-Capitalist NDP! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The B.C. Federation of Labour has joined the call for a boycott of Campbell's racist referendum, and has welcomed Native contingents to its protests against the Liberal government. During their recent wildcat strikes, members of the heavily immigrant B.C. Health Employees Union carried signs denouncing the Liberals' anti-Native referendum. However, far from leading a struggle for aboriginal rights, the goal of the top union bureaucracy in the current labor protests is merely to return to office their "political arm," the NDP. Understandably, facing a vicious enemy like Gordon Campbell, the New Democrats may seem to many to be a lesser evil, if not a positive good. But what does such a perspective offer, especially for Native people?

It was the NDP government that ordered the largest operation in RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] history at Gustafsen Lake in 1995. The purpose? To evict a handful of Native militants occupying "private" ranchland near 100 Mile House. In the process, more than 7,700 square kilometers were turned into a war zone; Natives throughout the province were detained without cause, harassed and searched. Denounced by the NDP premier as "fanatics," the occupiers faced potential massacre for a month. Following their surrender, the NDP government vindictively threw their leader, William "Wolverine" Ignace, into prison for four years. It has also recently been revealed that the NDP's police complaints commissioner covered up the death of Frank Paul, a Native man who died of hypothermia in 1998 after being dumped by Vancouver police.

From its attacks on Natives, to railing against "illegal" Chinese immigrants, to leading the "national unity" crusade in B.C. against Quebec independence, the NDP government oversaw a decade of chauvinist reaction. The New Democrats' purpose in inculcating such racism and chauvinism among the workers was to reinforce capitalist class rule.

Taking their cue from the union tops are a host of pseudo-socialist groups—International Socialists, l'Humanité, Communist League, Communist Party—who present NDP governments (with greater or lesser enthusiasm) as a progressive alternative for working people and the oppressed. These groups all called to elect (and then re-elect) the New Democrats in the 1990s. They were thus politely silent on the NDP's own long, dirty record on aboriginal questions during the run-up to Campbell's referendum.

The NDP is a *bourgeois workers party*, based in part on the trade unions but thoroughly pro-capitalist in its leadership and outlook. When installed in office, NDP governments are *capitalist* governments, committed to maintaining the bourgeois order through parliamentary illusions and reactionary chauvinism where possible, through naked force where necessary. In fact, thanks to their ties to organized labor via the union bureaucracy, the New Democrats are often more adept at suppressing working-class struggle than open capitalist parties like the Liberals.

The struggles of working people and the oppressed can go forward only against the treachery and sabotage of the NDP and its allies in the labor bureaucracy. It is necessary to forge a new, anti-capitalist leadership of labor: a revolutionary vanguard party that opposes every manifestation of injustice and strives to make the proletariat conscious of its social power and historic interest as the only force which can sweep away capitalist exploitation and oppression. The unremitting defense of Native people's lives and rights by the organized working class is an integral part of this fight.

The best historical model for successful proletarian struggle is the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which, in October 1917, succeeded for the first and only time in history in leading the working class to political power. From its inception, Lenin insisted that the Bolshevik Party act as a spokesman of all the oppressed. He understood that working-class opposition to every manifestation of oppression, however small, was the only way to weld the exploited masses into a weapon capable of shattering the empire of the tsars.

Thus the communists championed the right to independence of all the nations trapped in the Russian "prison house of peoples." They mobilized workers defense guards to protect Jewish neighborhoods from government-inspired pogroms. Following the revolution, they immediately abolished discriminatory laws against Jews, women and homosexuals. Despite isolation and extremely limited resources, the Soviet workers state brought tremendous advances in education, health care and life expectancy to the indigenous populations of Russia's north and east.

Many of these gains were undermined and eventually reversed following the usurping of political power by a bureaucratic caste under J. V. Stalin beginning in 1924. The crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which replaced the liberating and egalitarian ideals of the Bolshevik Revolution with nationalism and crude chauvinism, helped pave the road for the destruction of the Soviet workers state many decades later, in 1991-92, a historic defeat for the working class worldwide.

Nonetheless, the revolutionary perspective mapped out by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks remains the road to liberation for working people and all the oppressed. For Native people—the most oppressed of all in Canadian capitalist society—it is the only road to a future free of barbarous racist abuse and grinding poverty. Only an egalitarian society under workers rule can offer the possibility of voluntary integration, on the basis of full equality, for those aboriginal peoples who desire it, and the fullest possible regional autonomy for those who do not. ■

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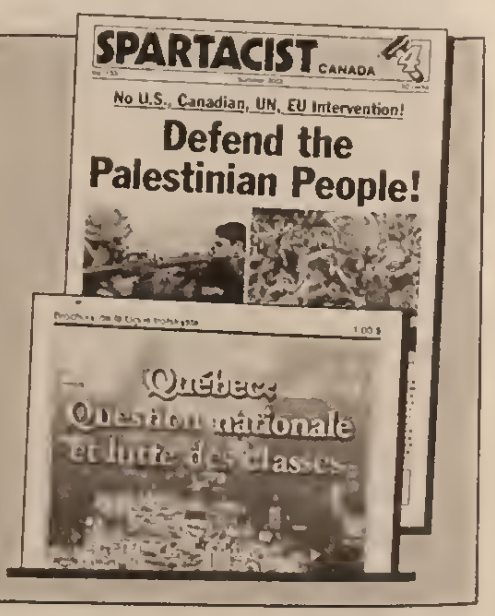

AP

AFP

After train carrying Hindu fundamentalists was criminally torched by Muslims in Indian state of Gujarat in February (left), Hindu mobs burned down homes and killed hundreds in anti-Muslim pogroms.

Kashmir...

(continued from page 1)

the decades-old antagonism between the Indian and Pakistani bourgeoisies to fever pitch. In pursuit of its "holy war" against Soviet forces in Afghanistan in the 1980s, U.S. imperialism poured tens of billions of dollars in weaponry into the hands of the Afghan *mujahedin* and their sponsors in the Pakistani military and Inter Service Intelligence (ISI).

When Washington declared war against "Islamic terrorism" last fall, it renewed its support to the Pakistani military dictatorship in order to buy off these erstwhile sponsors of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. While Islamabad dutifully disowned the Taliban, the Pakistani military and security forces and Islamic fundamentalist gangs under their wings escalated terror attacks in the Indian-controlled part of Kashmir. At the same time, U.S. imperialism's "global war on terror" provided the Hindu-chauvinist government of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee with a pretext for stepping up repression in Kashmir and provocations against Pakistan. The missile tests carried out by Pakistan last month were preceded by India's test in January of a missile capable of reaching Pakistani cities with nuclear warheads.

This potentially catastrophic tit for tat is being used to divert the massive discontent of the impoverished workers and oppressed masses away from their own capitalist governments. It is notable that one of the strongest voices for war with Pakistan in the BJP-led government is Defense Minister Georges Fernandes, a former "socialist" who deployed the army and navy two years ago to break a strike by 100,000 dock workers. What helped propel the BJP on the road to power were the massive anti-Muslim pogroms triggered in 1992 by the razing of a mosque in Ayodhya by mobs led by the BJP and its communalist paramilitary allies. Pakistan is a suffocating Islamic theocracy, ruled by naked dictatorship since General Pervez Musharraf took power in a military coup three years ago.

The war buildup has been accompanied by a chauvinist frenzy in both countries. Two Christian churches in Pakistan have been subjected to deadly terror attacks, and there has been a spate of murders of Shi'ite Muslims in that predominantly Sunni country. In India in March, the government instigated the worst communalist violence the country has seen in ten years. After a train carrying Hindu fundamentalists returning from a "pilgrimage" to Ayodhya was criminally torched as it stopped in a Muslim neighborhood in the BJP-governed state of Gujarat, killing dozens of passengers, Hindu mobs went on a rampage throughout the state. They laid siege to Muslim enclaves, setting fire to entire families and killing hundreds, while the police and army looked on or joined in the massacres.

Economist

India and Pakistan have already fought two wars over Kashmir, in 1948 and 1965, and a third war in 1971 when a struggle for secession by East Pakistan (Bangladesh) was taken over by the Indian military. The 1948 war, fought when *both* armies were still under British generals, resulted in the de facto partition of Kashmir along the cease-fire line, the so-called Line of Control. (A small part of eastern Kashmir is held by China.) But the Kashmiris in Pakistani-controlled Azad (Free) Kashmir are no more free than those under Indian occupation. Despite intense oppression under the Hindu-chauvinist New Delhi regime, the overwhelmingly Muslim Kashmiri population has *not* historically sought to join the Pakistani theocracy.

As we wrote in "Brutal Crackdown in Kashmir" (*WV* No. 506, 13 July 1990), following the outbreak of an insurgency against Indian rule in 1989:

> "Marxists demand the immediate withdrawal of the Indian army and security forces from the Kashmir valley, and of the Pakistani army from the areas of Kashmir they occupy. Defense of the oppressed and of the right of national self-determination is not conditional upon the character of the leadership; we defend the exercise of the right to self-determination, as long as the Kashmiri struggle is not decisively subordinated to the intervention of the Pakistani ruling class (as was the Bangladeshi struggle to the Indian ruling class in 1971 with the Indian army's invasion). But short of a perspective of proletarian revolution throughout the whole subcontinent the prospects for Kashmiri liberation are far from rosy. This is especially so given its strategic location and historical role in relations between Pakistan and India."

There can be no genuine expression of the right of Kashmiri self-determination, either as a politically independent state or through voluntary union with Pakistan (or India), without the withdrawal of both occupying armies from Kashmir. Today the struggle in Kashmir is manifestly subordinated to the conflict between India and Pakistan. And none but the most rabid nationalists could presume that the fate of Kashmir should be determined at the cost of a nuclear war taking millions of lives. While Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin strongly supported Poland's right to independence from the Russian tsarist empire, in the particular context of World War I he argued: "The Polish Social-Democrats cannot, at the moment, raise the slogan of Poland's independence, for the Poles, as proletarian internationalists, can do *nothing* about it without stooping, like the 'Fracy' [social-chauvinists], to humble servitude to *one* of the imperialist monarchies."

Both Pakistan and India are prison houses of peoples. Pakistan includes over a million Hindus, while India has the second-largest Muslim population in the world—larger than Pakistan's. Pakistan's claim to constitute "one nation" of all Muslims masks the domination of the Punjabi ruling class over Baluchis, Pashtuns and other oppressed nationalities. Similarly, India includes a myriad of national and pre-national groupings chafing under the rule of the Hindu-centered "all-India" bourgeoisie. The vile chauvinism pushed by the BJP is simply a deepening of the communalism promoted for decades by the avowedly secular Congress Party. Despite its pretensions of representing all caste, religious, national and ethnic groupings, Congress presided over the brutal suppression of numerous separatist insurgencies.

Age-old caste oppression remains pervasive in India and has been intensified under the high-caste BJP, while women are the slaves of slaves throughout the subcontinent. In Pakistan, women are subjected to *purdah* (seclusion) and jailed or stoned to death for adultery and similar "crimes" under Islamic law or murdered in "honor killings" by their own families. India has seen an alarming revival of *suttee* (the religious practice of burning widows to death on their husbands' funeral pyres) and dowry burnings—the murder of young brides by husbands' families greedy for a second dowry.

National and social justice for all the oppressed of the Indian subcontinent requires the revolutionary overthrow of both the Indian and Pakistani bourgeoisies. This task can only be realized through the forging of Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties based on an internationalist perspective. For a socialist federation of South Asia!

Fueled by imperialism, the conflicting nationalist appetites of the Indian and Pakistani ruling classes pose the possibility that millions of people in South Asia could be incinerated in a nuclear holocaust. But the greatest danger to the continued existence of humanity lies in the vast arsenals held by the major capitalist powers, particularly the U.S. And as history has shown, there are no bounds to the scale of imperialist barbarity—from the U.S. A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to the horrendous massacres perpetrated by British imperialism in colonial India. The alternative lies in the proletariat establishing its own class rule around the globe, seizing state power from all the exploitative ruling classes and ushering in an international socialist society. The fate of humanity lies in the timely reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International to lead the struggle for new October Revolutions around the world. ■

Britsh colonial butcher Mountbatten (center) flanked by Indian Congress leader Nehru and Muslim League head Jinnah. Imperialist partition of Indian subcontinent in 1947 set stage for horrific communalist slaughter.

Commonwealth Office

Der Spieget

WORKERS VANGUARD

Showdown on West Coast Waterfront

Kulish/SABA

Shipping Bosses Target Union Hiring Hall, Work Rules

OAKLAND, June 10—With the contract between the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) and the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) expiring on June 30, the employers are gunning for the union and the basic gains won in hard class struggle going back to the 1930s. The PMA, a powerful group of shipping carriers, terminal operators and cargo distributors, aims for total control of the waterfront—deciding not only who works but how they work. The PMA is threatening a lockout, and a showdown is looming. If West Coast longshoremen hit the bricks, this could quickly become a critical class battle in which all of labor has a stake and must stand shoulder to shoulder with the ILWU.

The stakes are high given the increasing importance of lucrative Pacific Rim trade funneled through West Coast ports, particularly the Los Angeles/Long Beach ports. American capitalists have invested heavily in plants in Asia and Southeast Asia and are expecting trade to this region to *double* within ten years, taking advantage of low-wage, super-exploited labor. Transportation costs have already been cut by the use of giant container ships with non-union, low-wage skeleton crews of seamen working around the clock for up to six months at a time.

The last wave of mechanization on the docks—the replacement of break-bulk cargo with containerization—exponentially sped up the loading and unloading of cargo, simultaneously increasing the rates of injuries and accidents. Now the employers want to break the bottlenecks associated with moving cargo into and out of the ports, by introducing new technology that will further decimate longshore jobs, and by targeting union work rules, full manning scales and strict provisions for working conditions that slow down the transfer of cargo. In its frontal assault on the ILWU, the PMA has declared its intent to eliminate the union hiring hall, which was one of the central gains of the tumultuous class battles that created the ILWU in the 1930s.

The current recession and the resulting decrease in trade have further intensified the cutthroat competition between the U.S. capitalists and their chief imperialist rivals, Japan and Germany. The recession also creates a propitious climate for going after the workers weakened by growing unemployment. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (16 April), "Last year was the first year since 1975 when both 'container cargo and hours paid (to port workers) fell below the totals for the previous year,' said Joseph Miniace, president of the Pacific Maritime Association." With U.S. demand for Asian exports down, Oakland-based APL Ltd. was forced to lower its freight rates by 9 percent, and its parent company, Singapore's NOL Group, lost $57 million.

As we warned immediately after the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, the "war on terror," which is currently directed chiefly at immigrants, will also be used by the U.S. ruling class to try to prevent labor struggle. The capitalists aim to drive up sagging profits by squeezing more out of fewer workers for less. Armed with the stepped-up repression coming out of the right-wing Bush administration—in partnership with the Democrats in Congress—the capitalists hope to use the climate of "national unity" as a club against labor. First the Senate and now, early this month, the House have passed versions of the Maritime Security Act, which in mandating background checks of all port workers would allow the capitalists to weed out union militants and undermine the power of the union as a whole.

Other maritime industry groups like the International Mass Retail Association have announced their support for the PMA's demands against the ILWU. "We are telling PMA to stand tough," said Robin Lanier, executive director of the West Coast Waterfront Coalition, which represents major importers and exporters. "In the past we said, 'Avoid a strike at any cost.' This time, we're saying 'We don't want a strike but we don't want to avoid one at any cost'" (*Los Angeles Times*, 5 May). This cabal of maritime capitalists has put together a $200 million line of credit to back up their threat of a coastwide lockout if the ILWU doesn't knuckle under or if it organizes any slowdowns during negotiations.

While the shipping and transportation companies have concentrated in huge cartels that carve up the shipping lanes, ports worldwide have modernized and shipping has been concentrated in fewer and fewer large container ports. Even before the current recession, shipping bosses and capitalist governments targeted unionized dock workers—from Britain to the Philippines, Australia and Japan—in an international anti-union offensive.

In 1998, one of the largest Australian stevedoring outfits, working in league with the Australian government, conducted a military-type operation against the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA). Hundreds of black-uniformed security guards with attack dogs swarmed over the docks, expelling 2,000 MUA members and replacing them with scabs. In the end, after being betrayed by the union bureaucracy and the Australian Labor Party, the workforce was slashed to 800 workers (see "War on the Waterfront—Smash Bosses' Union-Busting Offensive in Australia!" *WV* No. 689, 24 April 1998).

But the very concentration and centralization of shipping has also given dock workers enormous potential power. We saw a taste of that power recently in Charleston, South Carolina when crane operators won the reinstatement of suspended workers by walking off the job for two days (see "ILA Crane Operators Defeat Anti-Union Assault," *WV* No. 782, 31 May).

The West Coast ports handle over 50 percent of all waterborne imports to the U.S., representing 7 percent of the U.S. Gross Domestic Product. These ports support four million jobs in the U.S. and handle $309 billion in container cargo per year. As a director of the International Mass Retail Association said: "Work stoppages in a just-in-time-delivery environment can be devastating." While the shipping bosses are pushing to provoke a confrontation with the union, other sections of the bourgeoisie recognize that this could be very costly. The

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Oda/Oakland Tribune

Oakland, February 1998: Longshoremen and other unionists protest PMA lawsuit against ILWU for refusing to handle scab cargo in solidarity with Liverpool dockers.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 784

12 July 2002

Defend the Palestinians!

U.S./Israel Axis of Terror

Reuters photos

Israeli forces reoccupy West Bank city of Hebron, destroying Palestinian Authority offices and rounding up residents.

As Israeli troops and tanks imposed direct military rule over seven of the eight West Bank cities nominally controlled by Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority (PA), George W. Bush took to the airwaves on June 24 to give his blessings to the Zionist reoccupation. Echoing Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon, Bush arrogantly demanded Arafat's ouster—through "free" elections, no less. An Israeli government spokesman gloated, "Tonight, the president announced the official political death of Yasir Arafat." Five days later, Sharon's troops reduced the PA building in Hebron to rubble, his way of announcing the official death of any semblance of Palestinian "autonomy" in the Occupied Territories.

The U.S.-sponsored Oslo "peace" accords that gave birth to the Palestinian Authority in 1993 had in any case already been buried under Israeli tank treads in April. Taking their green light from Washington's "war against Islamic terror," the Israeli rulers launched the biggest and bloodiest military action in the Occupied Territories since their seizure in 1967. Hundreds were killed, entire neighborhoods razed, the Jenin refugee camp devastated. The Zionists destroyed the infrastructure not only of the Palestinian administration but of much of Palestinian society as a whole—roads, medical facilities, sewage systems, even the curriculum records of the Department of Education.

It is U.S. imperialism that provides the jets and helicopter gunships used to bomb and strafe Palestinian communities. It is Washington's determination to invade Iraq, and to gain the backing of the other Arab bourgeois states for such a war, that drives its determination to get the "Palestinian problem" out of the way as soon as possible. The arrogant American imperialists believe they can dictate who should govern the Palestinians, the Iraqis and any other nation Washington thinks it can strong-arm. Less than two weeks after Bush endorsed Sharon's reoccupation of the West Bank, the U.S. government "leaked" yet another report of how it plans to carry out an invasion of Iraq to overthrow Saddam Hussein, which could mean the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis.

It is urgently necessary for the working class, in the U.S. and internationally, to take up the defense of the Palestinian people through demonstrations, protest strikes and other class-struggle actions. Defend the Palestinian people! U.S. hands off Iraq—Down with the embargo! All U.S./UN troops out of the Near East! Down with U.S. aid to the Zionist state! Down with the U.S./Israel axis of terror!

The Ghettoization of the Occupied Territories

The 1993 "peace" deal arranged by Washington was hailed by Arafat and by liberal and leftist cheerleaders for Arab nationalism as a harbinger of Palestinian statehood. But as Palestinian scholar Edward Said put it, the Oslo accords "in effect simply licensed Arafat and his people to run bits of the West Bank and Gaza for the Israelis" (London *Independent*, 20 June). The PA security forces, which have now been decimated by Sharon's stormtroopers, were originally set up by Israel and the CIA to police the Palestinian people. Now the Israeli rulers and their imperialist quartermasters in Washington have decided to dispense with Arafat's services, and the Palestinian masses are paying in blood

The condition of the Palestinian people is today more perilous than at any time since the 1948 Zionist expulsion, which has become known as *Al Naqba*, "The Catastrophe." The current reoccupation of Palestinian cities takes place under conditions far more hellish than those before 1993. Palestinian children are being blown away outside their homes by tank shells, Arafat is again confined to his Ramallah headquarters, the Palestinian populace as a whole is subjected to house imprisonment through 24-hour curfews.

Every West Bank town or village of any

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Defend the Separation of Church and State!

Hysteria over "Pledge of Allegiance" Decision

The June 26 decision by the Ninth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals banning the use of the Pledge of Allegiance in the public schools under its purview because the words "under God" violated the constitutionally mandated separation of church and state was, legally speaking, a no-brainer. Congress had added those two little words to the pledge in 1954 at the height of the Cold War. The specific purpose of the insertion was to distinguish god-fearing Americans from the atheist "barbarians" in the Soviet Union, a clear call for religious belief as a defining characteristic of "Americanism."

Case closed? Well, not quite. Not since the anthrax letters have the halls of Congress emptied so quickly, as the 400-odd representatives, supposedly outraged by the decision, raced to pledge their allegiance "under God" on the Capitol steps. Many of these had been more covertly betrothed to Enron until it went belly-up. Democratic Senate majority leader Tom Daschle piously intoned, "We have been drawn together in the face of tremendous tragedy in the last nine months and in part that healing process has come by our belief in a supreme being." It is safe to assume that Allah was not the "supreme being" he had in mind.

In fact, the forced recitation of the pledge was declared unconstitutional shortly after Congress officially recognized it in 1942. In 1943 the Supreme Court ruled that mandating its recitation (then absent the two little words) was in violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution. This ruling, made by a court that saw no obstacle to holding Japanese American citizens in concentration camps during the course of the war, was less than popular in the climate of frenzied patriotism that accompanied WWII. That decision notwithstanding, the pledge has since been a daily ritual forced on most all American schoolchildren. In response to the reactionary hysteria, the Ninth Circuit judge who wrote the June 26 decision ordered it stayed pending appeal.

The uproar over the court's decision recalls the furor in 1963 when atheist activist Madalyn Murry O'Hair won a Supreme Court decision outlawing

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Imperialist-Backed South Korean Provocation

Defend North Korea!

All U.S. Troops Out of Korea!

The June 29 clash between South Korean and North Korean naval forces is the latest in a series of escalating military provocations by South Korea and its U.S. imperialist paymasters against the North. South Korean sources claim that up to 30 North Korean sailors were killed and some 70 wounded. One South Korean patrol boat sank in the fighting, with four sailors killed and 19 wounded. This military confrontation comes in the context of George W. Bush's January State of the Union address, where he ranted that the North Korean deformed workers state, along with the mutually hostile Near Eastern capitalist states of Iran and Iraq, formed an "axis of evil." To the power-crazed U.S. imperialists, this means once again asserting their "right" to overthrow the rulers and attack the masses of any state where they think they can get away with it. Making the U.S. rulers' bloody plans explicit was a subsequent Pentagon announcement listing these countries and four others, including the Chinese and Cuban deformed workers states, as potential targets of an American nuclear first strike.

Following June 29, U.S. spokesmen immediately denounced North Korea for carrying out an "armed provocation" and railed that its "incursion" across a purported sea border violated the Armistice Agreement that ended the 1950-53 Korean War. In fact, as North Korean spokesmen pointed out, this "border" was unilaterally imposed by the U.S. and never included in the agreement. The Pyongyang regime declared that its ships had been engaged in routine coastal guard duty and rightly protested the attack as a "grave provocation." The fighting took place in rich fishing waters off Korea's west coast during the height of the crab season, when boats from both North and South Korea routinely cross the bogus "border" in search of catches. In June 1999, the South Korean navy rammed North Korean fishing boats, touching off a battle that cost the lives of as many as 80 North Korean sailors.

South Korean spokesmen justify the sinking of the North Korean ships on the grounds that they were fired upon first. From the standpoint of the proletariat, whoever fired first is irrelevant. We stand for the ***unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state against the South Korean capitalist state and its imperialist backers!*** Capitalist rule was overthrown in the northern half of the Korean peninsula following liberation from 35 years of Japanese colonialism at the end of World War II, as the power of the local capitalists and landowners was broken under the Soviet military presence and the newly installed regime of Kim Il Sung. In a failed attempt to reverse that social revolution and the 1949 Chinese Revolution, U.S. imperialism devastated the peninsula in the Korean War, killing *more than three million* people and obliterating whole cities, including Pyongyang. Despite the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, the overthrow of capitalism in the North was a historic defeat for imperialism and a victory for the working people of Asia and the world.

For the past five decades, North Korea has been subjected to military encirclement. The U.S. has also maintained an economic embargo aimed at starving the country into submission. Particularly since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, which had been North Korea's principal trading partner and major economic lifeline, conditions in the country have vastly deteriorated, leading to widespread starvation in recent years. In the aftermath of the June 29 provocation, Japan has canceled its program of food aid to North Korea, and the South Korean regime is considering the same. Illustrating how the imperialists wield such programs as tools of economic blackmail, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (6 June) noted that "for the first time since 1995, when famine first struck North Korea, food is running out as donors tire of Pyongyang's unwillingness to make changes to its centrally planned economy." ***Down with the imperialist embargo!***

In a murderous show of increasing imperialist belligerence, last December Japanese warships sank a purported North Korean "spy ship" in Chinese waters, killing up to 15 people. Tokyo fully backs South Korea's latest provocation and has joined the U.S. in stepping up surveillance of Korean waters. The American military command and its South Korean underlings are also discussing revising the "rules of engagement" that supposedly prevent South Korean forces from firing unless they are attacked. A South Korean Defense Ministry spokesman explained that the goal was to "streamline the process of firing at the enemy," i.e., to give Seoul carte blanche in carrying out military aggression.

The nuclear-armed imperialists in Washington and the South Korean capitalist rulers who are dependent on the U.S. have put the Korean peninsula a big step closer to a devastating war, as military forces North and South have been placed on high alert. The U.S. maintains 37,000 troops in South Korea—aimed not only against North Korea but the Chinese deformed workers state as well. This huge military presence also acts as a forward base for maintaining U.S. imperialist hegemony in the Pacific, including against its Japanese imperialist rivals. Under former president Clinton, the U.S. had already begun a shift of its military power to the Pacific region. Now, as part of Bush's "war on terror," U.S. imperialism has sent troops to the Philippines and established new bases in Central Asia, forming a military arc around China. ***All U.S. troops out of Korea! U.S. out of Central and Southeast Asia!***

The U.S. troops in Korea would also be deployed to drown in blood any challenge to capitalist rule by the militant South Korean proletariat, just as they were used to suppress one peasant uprising after another in the years before the Korean War and later insurgencies against the U.S.-backed military dictatorship. It was the massive class battles of the 1980s, in defiance both of police-state repression and the regime's CIA-financed "unions," that led to the forging of independent trade unions and an end to open military rule. South Korean workers have continued to wage fierce struggles against imperialist-dictated austerity and in defense of independent unions against the current "democratic" government, a thinly disguised police state. Most recently, on June 27 over 1,000 trade unionists rallied in Seoul to demand freedom for imprisoned union leaders, leading to the release of the president and vice president of the Daewoo auto workers union.

Packed with unreconstructed Cold Warriors, the Bush administration made clear from the beginning its intention to step up imperialist pressures against the

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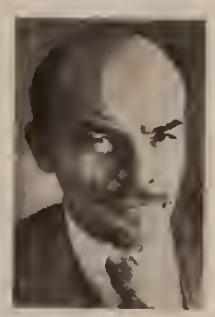
TROTSKY

Defend the Separation of Church and State!

In this climate of religious reaction, it is vitol for the workers movement to defend the strict separation of church and state. This point was stressed by American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon in an earlier period of reaction, when U.S. imperialism used religion as a battering ram against "godless communism" during its Cold War against the USSR.



LENIN

We Marxists are by definition alien and hostile to each and every form of religious superstition. We believe with Marx that religion is the opium of the people; and we are not Marxists, not genuine socialists, if we do not say so openly, regardless of whether our opinion is popular or not. Our business is not to save souls for another world, but to tell the truth about this one....

The First Amendment to the Constitution is our amendment; and we must defend it tooth and nail against all aggressions, whether secular or religious. It seems to me not accidental at all that the authors of the Amendment linked freedom of worship with free speech and free press in the same sentence. Thereby they clearly indicated that religion is to be considered a matter of opinion, in which each individual is free to choose, and by no means a revelation binding upon everybody. Moreover, "freedom of worship" implies also freedom of non-worship. That's the freedom I am exercising and I would surely hate to lose it.

Under this interpretation of the First Amendment, free thinkers and atheists, heathens and public sinners, who are very numerous in this country, have had a chance to breathe and spread enlightenment without fear of the dungeon and the rack. The First Amendment has been a protecting shield for the Children of Light and has enabled them to make their great contributions to literature, art and science. A breach in this provision of the Constitution, leading to its eventual repeal, would be an unspeakable calamity aiding and strengthening the forces of reaction and obscurantism here and all over the world.

—James P. Cannon, "Church and State," *Militant*, 19 November 1951, reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* (1958)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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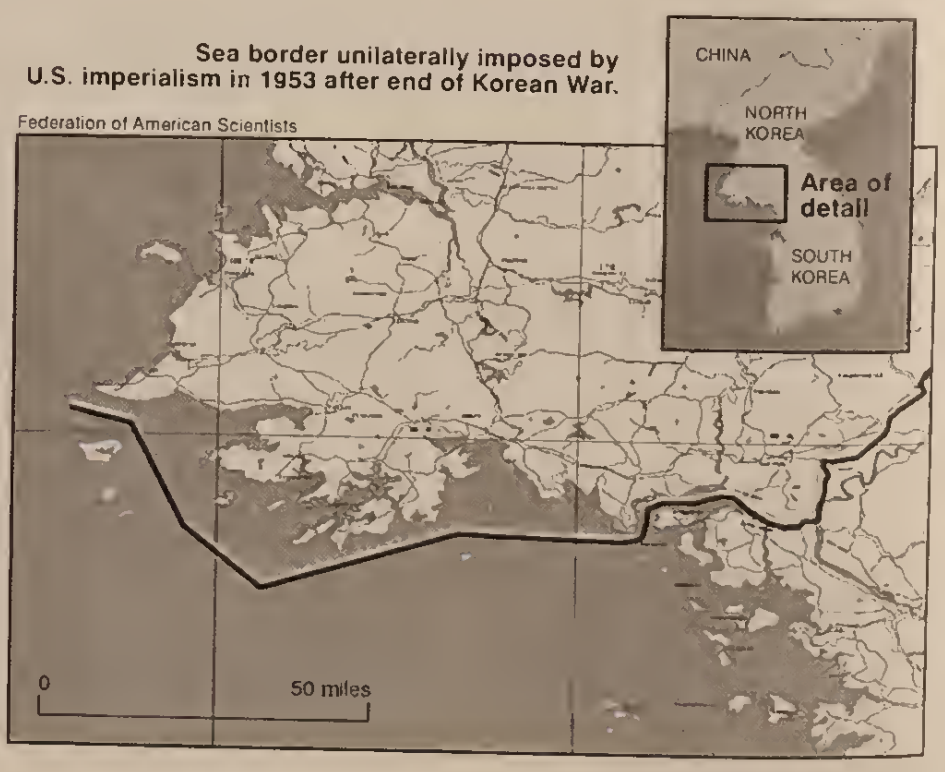
No. 784 **12 July 2002**

Sea border unilaterally imposed by U.S. imperialism in 1953 after end of Korean War.



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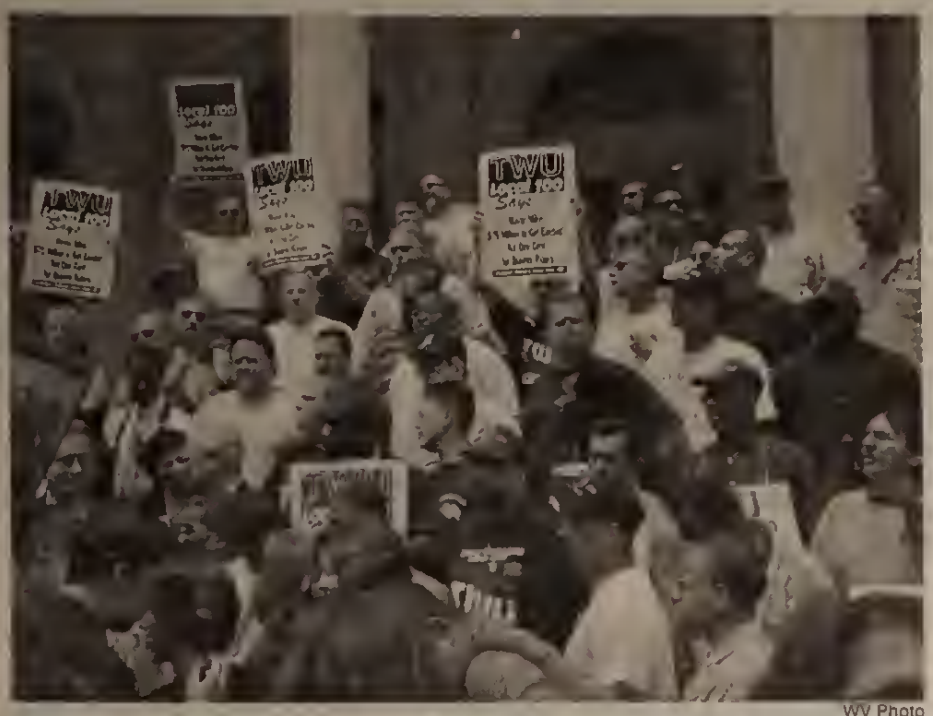

WV Photo

Victory to Private Lines Bus Strike!

Above: Striking Queens bus drivers rally at NYC City Hall, July 1. Below: Picket line outside Triboro Coach bus company.

Arellano/El Diario-La Prensa

JULY 7—After working without a contract for over 18 months, transit workers at three Queens bus companies went on strike June 17 in a battle to preserve their health care benefits. This is the third strike this year for over 1,500 bus drivers, mechanics and cleaners at Queens Surface Corporation, Jamaica Buses Inc. and Triboro Coach Corporation. Together, they transport 115,000 people to work and school each day. The strikers are organized by Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 along with the bus and subway workers at the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), yet they receive lower wages and benefits for doing the same work. However, unlike MTA workers, the private lines workers are not subject to the state Taylor Law, which outlaws strikes by public employees. This law was brought down with a vengeance to prevent a strike by subway and bus workers when their contract expired in December 1999.

The strike began when Mayor Michael Bloomberg, reneging on a deal made in March, provocatively threatened to cut funding for health benefits. In fact, health care benefits are on the line for the entire membership of Local 100 since the MTA is also threatening to bankrupt its employees' health insurance fund, having already withheld some $20 million from the Health Benefit Trust. The Queens private lines strike is a precursor to what could be a much larger showdown in December, when the city transit contract expires. A powerful display of the union's muscle in this strike would galvanize transit workers for the struggle to come later this year. TWU Local 100 should fight for full health care coverage for all union members and their families. With health benefits increasingly under attack by employers across the country—and at least 42 million people with no health coverage at all—the labor movement must take the lead in fighting for *free, quality health care for all!*

Claiming that the city has no responsibility for the private bus lines, the mayor told the union and stranded Queens residents to take a hike. But the private bus companies are as much a part of the public transit system as the MTA subways and buses. They are contracted by the city, which owns the buses and most facilities, and are subsidized to the tune of over $160 million per year. All union contracts with the private lines must be approved by City Hall.

Indeed, the city is fully involved in running a strikebreaking operation. Mayor Bloomberg declared a "state of emergency" a full week before the strike began. Under the city's "Private Lines Contingency Plan"—prepared long in advance of the strike—hundreds of "dollar vans" and countless livery cabs driven by unorganized, largely immigrant workers have been authorized to cruise the 42 struck bus routes. The vans sport placards reading "Transit Strike 2002 Authorized Vehicle Permit" and some are even equipped with armed NYPD escorts.

TWU Local 100 must mobilize its membership in roving pickets to stop the scab vans. Instead of allowing the racist bosses to pit non-union van drivers against unionized bus workers, the TWU should organize the predominantly Caribbean and African van drivers into the union. Central to such an organizing drive is the fight against anti-immigrant racism and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. This is all the more critical now in the face of the anti-immigrant witchhunt carried out by the ruling class, which is a deadly threat to the labor movement as a whole. But the Local 100 leadership promotes the bosses' "national unity" campaign, which fuels the anti-immigrant repression. The TWU tops used a mass transit workers rally for health benefits in April to promote red-white-and-blue patriotism as they kicked things off by singing the national anthem. From the beginning transit union leaders have pledged their allegiance to the bosses' "war on terror," competing with the company in handing out T-shirts, hats and buttons emblazoned with the American flag. *Organize the unorganized to fight together along class lines against our common enemy, the racist ruling class!*

Within TWU Local 100, private lines workers are isolated from the bulk and power of the 36,000-strong membership, the majority of whom work for the MTA under a separate contract. Moreover, transit workers are currently fragmented into several different unions—TWU Local 100 as well as four Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) locals covering private lines workers in Queens and Staten Island. Looming in the background is Mayor Bloomberg's proposal for the MTA to take over the private bus lines and create a "Regional Bus Company," amalgamating all NYC bus operations. Transit workers have told *WV* salesmen that they fear this proposal would lead to job cuts and would split their union into separate bus and subway bargaining units that could be pitted against one another in the event of a strike. Transit workers must not allow the bosses to undermine the power of the union. What's needed is to unify all NYC transit workers, including the "dollar van" drivers, into a single, industrial union with the same contract. The union must fight for parity in wages and benefits at the highest prevailing standard for *all* transit workers, with no job cuts. And a union-led fight for *free, quality mass transit* would win wide support from the city's working people and poor.

In the Local 100 newspaper *TWU Express* (31 December 2000), union president Roger Toussaint promised workers, "We will mobilize the rest of our Local in support of Private Lines members." Indeed, the thousands of workers who have regularly come out for rallies in defense of the union would readily join in a show of strength on the picket lines. But they have not been mobilized to do so by the union leadership. Above all, Toussaint & Co. fear any mobilization of the workforce that could get out of their control and upset their cozy relationship with Democratic Party politicians.

Toussaint and his now-defunct New Directions coalition rode into office in 2000 posturing as a militant alternative to the discredited "old guard" bureaucracy. But from the moment Toussaint took office he made clear his intention to use the TWU as the base for a "political machine" for the Democratic Party. Union officials have hosted a parade of Democratic Party politicians, like Hillary Clinton, at union rallies and meetings. On June 30, Democratic Senator Charles Schumer came out to a picket line at Triboro Coach. Such phony "solidarity with labor" is a standard gambit of the Democrats, who with the avid assistance of the labor bureaucrats seek to direct any labor militancy into the shell-game of electoral politics. Transit workers should remember that every one of these "friends of labor" support the union-busting Taylor Law and backed the court injunction that threatened massive fines and imprisonment against the union membership if they went out on strike during the December 1999 contract showdown. And Toussaint's New Directions joined in enforcing the government's anti-strike measures, even forbidding workers from uttering the word "strike" at a rally organized by New Directions. *Defend the right to strike! Smash the Taylor Law!*

It is necessary to fight for the complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions from the bosses, their state and their political parties. A class-struggle leadership of the unions must be forged based on the understanding that the interests of capital and labor are irreconcilably counterposed. The forging of such a leadership is integrally linked to the fight to build a workers party committed to the fight for a workers government which will rip transport and industry out of the hands of the greedy capitalists and put it at the service of the working people and oppressed. *Victory to the private lines bus strike!* ■

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Statement by the International Communist League

Capitalist Europe's War on Immigrants Is a War on All Workers

The following statement was issued on July 2.

One day after a powerful general strike paralysed Spain on 20 June, Europe's capitalist rulers met in Seville to ratchet up the war against immigrants as the spearhead of an attack against the proletariat as a whole. The competition between the dominant nations of the European Union (EU) for economic advantage in the midst of a recession meant the summit fell short of its stated goal of establishing supranational police-state measures, such as joint border patrols on land and sea, but all that and more is promised by the guardians of Fortress Europe. In the meantime, each capitalist ruling class is trying to outdo the next in raising the bar to immigration and enhancing police-state measures against immigrants with the aim of regimenting the entire population, driving down wages and slashing social gains which were wrested through decades of class struggle.

The Seville EU summit seized on the recent electoral gains by fascists like Le Pen and the British National Party (BNP) to pander to their anti-immigrant demagogy. Anti-immigrant racism is a time-worn method to divide the proletariat and deflect class struggle, but fundamentally the anti-immigrant campaign is driven not by "bad ideas" but by the workings of the capitalist economy and is enforced by bourgeois politicians from the left and the right. Large numbers of immigrants were brought into West Europe when their labour was needed, due in part to the low birthrate; now that Europe is in recession, the bourgeoisie does not need more immigrants as a supply of cheap labour or even as a "reserve army of labour." It would be an embellishment of bourgeois democracy to believe that it would require fascism to have mass deportations of immigrants. Such in fact happened during the 1930s Great Depression in France, when the number of foreign workers was reduced by half a million through mass expulsions. And these workers were mainly European and Roman Catholic, much easier to assimilate than the forcibly segregated North Africans and black Africans. In the same period, there were mass deportations of Mexican immigrants from the United States.

A decade ago the Soviet Union was destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution. This monumental defeat for the international proletariat and the ensuing bourgeois triumphalism and lie that "communism is dead" has thrown back the consciousness of the proletariat and the youth who misidentify the Stalinist sellouts with communism. Capitalist rule in Europe is not challenged by a revolutionary-minded and insurrectionary proletariat today, and correspondingly the working class and the dark-skinned minorities and immigrant populations in Europe are repressed mainly through the "normal" workings of the whole capitalist system, from the cops in the ghettos to the capitalist courts, and the prisons which are vastly disproportionately filled with minorities and immigrants. In this context, parties that are by history, outlook and intent fascist, from Haider's Freedom Party (FPÖ) to Le Pen's National Front, have mainly advanced as electoral phenomena and pressure groups on more mainstream bourgeois parties.

The "normal" ebbs and flows of the world capitalist economy, which produce such vast human misery, cannot be eliminated short of the replacement of capitalism through proletarian socialist revolution. Those, like the social-democratic leaders and their "left" tails, who accept the capitalist framework necessarily become complicit in implementing and even spearheading anti-immigrant racism. The machinery of state repression has been augmented since September 11, but most of the anti-immigrant and anti-"terrorist" laws and policies were enacted years earlier by the "left" governments. The now-ousted French Socialist Party, which ruled France in a popular-front coalition with the Communist Party and the Greens, burns with anger that the new right-wing government claims credit for the racist "security" campaign which was in fact masterminded by the "left"! In order to rule on behalf of capital, the historic parties of the French working class, the Communists and the Socialists and their analogues in the trade-union bureaucracies, poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. Thus the popular-front government paved the way for Le Pen's big score in the recent French presidential elections and the election of a more right-wing government.

The so-called "far left" bears large responsibility too. Groups like the United Secretariat's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) began the recent popular-front years with a vote for Jospin...and ended with a call to "bar the road to Le Pen"—i.e., vote Chirac! This is such a low, even for the LCR, which has long had the posture and backbone of a snake, that they feel compelled to publicly molt rather than defend their crime. The LCR were aggressive and energetic activists who channeled the massive youth demonstrations which shook France with justified outrage at the racism of Le Pen's National Front into reactionary "Republican unity" with Chirac. Similarly in Britain, the Socialist Workers Party directed opposition to the BNP fascists into a call to vote for "anyone else"—i.e., even bourgeois parties, but especially Blair's Labour Party. Each falsely proclaimed that there was an imminent danger of fascism, the better to corral support for Labour and even Chirac. Moreover, in situations where fascist gangs do pose an immediate threat, they cannot be stopped through parliamentarist means but only by mobilising the proletariat to crush them.

Workers of the World Unite!

Kruse/DPA

Above: Demonstration by asylum-seekers in Berlin, May 17. Below: North African workers in Seville, Spain stage sit-in demanding work permits.

AP

Defend Immigrants, Defend the Working Class!

In Italy, the new arsenal of repression includes roundups of immigrants for fingerprinting, as if being non-European makes one "criminal." With the Vatican railing against marriages between Christians and Muslims, the Italian police

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Stop the Deportations!

launched "Operation Just Married" to snoop into mixed marriages. Residency permits will be limited to the duration of a work contract, so that seasonal agricultural workers will become "illegal" the moment a crop has been harvested, and Italian employers will be compelled to pay the state in advance for the deportation of any immigrant who overstays the work contract! This is not even particularly rational from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, which needs a source of cheap agricultural labour. In a bald statement of the concerns of the ruling class, the Italian capitalist consortium negotiated exemptions from the government's absurdly stringent immigration quotas for three professions: nurses, maids...and soccer players!

The right of asylum is under intensified attack everywhere: Blair's Britain promises immediate deportations without right of appeal for rejected asylum-seekers, while Denmark claims the right to revoke asylum for refugees when the new right-wing government decides that any given country an immigrant fled has become sufficiently "democratic."

Instilling racial hatred at an early age to inculcate patriotism and loyalty to the crown, rotting Britain threatens to forcibly segregate the children of asylum-seekers from other schoolchildren. In Germany, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party have been actively protesting against the computer-aided racist roundups of students. In this reactionary climate, immigrant workers and foreign students face not only persecution at the hands of the capitalist state but also stepped-up racist violence on the streets. As our Irish comrades noted following the murder of a Chinese student, "Fundamental responsibility for Zhao's brutal murder lies with the Irish capitalist state whose anti-immigrant policies give a green light to race terrorists."

Everywhere, families are being ripped apart through restrictions on "family reunion." Women suffer the brunt of this. If they manage to join their husbands in Europe, they are often legally deprived of the right to work and so are forced into dangerous and low-wage black-market jobs. In France, apace with anti-immigrant laws, a veritable "marriage market" has spread like cancer in immigrant communities where an arranged marriage with a young woman possessing citizenship is now the last best hope of escaping poverty and political repression elsewhere. The slamming shut of doors to immigration and the segregation of oppressed communities tend to increase and help perpetuate arranged marriages, kidnappings, female genital mutilation, wife-beatings and "honour killings," all of which are on the rise in Europe. These facts show that even a minimal democratic demand, like full citizenship rights for everyone who has managed to make it to a European country, is literally a question of life or death, especially for women.

The squalid war between Blair's Britain and Chirac's France to close the Sangatte Red Cross refugee camp exposes the hoax of the "free world" and the direct link between capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and across East Europe and the rise of economic misery, imperialist war and political repression. Sangatte is filled with refugees from the bloody wars waged by U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies. Murderous nationalism, whipped up as the vehicle of capitalist counterrevolution to destroy the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe, uprooted minority populations including the Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) in an orgy of "ethnic cleansing" a decade ago. Another flood of refugees was triggered by the U.S./NATO ravaging of what was left of the former Yugoslavia in the 1999 Balkans War. Today the Sangatte camp is filled with Iraqis fleeing ten years of the starvation blockade imposed by the United Nations.

Thousands of Afghans fled the hell created by U.S. imperialism's support to the women-hating *mujahedin*. When Soviet forces entered Afghanistan in 1979 after repeated requests by the left-nationalist PDPA government, we of the ICL straightforwardly said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal in 1988-89 culminated in the victory of the Islamic fundamentalists and eventually the rule of the Taliban—truly a Frankenstein's monster created by the U.S. imperialists with the help of their Pakistani allies. Now the terror bombing of Afghanistan by Bush, Blair and Co. in the name of the "war on terror" has created new thousands of refugees.

Borrowing from Le Pen's campaign promise to close the Sangatte camp and deport the refugees, Chirac has announced plans to close the camp and in the meantime plans to build an enormous fence around the rail yard and install high-tech scanners to detect heartbeats in the tunnel. Not to be outdone, Tony Blair is mobilising the navy to turn back (read: fire on and sink) ships of refugees, and plans to cage asylum-seekers in militarised detention camps, and to bleach England through airlift deportations of dark-skinned immigrants and blatant racial exclusion of people trying to get into the country from airports elsewhere in Europe.

Meanwhile, anyone who does make it into Britain will be compelled to carry a national identity card. These police-state measures are intended to regiment and accustom the entire population to restrictions on democratic rights, to accept police identity checks as "normal," to chill free speech and impede politically organising against the government and the ruling class. To this end, the whole spectrum of capitalist politicians from left to right is whipping up hysteria over immigrants as an alleged "enemy within." The model for police-state control of Arab, African, Turkish and Asian populations in West Europe is the French state's "Vigipirate." The large population of North African descent, particularly the youth, are systematically brutalised by the French police, subjected to identity checks even in the hallways of their own apartment buildings, and treated as a "criminal" and "surplus" population. Changes in the French nationality code, whereby children born in France of immigrant parents no longer automatically gain French citizenship, prepare the ground for possible mass deportation. Peel back the "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*" facade and you'll find a history of mass deportations whenever politically or economically advantageous to France's capitalist rulers, from the Polish and Italian immigrants deported en masse between the two World Wars to the Jews stripped of French citizenship and deported to Nazi death camps under Vichy.

Capitalism needs a bogey man. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, the "red menace" has been largely replaced with orchestrated hysteria against the "green menace" of Islamic fundamentalism. This has reached fever pitch since September 11 and a new word, "Islamophobia," has entered the lexicon to "explain" racist assaults on women in veils, men in turbans, and anyone suspected of being of Arab origin. The restrictions on civil liberties and the patriotic fervor have also been used to criminalise political dissent and outlaw parties and national liberation movements, from the Kurdish PKK and the Palestinian PFLP to the Turkish Guevarist DHKC and the Basque Batasuna organisation in Spain. Meanwhile, the biggest state terrorists rain bombs on Iraq and threaten invasion, continue to pound Afghanistan, and arm the Zionist state of Israel in its war against the Palestinian people. Now the leader of the "free world" has the gall to tell the Palestinian people who they can and can't elect to represent them in the Occupied Territories and "homeland" overrun by Zionist stormtroopers. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinian people!

Asylum-seekers from Sangatte refugee camp are rounded up by French cops after failed attempt to enter Britain through the Channel Tunnel.

Spartakist

Auto workers man picket line in Berlin last May. Ethnic Germans joined with workers of Kurdish and Turkish descent in strike by IG Metall union.

Racial Oppression Is Intrinsic to Capitalism

The "maximum programme" of social-democratic reformism and the so-called "left" groups who function as its apologists is to restore the "welfare state" and paint a "human face" on capitalist austerity. Contrary to the myths of reformists such as Lutte Ouvrière, who campaign to "ban layoffs" and demand that the cops fight "real crime" instead of bashing immigrants, the truth is that under capitalism the rich get richer, the poor get poorer, and racial oppression is *intrinsic* to the workings of the whole rotten domestic and world system. Whether the government is dominated by social democrats or ultrarightists, the laws of capitalism work the same: the harder you work, the more wealth you produce for others, and the more precarious your existence becomes as you are at risk of being laid off. According to its economic needs, capitalism brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labour, principally immigrants from poorer countries who are deemed disposable in times of economic contraction. As Karl Marx wrote in *Capital* (Volume I): "The degree of intensity of the competition among themselves [the workers] depends wholly on the pressure of the relative surplus population; as soon as, by Trades' Unions, &c., they try to organise a regular co-operation between employed and unemployed in order to destroy or to weaken the ruinous effects of this natural law of capitalistic production on their class, so soon capital and its sycophant, political economy, cry out at the infringement of the 'eternal' and so to say 'sacred' law of supply and demand. Every combination of employed and unemployed disturbs the 'harmonious' action of this law."

That is why we in the ICL fight for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism. The struggle in defence of immigrant labour today is a vital task for the working class as a whole. We fight for: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations! Free the detainees! Organise the*

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Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL, the ICL's Declaration of Principles is a concrete expression of our purpose: to build national sections of a democratic-centralist international which can lead the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution.

The Declaration of Principles has now been published in 13 languages including its publication in *Spartacist*.

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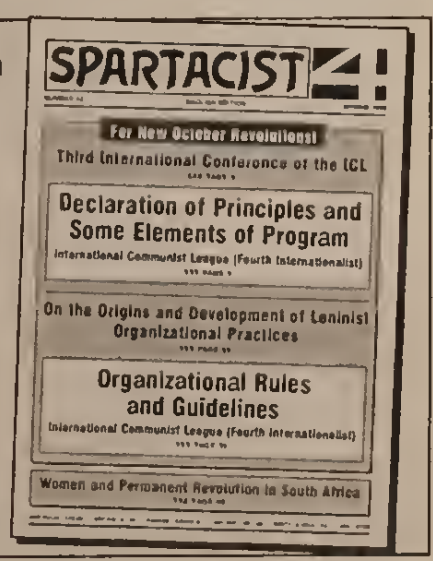


U.S./Israel...

(continued from page 1)

significance is surrounded by military checkpoints, cement blocks, barbed wire or trenches—separating families, keeping children from school and their fathers from jobs and leaving the ill and elderly to die for lack of medical care. The ten-mile journey from Ramallah to Jerusalem is now a two-hour trek requiring three separate taxi rides. The Gaza Strip, roughly the size of the island of Manhattan, is partitioned by checkpoints into two or three parts. But the ultra-chauvinist "settlers" who serve as advance guards and armed auxiliaries of the Zionist occupation can zip wherever they like in minutes on fortified "bypass roads" barred to Palestinians.

The number of settlers has doubled since the 1993 Oslo accords. The year after the accords were signed, Brooklyn-born Hebron settler Baruch Goldstein massacred some 30 men, women and children who were praying in a Muslim holy site. The Israeli authorities responded by punishing the *Arab* population, shutting down all the shops in the Arab wholesale market in the city. Now the market area has been taken over by armed gangs of settlers! Today, Hebron's 120,000 Arab residents are effectively under lock and key in order to "protect" some 500 Zionist settlers, and even the *muezzin*'s traditional calls to prayer have been banned because they "disturb the peace."

As documented by the Israeli human rights organization B'Tselem in "Land Grab: Israel's Settlement Policy in the West Bank," the settlers now control 42 percent of the West Bank, while another 20 percent is "state land" barred to Palestinians and a further 20 percent is under military control. It is not only land that has been grabbed. The West Bank supplied more than half of Israel's water, and Israelis get *five times* more water per person than Palestinians. "This means settlers get their swimming pools topped up while Palestinian villages a few miles away run out of drinking water," explained Jessica McCallin in a 21 May article in *Palestine Monitor* titled "Making the Blooms Desert."

AP

Ghetto wall around West Bank under construction near Palestinian town of Qalqilya.

Now Israel has begun building a ghetto wall around the West Bank. This is the "unilateral separation" that the Zionist "peace camp," represented by the likes of Meretz spokesman Yossi Sarid, has clamored for. Meanwhile, Sarid's former allies of the bourgeois "Labor" Party are serving in the front ranks of Sharon's coalition government, with self-styled "dove" Shimon Peres as foreign minister and Benjamin Ben Eliezer as head of the military.

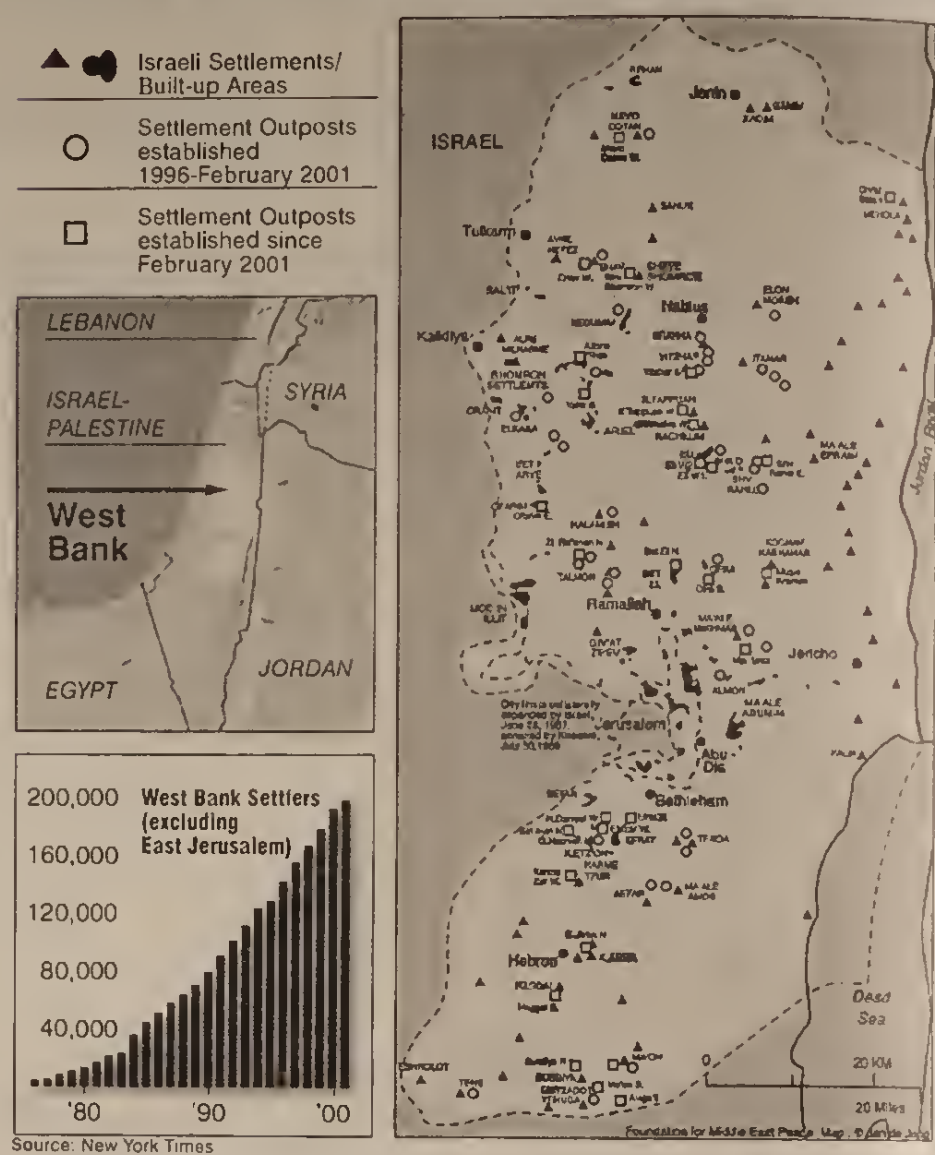
The barrier under construction has much in common with the U.S. government's enclosure of the remnants of the Native American population into desolate, impoverished reservations. Over the past four years, the number of Palestinians living below the official poverty line has climbed from fewer than one in four to nearly two out of three. The new wall will only deepen the humiliation and immiseration of the Palestinian people. *Down with the apartheid system of blockades, checkpoints and Jewish-only highways! All Israeli troops and settlers out of all of the Occupied Territories now!*

For Arab/Hebrew Workers Revolution!

Capturing the cynicism of Bush's promise that the Palestinians will eventually be rewarded with some vague form of statehood if they "reform," journalist Jonathan Freedland observed in the London *Guardian* (26 June): "George Bush is demanding that Palestine become Sweden before it can become Palestine: it must be stable, prosperous and boast constitutional arrangements which still elude Britain—our judiciary and legislature are not separate—let alone the Arab world before it can become even a state-in-waiting."

But the right-wing Sharon government balks at even the notion of a Palestinian state. As Sharon has made amply evident, the Zionist state is not simply a pawn of U.S. imperialism. Israel is a sovereign power, as defined by the only real index of sovereignty in today's world—possession of a nuclear arsenal. While the Zionist state supports American policies that do not conflict with vital Israeli interests, as a nuclear power it is a player internationally in its own right.

Zionist Settlement in West Bank



Source: New York Times

Bush's "drop dead" to Arafat is the end result of more than two decades of groveling appeals by the petty-bourgeois nationalist Palestine Liberation Organization to U.S. imperialism—either directly or through the agencies of the United Nations or the Arab bourgeois regimes—to grant "liberation" to the Palestinian people. To that end, the Palestinian national movement was literally disarmed, paving the way for repeated bloodbaths, like Sharon's slaughter of more than 2,000 refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps in Lebanon in 1982. Yet even now, Arafat and the Arab bourgeois leaders can do nothing other than lick the boots of the American imperialists. Inanely denying that Bush called for his head, Arafat praised the June 24 tirade as "a serious effort to push the peace process forward."

But in the Palestinian ghettos and on the streets of Arab capitals, Bush's latest pronouncement provoked outrage. A 24-year-old Egyptian woman doing graduate study in political science told the *New York Times* (27 June): "This statement fuels the hatred in the hearts of all the Arabs not only towards the Americans, but towards the Arab leaders as well. It was shocking to find all the Arab leaders including Arafat welcoming the speech of disgrace."

That hatred must be channeled into the fight to forge revolutionary internationalist parties of the proletariat committed to the class unity of all the working people of the region—Arab, Hebrew, Persian and Kurd; Sunni and Shi'ite, etc. If it is not, it will only bolster the already formidable forces of Islamic reaction—from the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic Group in Egypt to Hamas and Islamic Jihad in Palestine—who posture as opponents of Zionism and imperialism but are in fact deadly enemies of all working people and especially women.

The growth of Hamas has had a sharp impact on the lives of Palestinian women, historically among the most cosmopolitan and educated in the Near East. This is further exacerbated by the effective closing of the schools as a result of the Israeli blitzkrieg, forcing many young women in particular out of higher education and back into traditional roles as mothers and housekeepers.

As Freedland's article on Bush's speech concluded, "The only people celebrating yesterday were the Islamist extremists of Hamas and Jihad." Indeed, every new provocation, every murderous outrage perpetrated against the Palestinians in the name of fighting "terrorism" only adds to the ranks of those desperate enough to strap explosives around their waists. But Palestinian suicide bombings against Israeli civilians serve only to drive the Hebrew-speaking proletariat further into the arms of the Israeli ruling class and to deepen the murderous chauvinism that permeates Israeli society.

Attacks on troops and settlers are at least directed against the enforcers of the oppressive Zionist occupation. But many of the recent suicide bombings—both by Islamists and secular nationalists like the Al Aksa Brigade—are simply criminal from the standpoint of the working class, aimed at killing people in shopping malls or night clubs just because they live in Israel, whether they are Jewish or Arab. The intense nationalism and anti-Semitism that drives such indiscriminate terror mirror the far more deadly anti-Arab chauvinism of the Zionist state. Embracing the racist calculus of the Nazi "master race" against the Jewish people, one Israeli parliamentarian ranted recently, "For every Jew who is buried as a result of an attack, we must make sure 1,000 Palestinians are killed."

The Zionist state must and can only be destroyed from within through a socialist revolution uniting the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking workers around their common class interests against the Zionist rulers. To struggle for its own emancipation from capitalist exploitation, the Hebrew working class must be won to the defense of the national rights of the Palestinians.

If the working masses of the Near East are not broken from Zionism, Arab nationalism and all forms of religious fundamentalism, there will be no future for any of the peoples of the region. The struggle for emancipation and equality for people of all national, ethnic and religious backgrounds—including the right to self-determination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew nations—can only be realized through workers revolutions that sweep away the bourgeois order throughout the region. *For a socialist federation of the Near East!* ■

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Young Spartacus

There's Nothing Wrong with a Little Bump N' Grind

The storm clouds of bourgeois state repression that have been looming for the last three years over popular black R&B singer R. Kelly finally broke. On June 5, the Cook County grand jury slammed Kelly with 21 counts of child pornography stemming from his alleged participation in and production of a "pornographic" videotape. The tape in question depicts a ***consensual*** sexual encounter between a man presumed to be Kelly and a young black woman who is allegedly 14 years old. Despite his agreement to surrender to authorities, Kelly was dragged from his Florida home in handcuffs and hit with an outrageous $750,000 bond. Upon arrival in Chicago, he was met by Chicago cops and was made to post another $750,000 bond. If convicted, Kelly could be sentenced to 15 years in prison and fined $100,000.

After years of hounding Kelly and snooping into his private affairs, it is testimony to the flimsy case the state has against him that all they can come up with are charges based on the infamous videotape, which by all accounts has made the best sellers list on the streets. Stemming from Illinois child pornography laws that prohibit the videotaping of intercourse, oral sex, urination, masturbation, exhibition, fondling and other sexual contact, Kelly is currently facing seven counts of soliciting or enticing a minor to "engage in illicit acts" and seven counts *each* of directing and producing a "pornographic" videotape. Beware: the state is now poised to prosecute anyone in possession of the tape as well.

Significantly, the woman in question in the R. Kelly videotape is denying her involvement and is refusing to cooperate with the authorities in Kelly's prosecution. Further, Kelly denies that he was the man on the tape. The state's case may very well hang on whether or not they can get this woman to finger Kelly. This ominously harks back to the case of black then-Illinois Congressman Mel Reynolds in 1995, who was witchhunted and thrown into jail largely based on the coerced testimony of his alleged underage partner. She, too, refused to cooperate until she was locked up for 13 nights and suddenly changed her mind. Clearly, this is what the state has in mind as it guns for Kelly. The Illinois Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS) also is targeting the parents of Kelly's alleged partner for presumably allowing their daughter to have sex with Kelly when she was 14.

We are opposed to the intrusion of the government into private life and demand an end to all laws against consensual "crimes without victims," such as drug use, prostitution or, in this case, pornography. As well, we are opposed to reactionary "age of consent" laws, which uniformly deem all those under an arbitrary age incapable of consenting to sexual activity. The state has no business legislating people's consensual sexual activity, however "kinky" it is deemed to be. Even if Kelly committed the acts of which he is accused, ***they are no crimes***. Drop the charges against R. Kelly! Government out of the bedroom!

As for "underage sex," how old is old enough? The bottom line here is effective consent. Sexual relations should be based on mutual agreement and understanding. Determining effective consent requires an assessment of the particular relationship, especially when young people are involved with older ones; but such relationships are not *prima facie* evidence of abuse or coercion. For tens of thousands of years, the onset of puberty signaled entry into adulthood. Sex among the young (often with the not so young) was the norm. We note with bitter irony that in this country teenagers are deemed incompetent to choose their sexual partners, yet fully competent to stand trial as adults and face the death penalty.

Intergenerational relationships are almost as American as apple pie. The "King" himself started dating Priscilla Beaulieu (soon to be Presley) when she was only 14. But what really drove the bigots crazy about Elvis was that white kids loved it when he shook his hips and belted out songs that drew heavily from black music. Screaming against "obscenity," white Southern racists saw rock music as representing "race mixing" and godless Communism. Today, the puritanical witchhunters are out to get R. Kelly, whose sexually explicit lyrics evoke the explosive mix of race and sex in racist capitalist America. In a nasty "exposé" (9 June), the Chicago *Sun-Times* branded Kelly a "sexual super freak" and "tormented individual" who can "barely read or do basic math," a description that conjures up the racist stereotype of the uneducated black man as sexual predator.

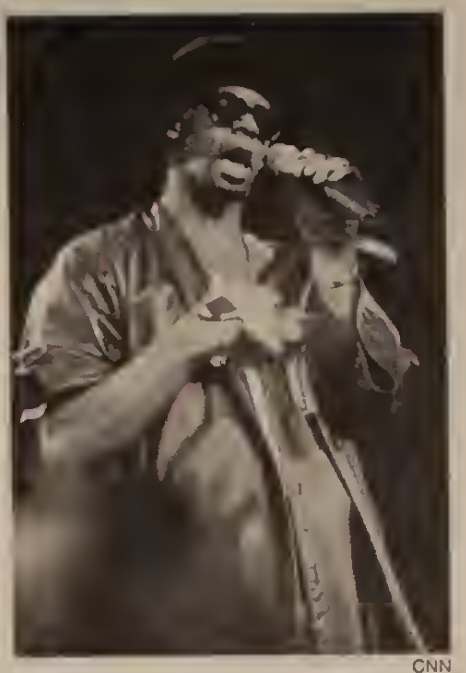
One can only imagine the level of hysteria that would ensue had Kelly's alleged partners been white—the ultimate sexual taboo in America, where the ruling class at every opportunity manipulates sexual fear in the service of racial oppression. Protecting "Southern white womanhood" historically was a major bloody rallying cry for the monstrous lynching of black males by white racist mobs, as exemplified by the hideous mutilation and murder of Emmett Till, a 14-year-old black youth, for "reckless eyeballing" of a white man's wife in 1955 Mississippi.

Taking her publisher's cue, black *Sun-Times* columnist Mary Mitchell has been leading the charge to string up Kelly, pressuring young women involved with him to come forward and press charges. In a particularly vile column of 9 June, she obscenely compares Kelly's case to a string of recent murders of young women at the hands of truly demented individuals. Her assumption that sex led to these hideous murders is simply a spin on the anti-porn feminists' assertion that rape (a violent crime) and sex are on opposite ends of the same spectrum.

Meanwhile, many blacks in Chicago ("Segregation City") have expressed a degree of sympathy for Kelly, understanding the campaign as yet another attempt to bring down a successful, rich black man who has made it in racist America. Yet many people with whom we have spoken continue to buy into bourgeois morality, including the reactionary "age of consent" premise. Ever ready to alibi the great American "democracy," Rev. Jesse Jackson Sr. and black intellectual (and Baptist minister) Michael Eric Dyson, equally convinced of his guilt, have taken the line of "Let the verdict hang Kelly." In other words, have the trial before the lynching, duly constituted by the forces determined to railroad Kelly into prison.

Sex in America is always a charged issue, especially when it falls outside of the narrow accepted confines of one man on top of one woman for life. Sexual activity in general is already bound by a host of idiotic and peculiar state laws (in some places, oral sex is illegal even with your own spouse) which reveal more about the sadistic and repressed character of capitalist government than anything else. Back in 1978, internationally acclaimed film director Roman Polanski was driven out of the country for his sexual tryst with a very willing 13-year-old. At the time we demanded: "Stop the Puritan Witchhunt Against Roman Polanski!" (*WV* No. 192, 10 February 1978). Today, R. Kelly's case strikes at the heart of stifling, puritanical bourgeois morality.

Many laws that define "sex crimes" in this country are nothing more than religion transcribed into legal code. The criminalization of sex (except marital sex) is fundamentally aimed at glorifying and propping up the "sacred" monogamous family—for centuries the main institution for the oppression of women, chaining them to the home, and of children. The family came into existence with the onset of property ownership and the need to transfer wealth through the male lineage. It also serves a critical role in instilling reactionary social mores and churning out the next generation of workers. Anything that threatens to tamper with its stability is thus labeled "taboo" or "unnatural," e.g., homosexuality. That young women are viewed as particularly vulnerable and generally seen as victims in need of protection is nothing but an extension of woman as property to be kept chaste for her future husband. Since the dawn of the family women have been denied their sexual freedom, hence the double standard applied to sexually active young men vs. sexually active young women. "Family values" is nothing but an ideological cover for social regimentation and repression.



CNN

As we noted in "The 'Date Rape' Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt" (*Women and Revolution* No. 43, Winter 1993-Spring 1994):

> "While Marxists cannot decree either a just or a pleasurable solution to the ambiguities that arise out of the intersection of sex, race and class in this capitalist society, we can and do oppose all attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated and decreed 'norms.'...
>
> "To create genuinely free and equal relations between people in all spheres, including sex, requires nothing less than the destruction of this class system and the creation of a communist world. In a classless society social and economic constraints over sexual relations will be nonexistent, and in the words of Frederick Engels, 'there is no other motive left except mutual inclination'."■

Defend R. Kelly!

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated August 9.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

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Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.

July 13: ***Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State***

July 27: ***The State: Tool for Class Oppression***

1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor, Oakland

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

CHICAGO

Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.

July 25: ***The Capitalist State—An Instrument of Organized Terror***

222 South Morgan St.

(Ring 23 on Buzzer)

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

spartacist@iname.com

BOSTON

Alternate Saturdays, 1 p.m.

July 13: ***The State and Revolution***

July 27: ***Lenin and the Fight for the Vanguard Party***

Loker Common, Harvard University

Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

bostonsyc@yahoo.com

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Saturdays, 1 p.m.

July 13: ***Trotskyists Hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan! For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!***

July 27: ***Defend China Against Imperialism, Counterrevolution!***

Kent Hall, Room 405, Columbia Univ.

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

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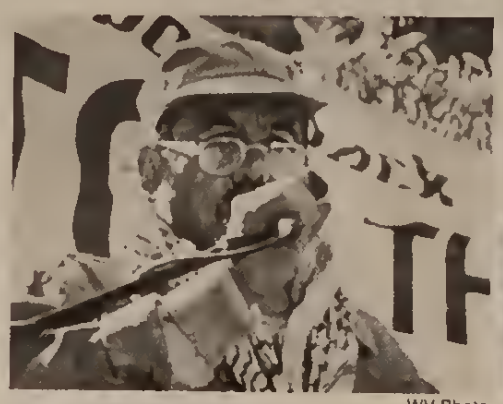
Down With Witchhunt Against Pro-Palestinian Activists!

As the ruling class wages its "war on terror" abroad, the Bush administration with the Democratic Party in tow has decreed sweeping new powers of state repression at home. The racist, anti-immigrant dragnet following September 11 already has resulted in the detention of some 1,200 immigrants, primarily of Arab background, and the deportation of 500 of those detained. Some 100 still languish behind bars. Of late, secular pro-Palestinian activists of Arab descent, such as Faruk Abdel-Muhti, Ahmed Bensouda and Jaoudat Abouazza, have been singled out as targets of this dragnet.



WV Photo

Faruk Abdel-Muhti

UCIMC

Ahmed Bensouda

Indymedia

Jaoudat Abouazza

Faruk Abdel-Muhti, a well-known Palestinian community activist and regular guest on the liberal WBAI radio station, was arrested by the INS and NYPD on April 26 in a Gestapo-style early morning raid at his Queens home. He is in detention at Middlesex County Jail in New Jersey and faces possible deportation. Deportation of Abdel-Muhti could result in his being handed over to the Israeli state, which would almost surely mean torture or worse. *Free Faruk Abdel-Muhti!*

Ahmed Bensouda was arrested on May 30 at his home in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, for technical student visa violations. An Arab youth known for his Palestinian solidarity efforts and for organizing against the fascist Matthew Hale, Bensouda had been under government surveillance before his arrest. INS agents reportedly called Bensouda a "n----r," asked him "Do you know Osama bin Laden?" and interrogated him about his political activities, including a leaflet they found in his apartment calling to "Smash the U.S. and Zionist Empire." At his first court hearing two weeks into his INS detention, the judge barred the public and press because the government claimed that it wanted to use "secret evidence" to keep him in detention. Bensouda has since been released on bond, but the INS is proceeding with plans for his deportation. *Drop all charges against Ahmed Bensouda! No deportations!*

We reprint below a letter sent by the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization affiliated with the Spartacist League, to the Boston District Office of the INS protesting the detention of Palestinian activist Jaoudat Abouazza. Since this letter was written, the presiding judge has ruled Abouazza can return "voluntarily" to Canada (where he is a citizen) rather than face forcible deportation. The U.S. government has declared its intention to appeal this ruling, and Abouazza could still face charges stemming from the minor traffic violation that was the basis for his arrest.

• • •

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the INS detention of Palestinian activist Jaoudat Abouazza who has been held without charges by the INS since shortly after his arrest on May 30. Well known as an organizer of local campaigns against the Israeli aggression in the Occupied Territories, Abouazza was arrested by Cambridge police after being stopped on the pretext of a minor traffic violation. Without being charged with a crime or read his rights by the arresting officers, he was handcuffed, brought to the Cambridge police station and interrogated by the FBI for suspicion of "terrorism." The only "evidence" was that he possessed flyers for the upcoming pro-Palestinian ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism) coalition protest of "Israeli Independence Day" in Boston, which he was helping to organize.

This attack is nothing but a blatant effort to silence Abouazza and to intimidate all who would engage in political protest. This is a frontal attack on First Amendment rights of speech, assembly and political association. Since his arrest, Abouazza has reportedly been subjected to increasing harassment and torture because of his politics. According to his defense committee, this has included punching, solitary confinement, threats and continuous epithets of "Taliban."

Seizing on the criminal World Trade Center attack as a pretext for expanding its domination of the globe and massively ratcheting up its repressive powers at home, the government has rounded up over 1,200 immigrants in the racist dragnet, hundreds of whom are still detained or have simply disappeared. The arrest and detention of Abouazza, along with the case of leftist student activist Ahmed Bensouda in Chicago, is a vivid illustration of how the government's "national unity" campaign threatens the rights of all immigrants, trade unionists, black people, leftists and all who the government perceives would dissent from its policies.

We demand: Free Jaoudat Abouazza! Free the detainees! Down with the anti-immigrant witchhunt! ■

Cops, Feds Target Long Beach Anarchists

Drop the Charges!

Long Beach Press-Telegram

Long Beach police in riot gear charge into anarchist May Day 2001 protest without provocation or warning.

Since a cop riot against a youthful anarchist "Carnival Against Capitalism" in Long Beach, California, on May Day 2001 and the arrest at gunpoint of 95 protesters, state repression of area left-wing activists has escalated. A systematic campaign of repression by police from Long Beach, Los Angeles, La Habra and Fullerton and the Orange and Los Angeles County sheriff departments, with the likely involvement of the Feds, has included spying, harassment, frame-up prosecution and harsh sentences. Long Beach police spokesman David Marander made clear the purpose of this campaign—to silence political dissent: "Anarchist groups are typically surveilled by law-enforcement agencies across the United States, not only because of their goals, but particularly after September 11—people expect that now. We wouldn't be doing our jobs if we weren't investigating that type of group" (*L.A. Weekly*, 7 June).

On April 20, La Habra police and Long Beach gang-unit detectives pulled over 20-year-old Matthew Lamont, a well-known local activist. Lamont already was a target of the police for his involvement in protests against the cop killing of Marcela Byrd, a 57-year-old black woman. Searching his car and finding a one-gallon milk jug filled with gasoline, the cops arrested him for "possessing an explosive device." Police claim Lamont was headed to a "violent confrontation" with Nazis celebrating Hitler's birthday. Lamont responded to the bogus charges by noting that he had "gasoline for a gas guzzling vehicle" and said, "That's not possession of explosives, that's possession of gasoline in an improper container" (*L.A. Weekly*, 7 June). He remains in custody on four felony counts with bail set at $100,000.

Maxwell Lucas, a passenger in Lamont's car at the time, was hauled off to a juvenile detention center and charged with felony possession of a destructive device. Later, at the end of Lamont's arraignment hearing on April 23, supporter Jeff Hendricks yelled out in solidarity with Lamont and was arrested on two misdemeanor charges. The court then outrageously charged Hendricks with violating the conditions of probation stemming from his May Day 2001 arrest, and now he is facing up to two years in prison.

After September 11, most of the May Day protesters who had planned on fighting the various misdemeanor and felony charges brought against them accepted plea-bargains, fearing that the book would be thrown at them amid the government's "anti-terror" hysteria. Among these was Robert Middaugh (a/k/a Ruckus), who was sentenced to *three years* in state prison after a deal to plead guilty to felony assault on a police officer. This May 21, Sarah Roberts, one of the last of the May Day 2001 defendants, was convicted of "unlawful assembly and wearing a mask with the intent to commit a crime" and sentenced to six months in L.A. County jail. Last June, Javier Perez had been misled into pleading guilty in the belief that he would serve 30 days in jail and then be released. Instead, he found himself deported to Mexico.

On February 25, the home of 19-year-old Sherman Austin, another May Day arrestee and founder of a Los Angeles-based anarchist Web site, was raided by 25 heavily armed FBI, Secret Service and agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. His computer equipment and political literature were seized and his Web site was shut down. Later that month, Austin attended a protest against the World Economic Forum in New York City, where he was singled out for arrest. Following interrogation by the

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Hysteria over Pledge...

(continued from page 1)

school prayer. The current hullabaloo may seem to be over an issue of little significance. But the importance of the defense of church/state separation was highlighted the day after the decision when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Cleveland school voucher program which provides parents with tax payers' cash to place their children in non-public schools. Ninety percent of those who opt for the vouchers put their kids in religious schools—largely Catholic and more segregated than the public school system. This decision is quite simply de jure approval for an all-out attack on free public education especially aimed at depriving black Americans in the inner cities of even the rudimentary education available in the rotting and desperately under-funded inner-city public schools.

While ghetto schools are little more than holding pens that serve as a one-way conveyer belt to prison, a recent New York State appellate court ruled that "a sound basic education" could be achieved with schools that did little more than qualify students to flip Big Macs. As the ruling opined: "Society needs workers in all levels of jobs, the majority of which may well be low level." Overturning a previous ruling, which demanded that New York schools receive funding sufficient to prepare students for "competitive employment" opportunities, the appellate court judges declared that such a higher job standard for education was a challenge "to the capitalist system in general"! As the *Village Voice* (9 July) put it: "It was as if the very existence of a reliable, dishwashing underclass might be at stake."

Since the presidency of Democrat Jimmy Carter it has been the policy of U.S. imperialism's rulers to erase the opposition to their wars and domestic repression that arose during the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War struggles of the 1950s and '60s by playing to right-wing religious fundamentalism. From then to now everything that makes life enjoyable or tolerable—from sex and drugs to welfare, day-care centers and a good job—has come under attack, replaced by the twin madnesses of the "born again" and the "recovered." Black people are jailed, jobless and deprived of even token access to a way out. Yesterday's ghettos seem almost benign in contrast to the hellholes of today.

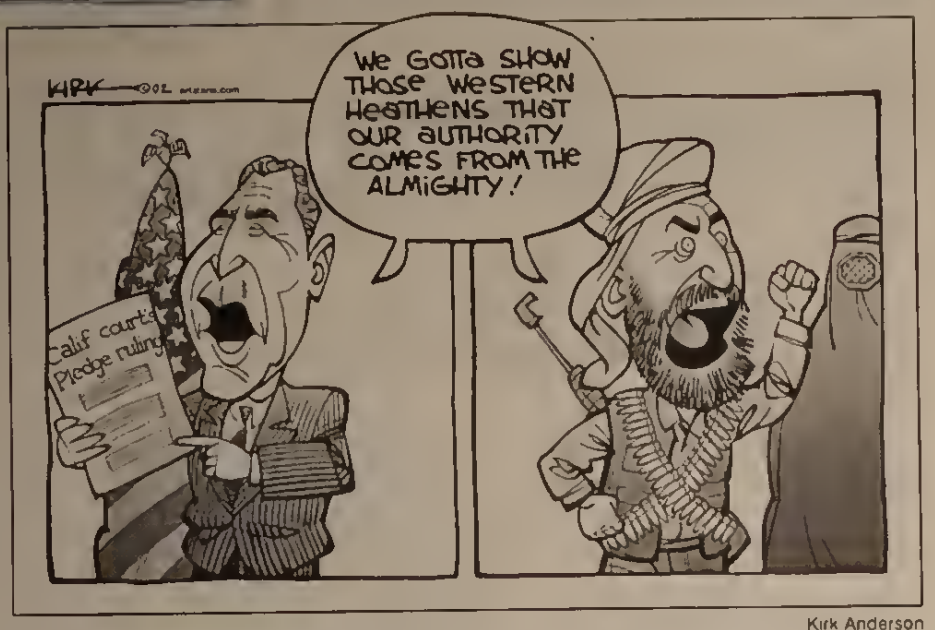
"God and Country" has always been the rallying cry of political reactionaries. In a country where the mass of the working class has never achieved even elementary political class consciousness, the only perceived "opposition" to these forces are the liberal Democrats who were just a step behind the Republicans in the race to the Capitol steps to sing "God Bless America." From Carter to Clinton, the Democrats, no less than the Republican right, have led the campaign to whitewash the machinations of American imperialism and portray as virtuous its attempts to dominate the world. In virtual lockstep agreement with Bush's timeless war against "evil" and as co-promoters of the legislative attacks which target any who would oppose government policy, the Democrats' protests against the "injustices" which are inherent to capitalism have been reduced to whispers. Whichever party is in power, decaying imperialism retains its fundamental nature—immiseration and oppression at home and imperialist expansion and war elsewhere in its unending quest for profits.

The history of the pledge, in a sense, marks the evolution of the American Empire. It was written in 1892 by the socialist journalist and preacher, Francis Bellamy, who was then concerned about widespread anti-immigrant prejudice, hence the phrase "liberty and justice for all." Bellamy later left the church in dismay because of the rampant and rising racism among the godly, a reflection of the Jim Crow segregation of black people that accompanied the rise of American imperialism. Initially used to celebrate the 400-year anniversary of Columbus's "discovery" of America, it was resurrected by Congress in 1942 to further cement the patriotic fervor that accompanied the U.S. entry into WWII, a war that ended with the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The phrase "under God" was inserted in 1954 at the height of the McCarthy era following the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg the year before. This was the period during which the trade unions were purged of the militants and socialists who had led and participated in the wave of strikes that forged the industrial unions in the 1930s and continued in the immediate aftermath of WWII. It was the period between the wars against "communist expansion" in Korea and Vietnam, wars that claimed over six million Asian lives. It was the period when those who fought against segregation were characterized as anti-American miscegenationists. Then any that spoke out against racism or injustice were viewed as pariahs. Characterized as "pinkos," they stood in danger of losing their jobs—their children submitted to daily harassment and physical attack at school. American schoolchildren engaged in another daily ritual at that time—the atomic bomb drill. Every day you were on your knees facing the wall, hands clasped over your head, butt in the air, hoping/joking you wouldn't have to kiss it goodbye. God does indeed move in strange and mysterious ways.

With the overturn of the 1917 October Revolution in the USSR in 1991-92—the, to date, only successful proletarian revolution—the military might of American imperialism is, for the present, unchallenged. That overturn has had as its result the destruction of the social fabric of the societies in East Europe and what was once the Soviet Union. These societies, which were based on the expropriation of private property, were unique in their ability to offer all a job, education, access to basic health care and a place to live. More importantly, the hope for a socialist future which once animated workers throughout the world has been vitiated. In this context and with the recent economic boom at a screeching halt and most people worse off at its end, it is in a sense necessary for Bush Jr. to turn to the language of the Apocalypse and a Baptist revival meeting to justify his preposterous and deadly dangerous aspirations to dominate the world. Thus at a July 4 West Virginia rally he intoned, "No authority of government can ever prevent an American from pledging allegiance to this one nation under God." God's in charge. America the holy. Screw the Constitution.

As communists, we stand in the defense of the gains of the bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries and of the gains of working-class struggle. We are for the complete separation of church and state and stand in defense of the Ninth Circuit Court decision. We fight against the attacks on public education and seek to nationalize all schools and provide free, quality education through the highest levels to all. But we have no illusions that we can end the indoctrination of the masses in the virtues of "God and Country" by their capitalist masters short of a revolutionary proletarian overturn of the imperialist order. When that is achieved, the price of progress will not be misery but the advancement of all mankind. And those who still feel the need for religious solace will be able to freely pray to and worship who or whatever appeals to them. With hunger, want and class injustice consigned to the trash heap of history, we have every confidence that the only faith that will survive will be in the collective abilities of humanity. ■



Kirk Anderson

Solomayor/NY Times

Alcock/Chicago Sun-Times

High school classroom in Chicago (right). For racist capitalist rulers who have turned inner-city schools into holding pens, black urban youth are not worth "wasting" money on to keep alive, much less educate.

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

$2 (48 pages)

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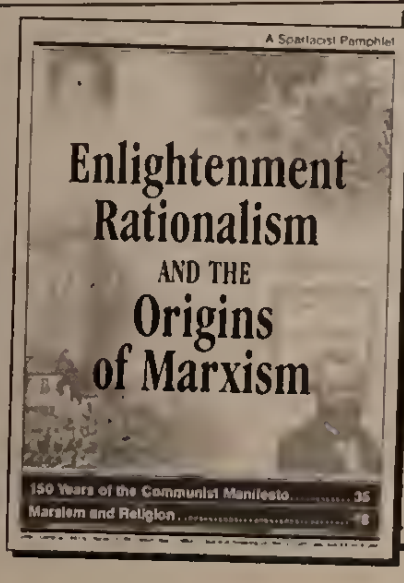

Iran 1979
Proletarian Revolution or Islamic Reaction

We print below a translation of an article from Le Bolchévik *No. 158 (Winter 2001-2002), newspaper of our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, based on a presentation for the LTF's Paris branch.*

LE BOLCHEVIK

Golestan/Time

Teheran, March 1979: Thousands demonstrate for women's rights following ouster of Shah of Iran's brutal U.S.-backed regime by Khomeini's reactionary Islamic forces.

In our international Declaration of Principles (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998), we wrote the following:

> "The 1979 'Iranian Revolution' opened up a period of ascendant political Islam in the historically Muslim world, a development which contributed to and was powerfully reinforced by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. Khomeini's seizure and consolidation of power in Iran was a defeat akin to Hitler's crushing of the German proletariat in 1933, albeit on a narrower, regional scale. The international Spartacist tendency's slogan 'Down with the Shah! No support to the mullahs!' and our focus on the woman question ('No to the veil!') stood in sharp opposition to the rest of the left's capitulation to mullah-led reaction."

I think this is important in two respects, and I would like you to take each sentence at its true value. First of all we compare the defeat of the proletariat in Iran, albeit on a more limited scale, to the defeat of the German proletariat. This is a very strong comparison, comrades, because the German proletariat was smashed by fascism, by Nazism. We also say that it not only reinforced Islam as a political force, but also contributed to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. It set in gear the "new world disorder"—what is happening today. Dialectically it was reinforced by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. So it goes both ways. We were indeed literally the only ones, and we are proud of it, who fought against the mullahs and against the Shah, and for socialist revolution in Iran, with our slogans "Down with the Shah! No support to the mullahs!" and "No to the veil!", underlining the central importance of the woman question.

We translated a number of articles into Farsi, which were sold or distributed in the thousands—no exaggeration—by our sections. Through various channels they also went to Iran, were read in Iran, and we even got feedback from them. There are two specific points on which we had a lot of confrontations. Over the question of democratic rights for women, i.e., "No to the veil!", and also on gay rights. And I think it opened up a lot of "debate," because it led to a lot of horrible stuff from the Iranian left, who said that the veil is a "symbol of anti-imperialism," that homosexuality is a "problem" in France but that "there are no gays in Iran." We were physically harassed. A comrade was knifed in Germany by Turkish Maoists. We were thrown out of demonstrations as "CIA agents," and later, after we hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan, as "KGB agents," etc. We are proud that we told the truth to the proletariat, even if this truth is very hard to hear and to see.

The Defeat in Iran and the Soviet Entry into Afghanistan

I would like you to look carefully at this map. The title is "Iran and its perception of internal security." The "internal enemies" of the Persians, who are the dominant people, are the national minorities. You see: Arabs, Baluchis, Kurds, Azeris, etc. But I would also like you to see how the country is strategically important in the region, as you had the Republics of Soviet Central Asia to the north of the country, with the same peoples on both sides of the borders, and right beside, you have Afghanistan.

In February 1979 the mullahs seized power in Iran. It took some time for them to consolidate their power. But a few months later, at Christmas 1979, the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan in order to defend their southern border, because weapons from the imperialists were going through Iran to arm the Afghan *mujahedin*, who had started to cut the throats of teachers who tried to teach young girls to read and write. This was nothing other than the beginning of the second Cold War, with near-daily provocations against the Soviet Union. In 1988, with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, it was the beginning of the end for the Soviet Union. As we said then: "Better to defend the Soviet Union in Kabul than in Moscow!" But the Stalinist bureaucracy's appeasement of the imperialists, and their refusal to fight in the interests of the proletariat, accelerated capitalist counterrevolution which swept away the deformed workers states of East Europe and the October Revolution itself.

So this presentation has the limited scope of showing two things: firstly, the confirmation in the negative of our Trotskyist program of permanent revolution and the necessity of the revolutionary party. Secondly, to show that this defeat was not at all inevitable. A proletarian revolution would have changed the situation, and it was possible. In that case we would not be speaking today of the horror of the war in Afghanistan, and maybe we would not be talking of the "new world disorder." So the presentation will necessarily be limited and it must be complemented by comrades' readings, and there is a lot of stuff to read. I want to insist above all on the reading I recommended to comrades, "Iran and Permanent Revolution," which was published in *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 33 (Spring 1982), which tells you how the proletariat in Iran could have seized power at least twice in its history, if it had not been led by traitors.

In several respects the Shah's Iran resembled Russia before the 1917 Revolution: a prison house of peoples, as Lenin characterized tsarist Russia. In Iran the Persians dominated and still do, politically, various nationalities: Kurds, Azeris, Arabs, Baluchis, to mention only these nationalities. This domination is exerted through armed force and through a chauvinist policy. The other analogy with tsarist Russia is that there was a poor, numerous and very backward peasantry. So we face a country of uneven and combined development, as Trotsky explains in *The Permanent Revolution*, where you have the latest word in technology based on the most backward social relations, in a country where there was no bourgeois revolution in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. (However, one crucial difference with tsarist Russia is that the Russian Orthodox religious hierarchy was a bastion of the tsar until the end, while the Iranian Shiite clergy opposed the Shah's regime in 1979.)

The country is also characterized by a very concentrated and powerful proletariat, socially speaking, in the oil workers. When I showed the map earlier to a comrade, she told me, "I didn't know that the oil fields were there." I want you to have a closer look at the southern part of Iran. That was the case, but after the war between Iran and Iraq the oil fields of those two cities, Abadan and Khorramshahr, were completely destroyed and the oil industry was dispersed. The refinery which was there, which I think was among the biggest in the world, was dispersed completely to the center of the country. So that means that the proletariat was dispersed, of course. At that time it was a very important concentration of the working class, socially but also politically very important. The Iranian proletariat twice had the possibility of seizing power, which was given away by Tudeh (the pro-Moscow Stalinist party) to bourgeois nationalists and even to the Shah himself.

I would like to make a few points on the Russian Revolution of 1917, which is our international compass. As you have seen in *Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution* (Trotsky, August 1939), the 1905 Revolution was a dress rehearsal for 1917. But there are in addition two very important points. The first one concerns the character of the Russian Revolution, because Russia was also one of those countries where there had been no bourgeois revolution. The bourgeoisie was weak. There was a concentrated, powerful working class but also a very numerous and extremely backward peasantry. And the second point was the question of the necessity of a party. This is the lesson that Lenin later drew from 1905.

I want mostly to talk about the *Three Concepts*. Because if you think about it, when these three conceptions existed the Russian Revolution had not taken place, so it was the first time that the revolution was going to happen, and in a backward country. So there were three perspectives: the Mensheviks', which of course was later adopted by Stalin regarding China; that you absolutely need a democratic stage where you put the bourgeoisie in power, and later you can talk about a socialist revolution, proletarian revolution. For the Mensheviks, the Russian bourgeois revolution could only be conceivable under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie, and must give power to it. The Mensheviks were leading the pro-

Resistance

Strike by Iranian oil workers in October 1978 paralyzed the country and led to fall of Shah. Oil workers were betrayed by Stalinist Tudeh party, which supported mullahs.

lctarlat down an entirely wrong path.

Lenin's position was clear that the belated bourgeoisie of Russia was incapable of achieving its own revolution. Lenin put forward a formulation for "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" in order to purge the country of medieval remnants, carry out agrarian reform and open the possibility of the light for socialism. Lenin's conception represented a tremendous step fnrward inasmuch as it indicated the only realistic combination of social forces to carry out the revolution. But its weakness lay in the conception of a dictatorship of two classes. Lenin himself openly characterized this "dictatorship" as "bourgeois." By this he meant that, for the sake of maintaining unity with the peasantry, the proletariat would be obliged to forego posing socialist tasks directly during the impending revolution. Trotsky explains that "the insufficiency in the perspective of Bolshevism did not become apparent in 1905 only because the revolution itself did not undergo further development. But then at the beginning of 1917 Lenin was ohliged to alter his perspective, in direct conflict with the old cadres of his party."

The Trotskyist position of permanent revolution is summed up in *Three Concepts*:

> "The complete victory of the democratic revolution in Russia is conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which would inevitahly place on the order of the day not only democratic but socialistic tasks as well, would at the same time give a powerful impetus to the international socialist revolution. Only the victory of the proletariat in the West could protect Russia from hourgeois restoration and assure it the possibility of rounding out the establishment of socialism."

The Left and the Mullahs

The hated regime of the Shah was based on suppressing the left and the working class through the SAVAK, the very bloodthirsty political police, and you also had through this the oppression of national minorities and women. After the working class had the possibility of seizing power and the Tudeh party betrayed it, there was a massacre of the leaders of Tudeh. So the left was very small, and of course it was underground.

In 1977 protests started in the slums around the capital city and they were followed by student demonstrations which managed to get significant popular support. Of course the army answered by shooting at the demonstrators, and in response demonstrations spread to nearly the whole country. In this framework one Khomeini appears. Who was Khomeini? A mullah, a Muslim priest, necessarily reactionary of course, and part of the powerful, landholding clergy. I think it is important to note that he was a landlord. The clergy has a lot of land in Iran. The first political act of Khomeini was in the '60s, when he opposed in a very reactionary way the Shah's "white revolution." What was the "white revolution"? It was like a safety valve against a mass explosion which consisted in seeking to share some land among the peasantry and give voting rights to women. This was too much for Khomeini, and he mobilized the bourgeoisie from the bazaar, which hy the way was his base, to foment a superreactionary upheaval especially against these two points, i.e. voting rights for women and land distribution.

Illustrated London News

Tudeh sold out revolutionary opportunity in 1951-53 as mass protests and strikes erupted throughout country under nationalist Mossadeq regime, which was overthrown by U.S.-engineered coup in 1953.

He was exiled to Iraq at that time, and as if by coincidence he got political asylum in France in 1978. He was somewhere in a Paris suburb, a little town called Neauphle-le-Château. And Khomeini started to lead the mass demonstrations from here. How was this possible? Think about it, after 18 years in exile, he comes here and from France he is leading...you wonder how. Of course there was a very important base of the traditional bourgeoisie of the bazaar which always supported the clergy; the traditional merchant class whose foundations were threatened by the modernization of the country. This traditional social class is doomed by economic progress, and has a natural tendency to adhere to a reactionary ideology and its political expressions.

But above all there was the role of the left organizations and their influence, albeit limited, over the proletariat. These organizations tied the hands of the working class to its mortal class enemy, i.e., the Shiite clergy representing the bourgeoisie. And some of these organizations supported Khomeini and the Shiite clergy to the death. That is, even when Khomeini started to massacre leftists they still supported the mullahs. They denounced their own comrades to this regime. While they had members in prison, the leaders of the Tudeh party went on TV to say that they were wrong if they had said anything bad about the regime of the ayatollahs. There was the guerrillaist group the Fedayeen, which, faced with this support to Khomeini and the ayatollahs, split. One part, called the majority, at bottom had the same position as Tudeh: that you must support the ayatollahs. The other part, called the minority, could not be as rotten as that, but never broke with the Stalinist policy of revolution by stages, that is of subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie as a first stage and the promise of socialist revolution as a second stage. But you never get to the second stage because, as history shows (China 1927, Indonesia 1965, Iran 1979), the political subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie always ends with a bloody massacre of workers and the left by the bourgeoisie.

You also had the Pabloites in Iran (the HKS, sister section of Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire) and in a way they were the most disgusting. The Pabloites supported this regime to the end. They split, with one part continuing to support the regime while the other part made some criticisms without ceasing their enthusiasm for the "mass movement." If there had been barricades, their two organizations would have been shooting at each other, while at the same time they were sitting at the same table in their international discussions. You see, this is the "United Secretariat." There were 14 Pabloite militants who were arrested at the beginning of the Islamic revolution. They wrote an open letter to Khomeini calling him "great leader of the revolution, ayatollah so-and-so, we haven't done anything, let us go, etc." The Pabloites did not wage any campaign to free their own comrades. We waged a campaign.

Some years later I saw one of these former Pabloites who had been in prison and who got out. We talked and I asked him, "But how could you have written a letter like that?" I said to him, "I have a program which shows you that integrity exists." He said to me, "Integrity doesn't exist." I think that this is really sad. He was a youth. This is, in my view, a significant example of a layer of potential militants who were crushed—crushed, demoralized, finished off by a treacherous policy of revolution by stages.

UPI

Execution of Kurds by Iranian mullah regime, which carried out massacres of leftists, trade unionists and minorities after coming to power.

We fought against arguments like: this is the first stage of the revolution which has begun. We had Workers Power saying, "It's an anti-imperialist united front." There were organizations who were saying, "Khomeini will take power and people will know how bad he is. They will overthrow him and after that, there will be us," that it was a mass movement "even if Khomeini is here it's not so bad, we'll be right behind," etc., etc. You even had leaders of different organizations who claimed to be for Trotskyism and the working class, but who were going into the demonstrations and chanting "Allah Akbar" (god is great). Leftist women were putting the veil on their heads to go into the demonstrations in order to not hreak the unity with Khomeini.

As for Lutte Ouvrière, at the time they were writing polemics against the abject tailism of the Pabloites vis-à-vis the mullahs. But there was no way they wanted to hreak the unity with Khomeini either. They wrote in *Lutte de Classe* (8 January 1979), in connection with the arming ol the proletariat: "Even while remaining within the framework and on the current political basis of the movement, this would be for them [the workers] a priority and an imperative task. Because it would not necessarily be a question of a head-on collision straight away with the current leadership at the level of slngans and immediate objectives." These people recognized the reactionary and anti-woman character of Khomeini, they talked of arming the proletariat, but in no way must the unity with these reactionaries ever be broken. Not surprising that a year later they denounced the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

A whole layer of militants were massacred, executed, raped, finished. There were a lot of splits, but the splits never went all the way, that is they never found the revolutionary program. And when you look around the world where there are leftist Iranians from this generation, it's over: they are corrupt cynics, hopeless, or else they are dead. A lot of them put Marxism into question instead of examining their own rotten program. Yet there were key moments when it was possible to change the course of history and to win the working class.

The Revolutionary Intervention of the Spartacist Tendency

Our reformist and centrist opponents pretend that our slogan "Down with the Shah! No to the veil!" signified political abstentionism. Of course, for the opportunists political activism is always synonymous with tailing a mass movement. On the contrary, we developed an active and interventionist political line at each step of the Iranian crisis. In opposing ourselves in a principled manner to participation in Khomeiniite demonstrations, we did not opt for political silence. In accordance with its resources and the concrete military situation, a Trotskyist organization would have used the opening created by the appearance of a mass Islamic opposition and the occasional hesitations of the repressive apparatus of the Shah in order to agitate around democratic-revolutionary demands and on the totality of its class-struggle program. A vanguard Trotskyist organization would also seek to break the base of the left groups, principally the Fedayeen, from Khomeini by proposing to these organizations a series of united-front actions against the Shah, actions independent of the movement of the mullahs and which would have been politically opposed to them. We tried to intervene as a factor with our ideas and our propaganda; we took a side in the struggle.

The first key moment for revolutionary intervention was (Khomeini was still in France at the time) when there were very important strikes of the working class in oil. These were in November 1978 and totally paralyzed the economy of the country. Khomeini sent a man named Bazargan, who later became his prime

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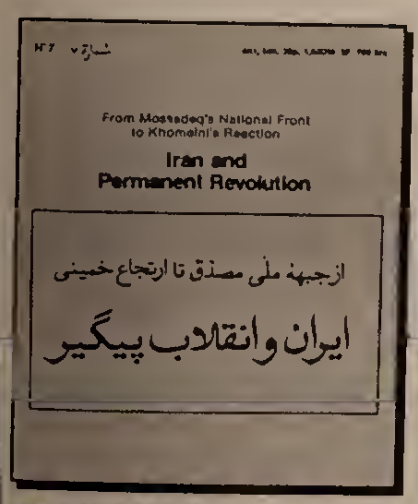
In Farsi



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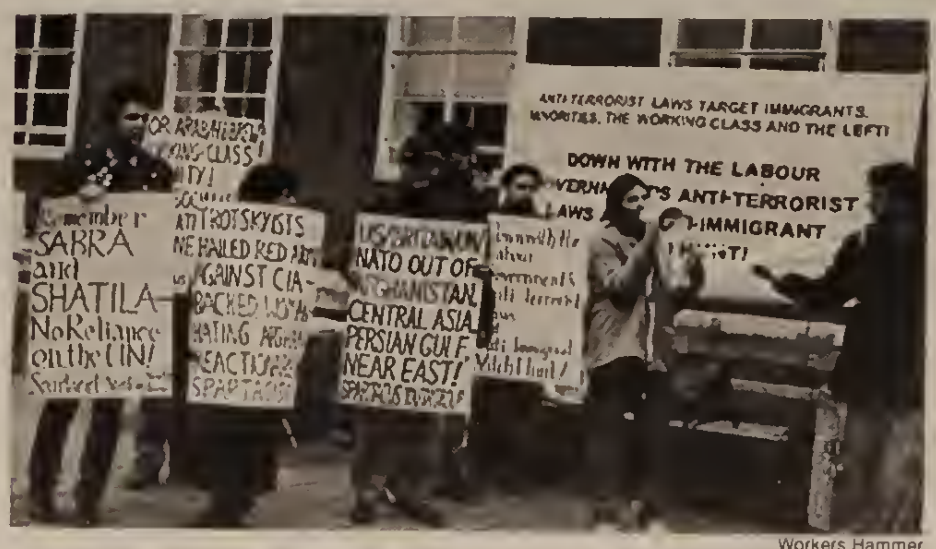
Immigrants...

(continued from page 5)

unorganised! Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions! For lobour/immigrant mobilisations against fascist ottocks! Jobs for oll—For a sliding scale of hours at no loss in pay! Expropriate the bourgeoisie—For a planned, sociolist economy organised internationally! In every country where we exist, the ICL has fought to expose the lie of "national unity" between workers and bosses and to rally the proletariat in class solidarity with immigrants and minorities. As an example of this perspective, on 9 February in the San Francisco Bay Area our American comrades mobilised a labour-based united-front rally around the slogans: "Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labour—No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act! Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!"

There are important developments in Europe that point the way to a class-struggle road to unite the proletariat in defence of its own interests against attacks by capital. From Turkish/Kurdish metal workers in Germany to black and Asian transport workers in London, immigrants and their children are a key component of strategic, unionised sectors of the proletariat. In Italy and Germany, there have been important breaks with the narrow economism and national chauvinism pushed by the trade-union bureaucrats in their role as "labour lieutenants of capital." Thus in Italy, the CGIL trade-union federation and COBAS have called general strikes by labour and immigrants against the Bossi/Fini anti-immigrant law and also against the Berlusconi government's attempt to make the labour market "flexible" for increased exploitation by shredding union gains won through several decades of hard-fought battles! In response to popular outrage, Rifondazione Comunista (RC) is now obliged to call protests calling for closing down the detention centres which RC itself had earlier voted for setting up. In Berlin's Potsdamer Platz on 20 June, a mass picket of German construction workers spiked an attempt to manipulate Portuguese immigrants as strikebreakers, by appealing to them to fight alongside the union in struggling for the rights of all labour, including foreign workers. As the Portuguese workers applauded and refused to cross the picket line, the strikers yelled, "Long live international solidarity!" This shows, as our comrades in Germany said in their leaflet to these strikers, "German, foreign and immigrant workers can only push forward their interests together, or they will be beaten back separately."

Advancement along this class-struggle road is obstructed by reformists and trade-union misleaders who deploy strikes not to combat capitalist rule but as pressure tactics on capitalist politicians to whom they are ultimately beholden. Thus the IG Metall strike, which united German, Turkish and Kurdish workers in struggle in May, was called off by the SPD [Social Democratic Party] union tops as soon as SPD party leader Schröder warned that a long strike would cost the German capitalists money (isn't that the point of strikes, to hit the bosses in their pocketbooks?) and so threaten the SPD's standing in upcoming parliamentary elections. Similarly, Italy's Rifondazione Comunista leader, Bertinotti, supports strike action against the Berlusconi government explicitly to put a centre-left coalition back in power to better manage capitalist rule. RC's left wing, the "Proposta" group, now admits that RC shares responsibility for anti-immigrant laws during its support to the Prodi government, but their role is to keep leftist militants within the fold of RC reformism. As our Italian comrades have noted of Proposta, "Their perspective is not to build a Leninist vanguard party to lead the workers to power, but a 'left pole' that puts pressure on the reformist leaders and contributes to bringing them back to the helm of capitalism" (*Spartaco* No. 60, May 2002).



Workers Hammer

London, March 13: British Spartacus Youth Group initiated protest at School of Oriental and African Studies against Labour's "anti-terrorist" laws and anti-immigrant witchhunt.

For a Socialist Fight for a Workers Europe!

The rise of racist demagogy, government attacks on immigrants and the threat of fascist terror bands can only be eradicated through a victorious struggle against the capitalist system. This perspective is the fundamental point of departure separating the ICL from all of our competitors in the workers movement. The anarchist milieu, while often admirably audacious in militant protests against the powers that be, lacks a programme to effectively combat much less replace the rule of capital. At bottom, their worldview is that of streetfighting liberals: pressure politics expressing justified outrage outside meetings of the capitalist rulers, rather than loathsome suit-and-tie parliamentary reformism. It's not enough to protest, it's necessary to have a perspective to fight to transform society, to topple the rapacious imperialist system and create a workers state as the necessary first step on the road to a global classless society. The former Stalinist parties and the social democrats long ago made their peace with capitalist rule; indeed, across Europe they administered it and augmented the attacks on the working class and immigrants. Our pseudo-Trotskyist competitors peddle their wares in the shadow of the social democracy because their aim is not to forge an authentic Leninist party by splitting the proletarian base of the reformist parties from their pro-capitalist tops but to pressure these misleaders.

On the question of immigration, groups like Workers Power promote the call to "open the borders." It's a catchy slogan, but what it would mean for "Third World" countries is an open door for imperialist investors. More generally, it is a utopian and reactionary demand for an egalitarian world within the framework of capitalism. It is retrograde to promote the notion that somehow capitalism can be made rational or humane. Unlike groups such as Workers Power, which spout rhetoric against racism and slogans like "open the borders" but politically support the chauvinist social democrats, we seek urgently to mobilise the working class to take up the fight for full citizenship rights for all who manage to cross the borders and to drive home the understanding that the source of exploitation of all labour is the capitalist system of production, which is defended to the bitter end by *the capitalist state*. Until we achieve an internationally planned, socialist economy based on collectivised property, it will not be possible to abolish the state or national borders. The nation-state is the basis of the organisation of the capitalist economy, and to deny that is to capitulate to muddle-headed bourgeois "democrats." As Lenin said in his April 1917 speech on the national question, "What does 'Down with frontiers' mean? It is the beginning of anarchy.... Only when the socialist revolution has become a reality, and not a method, will the slogan 'Down with frontiers' be a correct slogan."

Against capitalist Fortress Europe, our perspective is the fight for *the sociolist United Stotes of Europe* as a vital step in the world socialist revolution. The necessary instruments to bring the working class to power are Leninist parties, politically guided with a programme that is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist. We fight to reforge the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky Despite the regression in political consciousness today and the huge gulf between our purpose and present means, it is evident that there is no shortage of combativity and desire on the part of the working people, oppressed minorities and youth to fight. For their struggles to be successful and not derailed into the trap of reformist pressure politics, it is urgent to construct a revolutionary leadership. This is what the sections of the ICL fight for, nothing other and nothing less. ■

Iran 1979...

(continued from page 11)

minister, to tell the working class: go on strike if you want, but for the exterior, not for the interior. The workers responded, "We didn't go on strike for Khomeini and we are not going to stop for Khomeini now." This was the moment to intersect the working class with the Bolshevik program of political independence of the proletariat and to win the vanguard of workers to revolutionary consciousness. Khomeini sent Bazargan to Iran a second time and then those who were leading the working class broke the strike. They said that it was necessary to be united with Khomeini.

The second very important moment was when Khomeini arrived in Teheran in February 1979 and there were some leaders of SAVAK who were going to be executed. This was the moment to have people's tribunals, revolutionary tribunals, to judge these torturers. So what happened? They executed two or three obviously hated, well-known bigwigs and afterward they put the SAVAK back in place with the same structure under the name of SAVAMMA. It's the same thing, just a little name change. And that's where the mullahs consolidated their power.

And the third key moment was in March 1979, when there was a mass demonstration of women against the veil, with a security squad of Fedayeen. There were two days of demonstrations. The first day there was a physical attack by the mullahs against the demonstration. There was real resistance. The second day, the Fedayeen broke up the demonstration, because they wouldn't break the unity with Khomeini. We fought to break this reactionary unity and to win the proletariat to a line of class independence.

So it was only with the support of the left that the mullahs could consolidate power. And immediately afterward, the mass killings began. And when I say mass killings, I weigh my words. Literally thousands of leftist militants were executed. In the prisons thousands and thousands of national minorities, especially Kurds, were massacred. Thousands of homosexuals, of women, were tortured and assassinated.

Khomeini consolidated his power through something else: the war with Iraq. There too we have a number of articles that we wrote, then translated into Farsi, and we worked with a number of Iranian groups. On this subject, we said "both sides are reactionary," we said to the workers, "Turn your guns against your own bourgeoisie," "Down with the mullahs, down with the colonels," "Transform the reactionary war into civil war." The same groups which at least were asking questions about the left's support to Khomeini nonetheless began to support their own bourgeoisie against Iraq. When you read Lenin's *Socialism and War* (1915), he explains the link between opportunism and social-chauvinism, above all in times of war. That's how it was, with different arguments, in Iran. In spite of Iran's failure to defeat Iraq, Khomeini completely consolidated his power in blood.

A second generation of potential militants was wiped out in this war. Imagine the force, the potential power of this smashed working class. When we now see that the defeat of the proletariat in Iran was a basis for reinforcing the possibility of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, and that this paved the way for the war in Afghanistan today and the hell for women there for 20 years under the *mujahedin* supported by imperialism, imagine the contrary. Imagine for a minute that if the revolution in Iran had been a proletarian revolution, what this would have meant for Afghanistan, what this would have meant for Soviet Central Asia, what this would have meant for the ex-Soviet Union as such. It is for you to see, I hope that it was clear, that defeats are not inevitable. When we fight it is possible to win. But it is necessary to have the capacity to swim against the stream and to be true to the program which can bring the working class to power. ■

Women and Revolution
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Striking German Construction Workers Say:

"Long Live International Solidarity!"

In a country where strikes have been a pretty rare occurrence, German workers have carried out two major strikes in less than two months. In May, hundreds of thousands of metal workers in the IG Metall union—ethnic Germans along with workers of Turkish, Kurdish, Greek and Yugoslav descent—staged a series of rolling strikes that vividly demonstrated the power of that integrated workforce (see "Germany: Metal Workers Strikes Rattle Government," *WV* No. 782, 31 May). Late last month, construction workers in the IG Bau industrial union staged the first nationwide strike in that industry since World War II. The week-long strike, which ended on June 25, forced the building trades bosses to grant a 3.2 percent pay hike with a further 2.4 percent increase effective next spring.

Particularly significant was that the union actively reached out to foreign-born workers and sought to organize them into the union. This is all the more notable in the context of the racist anti-immigrant hysteria being whipped up by the Social Democrats (SPD), who govern the country in coalition with the bourgeois Greens. SPD chancellor Gerhard Schröder is competing with right-wing Christian Democratic (CDU) candidate Edmund Stoiber over who is hardest on "public safety," a code word for racist cop terror against immigrants and their families.

The following is a translation of a 24 June leaflet distributed by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD).

SPARTAKIST

Equal pay at union rates for all workers, east or west, foreign, immigrant or German!

Organize the unorganized!

Police out of the DGB!

Stop the fascists through worker/immigrant mobilizations!

Racist state terror of SPD/PDS/Greens paves the way for Stoiber/Schill/Möllemann!

No vote to SPD or PDS!

For a multiethnic revolutionary workers party!

Berlin, Potsdamer Platz, June 20: Over 200 striking building workers had formed an effective picket line in front of the Beisheim Center construction site when private cops in dark suits tried to bring a group of Portuguese workers onto the struck building site. There was an appeal to the workers over the megaphone, in German and Portuguese, not to let themselves be misused as scabs. An IG Bau representative called out that this strike is for all workers, including for better pay for foreign workers. After he called for support to the strike, the Portuguese workers applauded and refused to go onto the building site. The striking building workers cheered and called out, "Long live international solidarity!" This shows that what's at stake here is a lot more than 4.5 percent: German, foreign and immigrant workers can only push forward their interests together, or they will be beaten back separately.

At the same time, 30 workers were arrested during the general strike in Spain while European Union (EU) government heads were meeting in Seville. The German capitalist government, led by SPD chancellor Schröder, was in the front line there beefing up "Fortress Europe" against immigrants. We Spartakists said from the start that the EU is an imperialist trade bloc which exists to better represent the interests of the exploiters against the working class and oppressed. We stand for a United Socialist States of Europe. Now SPD president Rau has signed the so-called "immigration law," whose racist regulations include preventing 12-year-old children [from non-EU countries] from living with their parents. Against this, we Spartakists fight for full citizenship rights for everyone who has made it here.

In the building strike, the foreign workers have been subjected to enormous pressure. The threat of having work permits taken away or of being deported is a loaded weapon of the capitalist state, affecting foreign and immigrant workers in the first instance but directed against all workers. If it is to defend itself, the whole working class must defend its most vulnerable elements. At all the building sites, the cops are in place to protect strikebreakers. They are not "fellow workers," as the IG Bau leadership preaches, but the armed fist of the bourgeois state, which exists to protect the private property of the capitalist class and the system of exploitation. We demand: Police out of the DGB [trade-union federation]! The IG Bau is being threatened by the bourgeois courts with a fine of 250,000 euros if they "impede" scabs. To be beaten back, this attack by the state against the building workers union requires the solidarity of all unions. Down with all laws against unions and against the right to strike!

The striking building workers received solidarity greetings from the workers organized in ver.di [public employees union], who shut down day-care centers in a four-hour strike on June 20. They are fighting against the SPD/PDS Berlin Senate [municipal government], which is trying to "clean up" the bankrupt city for the bourgeoisie at the expense of the workers and oppressed. The privatization of day care that they're railroading through means closures and fee increases, driving working women out of jobs and back to the kitchen. The bourgeois nuclear family is the main instrument for the oppression of women. It is precisely the women and children of ethnic minorities and women in the poorer east [Germany] who are most affected by these cuts. For free, quality childcare around the clock!

Many workers say to us that the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] moved "to the right" when it entered the Berlin Senate. However, the PDS has always made clear that its goal is to be allowed to help run capitalism—only "more socially." But the capitalist economic system functions to maximize profit. The working class only gets what it struggles for. We Spartakists fight for the smashing of the capitalist system through workers revolution, so that those who produce the wealth also rule. For an international planned economy! Because of its planned economy, we defended the DDR [East Germany] against capitalist counterrevolution in 1989-90 and fought for a proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy. The PDS, formed from the collapsing Stalinist bureaucracy, led the pro-communist workers of the DDR into the counterrevolution. Since then, the capitalist class—not least in the building industry—has been trying to play off the workers of the east against the workers of the west. And workers from the East European countries which have been devastated by counterrevolution are exploited for starvation wages. This strike can be a powerful blow against this attempt to divide the working class.

In the Bundestag [parliamentary] elections in 1998, we Spartakists said: No vote for SPD or PDS! With the slogan "We are willing," the SPD promised the capitalists that it would go after the unions and immigrants and that it would make war. Everything we warned about has happened. Even so, the bureaucracy that runs the unions is for the SPD. For instance, in May the IG Metall leadership obediently ended its strike action after two weeks when Schröder made it clear that a long strike could cost his government a victory in the Bundestag elections in September. The servile politics of the union bureaucracy encourage the capitalists to launch further attacks—against the building workers union and other unions or, as now, against the unemployed.

The coming election campaign promises to be viciously racist and nationalist. The SPD is competing with the CDU and FDP [the capitalist Free Democratic Party] in this. And the PDS, which carries out police terror and deportations in the states where it is in the government, has now helped the SPD/Green government push through the immigration law. While the slogan of many pseudo-left groups, like Linksruck or Gruppe Arbeitermacht (Workers Power—GAM), during the 1997 building workers strike was "Kohl must go" in order to persuade the working class to again vote for the SPD or PDS as a "lesser evil," today they're calling to "Stop Stoiber" or "Stop Schill" [the ultrarightist top cop in Hamburg]. But it is the racist politics of the SPD and PDS that pave the way for the right. What we need is a multiethnic revolutionary workers party!

On May 31, amid the loud applause of 20,000 demonstrators, IG Bau president Wiesehügel proclaimed the slogan: "Foreign co-workers welcome! Attack dumping companies [that pay sub-minimum wages]!" It's good that the leadership of the IG Bau is saying today that the dumping wages are illegal and not the workers, but in 1997 the IG Bau leadership was still organizing racist raids on building sites, together with the cops. The fatal policies of the bureaucracy, aimed at collaboration with the capitalist class, haven't changed, and that was demonstrated again at a rally of some 2,000 building workers in Hamburg on June 24. When a representative of the building industry bosses came onto the stage at the invitation of the union, he launched a vicious tirade against "illegal" workers—until the assembled workers shut him up with loud booing and shouts of "Liar!" And it's only recently that the IG Bau, under pressure from union members, threw out the FDP industrialist Möllemann, an anti-Semitic demagogue. The fact that in the east the union needs to fight for its very survival right now is due to the 1997 sell-out, with settlements imposing wage cuts for east and west and "company-by-company agreements." And while at the moment the IG Bau union wants to organize foreign workers, their president Wiesehügel is an SPD Bundestag member and votes for the laws which are directed against these workers and thus against all building workers: *Rasterfahndung* [computerized "racial profiling"], the immigration law, deployment of the Bundeswehr [army], etc.

The fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants and against deportations is a fight against the politics of the SPD and PDS. So it's not surprising that organizations like the GAM, which is intervening into this strike with its "Mobile Solidarity Committee," doesn't mention the question of the fight against racism and against divisions in the working class—***the central questions of this strike***. That is because of their support to the SPD and PDS. By contrast, the Spartakist Workers Party fights to break the proletarian base of the SPD and PDS from the pro-capitalist leadership of these parties and to win them to the communist program. We are fighting to build an international revolutionary workers party to sweep away once and for all the capitalist system of exploitation, racism and war.■

AP

Plambeck/HCP

Left: IG Bau strike pickets in Munich. Below: Union demonstrates in Berlin in lead-up to strike.

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Now into the Twilight Zone

With the seizure of the person (one can't say "arrest," for the government has announced it has no intention of prosecuting) of the American citizen alleged to have been planning "dirty bomb" strikes against U.S. targets, Ahdullah Al-Muhajir (nè Jose Padilla), the government goes down a dark and long road, the destination of which can only be—the Twilight Zone (with apologies to the late Rod Serling).

A charge, under Anglo-American jurisprudence, is only a charge, and remains so only until a duly-constituted selection and decision of one's peers—a jury, decides otherwise.

This is the boast that Americans have used for over two centuries, to hold their noses higher than the rest of the allegedly uncivilized world, as an expression of their trust in the wisdom, and insight of the average American citizen, to decide the fate of their fellows.

Under the present Bush regime, however, there is a marked perception that the American people, and more importantly, the institutions erected in their name, are not to be trusted.

This view was apparently one of long standing.

Let us go back, back—way back to the days of the 2000 elections for the (electoral college's) choice of who would be President of the United States of America. Do you remember when the Republican lawyers appealed the decision of the Florida Supreme Court? It was not merely that the Bush-Cheney government-in-exile mistrusted the machinations of the Florida Supreme Court. The Court's second recount order did more than order a selective recount in certain counties—yes. Florida's Supremes ordered its lower circuit and county judiciary—essentially trial judges—to do much of the counting! Therefore, the reversal of the order of the Florida Supreme Court did far more than slap the faces of the Supremes—it, at least implicitly, suggested that the circuit court judges in the affected counties were not to be trusted!

Ever since the promulgation of the military tribunals, which had no tie-in with the civil, state or federal judiciary, there has been the sense that the Administration has little or no trust in the nation's judicial apparatus, that somehow they were unable or perhaps unwilling to come out with the results that the Bush Regime would approve of.

No civil courts, no judges, and no juries—what does this say about how much the Administration trusts, not only people in other branches of government, but average Americans themselves?

Not much, it seems.

If these same types of things were happening in, say, Peru, or North Korea, or Zimbahwe, so-called human rights activists would be baying to the moon about "shadow government," "secret, unreviewable tribunals," and the big one—"the lack of democracy."

But, the silence is deafening.

The right has so cowed what passes for the "left" in America that they bite their tongues bloody, to prove they are "proud Americans" while a de facto coup takes shape right before their very eyes.

Secret Tribunals. Unlimited detention. Military courts. No right to counsel (such as it is!). Incommunicado.

Is this Fujimori's Peru? Is this Botha's South Africa?

Is this government by the people, or government by fiat?

This, then, is the real consequences of the sham democracy that is America at the beginning of the 21st Century. Where legislators are but bagmen for industry, and when the press is but a wholly-owned subsidiary of yet another big business conglomerate.

Fujimori had his boogiemen—the Sendero Luminoso (aka "Shining Path") to whip the bourgeoisie into lockstep with the neo-fascist narco-kleptocracy.

Botha had his boogiemen—the African National Congress (and the PAC, and Biko, and AZAPO, etc.) to whip the white bourgeoisie into lockstep with the Herrenvolk, white-supremacist, racist-fascist military dictatorship.

Bush has Al-Qaeda—a plastic, ever-changing, shapeless boogieman, which is being used to whip the nation's bourgeoisie into an unconstitutional frenzy of spycraft, skullduggery, and unprecedented federal intrusion into the lives, opinions, and beliefs of millions of Americans.

Is such-and-such a thing true? Who knows? The government said it, so...?

We are watching the very erection of Papa Bush's New World Order, and it ain't pretty.

What are you going to do about it?

12 June 2002

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Send urgently needed contrihutions for Mumia's legal defense, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal," to: Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SC1 Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Korea...

(continued from page 2)

remaining deformed workers states–China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. Washington demands that North Korea abandon development of long-range missiles and rails against its supposed plans to build nuclear weapons. The U.S., meanwhile, is proceeding with a "theater missile defense system" whose targets include North Korea and particularly China. The international working class must defend the right of the deformed workers states to have nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the imperialist war criminals. Had the Soviet Union not possessed a nuclear arsenal capable of deterring U.S. imperialism, there would have been no Cuban Revolution, no Vietnamese Revolution, and China and Korea would be irradiated rubble.

Seizing on the supposed threat posed by China and North Korea, Japanese government spokesmen have raised the spectre of developing a nuclear arsenal. This has provoked a predictable uproar both from Japan's East Asian neighbors and within its own population, whose ingrained hostility to nuclear weapons is rooted in still-living memories of the 1945 incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by American A-bombs. In pursuit of its imperialist ambitions in Asia, the Japanese government has been rearming apace in recent years, and right-wing prime minister Junichiro Koizumi came to office last year on a program of open Japanese militarism. In a powerful act of proletarian opposition to this renewed militarism, dock workers in the port of Sasebo last fall refused to load armaments and military supplies onto Japanese ships headed to assist the U.S.-led war of terror against Afghanistan (see "Japanese Longshoremen Refuse to Load Warships," *WV* No. 770, 7 December 2001).

Imperialist belligerence toward the North has all but capsized the "Sunshine Policy" of South Korean president Kim Dae Jung, whose attempts at "engaging" Pyongyang were aimed at undermining the deformed workers state through capitalist economic penetration. North Korean leader Kim Jong Il responded to Seoul's overtures by further opening up limited areas for capitalist investment. But especially following June 29, opposition parties in the South are echoing the Bush administration's tirades against the North. Whatever the tactical differences between Kim Dae Jung and his imperialist masters in Washington, both are guided by the goal of capitalist counter-revolution in North Korea.

The cultist, nepotistic Stalinist regime of Kim Jong Il, who succeeded his father Kim Il Sung, undermines the defense of the North Korean workers state. The bureaucracy's autarkic notion of *juche* (self-reliance) is rooted in the Stalinist lie that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance—can be built in one country, or even half of one. This nationalist dogma is counterposed to a perspective for international socialist revolution, and particularly to any struggle for workers revolution against the South Korean bourgeoisie. The North Korean Stalinists have long called for "peaceful reunification" with the South—a recipe for *capitalist* reunification and annexation of the North by the Seoul bourgeoisie.

What is crucially needed is a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the struggle for the *revalutianary reunificatian af Korea—far socialist revalutian in the Sauth and warkers palitical revolutian in the Narth ta oust the Stalinist bureaucrats!* The fate of the Korean workers North and South is tied up with that of the working class in the imperialist centers, particularly Japan and the U.S. The creation of a revolutionary, unified Korea would have an enormous impact on the proletariat of Japan, not least its oppressed Korean minority. In turn, socialist revolution in Japan would put the enormous productive resources of that country at the disposal of the working class throughout East Asia, laying the basis for a socialist Asia. Our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan are committed to the struggle to forge a Leninist vanguard party to lead the fight for proletarian revolution in Japan. For our part, the Spartacist League/U.S. fights to build the revolutionary workers party—part of a reforged Fourth International—that can lead the multiracial proletariat in socialist revolution to sweep away rapacious U.S. imperialism, the most dangerous force on the planet.■

Long Beach Anarchists...

(continued from page 8)

FBI and Secret Service, he was released only to be rearrested minutes later by the Feds under the sinister Patriot Act. Branded a "terrorist" in the courtroom, Austin was denied bail as the judge deemed him a "threat to the community." After 15 days in New York and Oklahoma prisons, Austin was released and all charges were dropped due to lack of evidence.

The threats and harassment are not limited to those who participated in the May Day protest. The Long Beach Infoshoppe, a bookstore and community center in part set up by Lamont and Sherman, has been under surveillance since its opening in November. Police linger outside looking to hound these activists, following them, ticketing one for jaywalking and another for riding a bicycle without the proper license and issuing a citation for spitting on the sidewalk.

This systematic campaign of harassment and repression occurs in the context of the new FBI rules, which allow the agency to infiltrate political and religious groups, conduct surreptitious break-ins of homes and offices and seize information without a shred of evidence of *any* criminal activity. This "anti-terror" campaign is reminiscent of the "Red Scare" repression following the 1917 Russian Revolution, which found resonance in the Long Beach/San Pedro port area. In 1922, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) members in Los Angeles were rounded up by police under the "criminal syndicalism law." This repression intensified after IWW-led efforts to organize longshore and maritime workers culminated in the 1923 "Great San Pedro Strike." Police began throwing 50 men at a time in to a single jail cell without ventilation, beating many. Those who protested the arrests or attempted to distribute political literature were rounded up. This bloody police repression, along with the hiring of thousands of scabs, overwhelmed the strikers and drove the IWW out of the Los Angeles area. At the time, the *Los Angeles Times* wrote, "The challenge to ordered government has been given, and it must be met...stockades and forced labor are a good remedy for IWW terrorism."

Today, the Long Beach ports are worked by thousands of members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). It is key that Long Beach activists understand that in order to fight state repression, the social power of the working class must be mobilized. If the ILWU workers, who are under the gun of the same capitalist state, had a victorious strike in their current contract battle, it would help enormously in staying the hand of the state.

On February 9 in Oakland, the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee organized a labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrant rights and against the government's new repressive laws. At the core of the protest was a contingent of longshoremen. As we wrote in *WV* No. 783 (14 June), "We had better fight for more and larger such mobilizations in defense of our rights against a government whose equation of political advocacy with a criminal terrorist enterprise is a license to kill." Political differences notwithstanding, we uphold the time-honored IWW principle that an injury to one is an injury to all and defend the Long Beach activists against capitalist state repression. ***Drop all charges against Matt Lamant, Maxwell Lucas and Jeff Hendricks! Free the Muy Day pratesters! Hands off Sherman Austin!***

Send donations for legal defense to the Long Beach Anarchist Defense Committee at: LBADC, Box 146, 5710 E. 7th St., Long Beach, CA 90803.■

Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics

Assisting the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) in going after the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), the bourgeois media rarely fails to mention, in duly inflated figures, current longshore wages. *Pacific Business News* (1 July) put starting yearly wages "in the $80,000" range and on June 27 the Associated Press, citing the maritime association, gave a figure of $107,000 for a full-time worker.

The inclusion of these figures is meant to portray longshoremen as overpaid and thus not worthy of the support of other workers, while downplaying the greed factor of the cabal of import/export concerns, shipping line magnates and cargo bosses on the docks. (Just by way of comparison, take CSX Corp., the intermodal shipping and transportation concern, whose CEO raked in $18,085,060 for 2001.)

We like the way Wobbly leader "Big Bill" Haywood put it: "Nothing is too good for the proletariat!" Particularly for black workers in the San Francisco Bay Area, longshore jobs represent the only real chance many have of escaping poverty. But we feel compelled to expose the truth behind this sleight of hand by the capitalist media. To begin with, $80K a year hardly qualifies as luxurious, especially if you're trying to feed and house a family in L.A. or San Francisco.

Moreover, the number who receive anywhere near these figures is pretty small. In its 2001 annual report, the PMA shows the average earnings paid to an *A-man* as $82,895 (down over $1,000 from the year before). Those registered workers with an A rating have at least 2000 hours of work logged, which includes only 55 percent of all longshoremen. A-men get first chance for a job, and consequently work the skilled jobs and shifts that pay a premium. A typical registered worker with a B rating, which in the San Francisco area at the moment means approximately three years' seniority, gets $20.94 an hour—about what a high seniority professional secretary makes, and significantly less than a skilled craft worker. Paid hours for longshore casuals, non-registered workers who get last pick, dropped *30 percent* from 2000 to 2001. We've known casual workers who were forced to live *in their cars* in the union's parking lot. A crucial demand in this regard is for equalizing the pay for equal work at the highest level, and for a sliding scale of wages and hours to spread the available work at no loss in pay.

Then there's the fact that the annual wages bandied about by the press aren't based on a 40-hour week. At a base rate of $27.68, paid to the highest seniority workers, the yearly salary would be $55,360. In order to make the money they do, A-men often work 10-hour days, six days a week (sometimes double shifts), typically at night and on the weekends, to get the shift differential and overtime pay. A privileged minority of skilled equipment operators work as "steady men," reporting exclusively to a single stevedoring company and earning significantly more than longshoremen working out of the dispatch hall. But even they are often forced to double back for extra shifts out of the hall in order to make house payments and send their children to college. For most A-men an income even approaching six figures comes at considerable physical risk, undertaken in the desperate hope of being able to accumulate enough money to keep oneself and one's family going after age and injuries make it impossible to do this work at all.

And it is the injury rate that tells the real story here. Hard class struggle in the 1930s won workers on the West Coast waterfront a modicum of control over job conditions which made their work qualitatively safer, but those gains have been under attack by the companies ever since. Injuries and accidents increased significantly with containerization in the early '60s, which subsquently pushed the six-hour shift to eight while simultaneously speeding up the loading and unloading process, moving much heavier equipment and cargo much faster around the docks.

The PMA indicates that 414 lashers, 377 semi-tractor drivers, 239 holdmen and 227 ILWU mechanics (to name just the most dangerous job categories) were injured during 2001—nearly one in eight longshoremen. There were over 24,000 lost-time injuries in longshore and harbor work nationally in 2000. For that year, Bureau of Labor Statistics figures give the median number of days away from work due to injury in all occupations as six, while for stevedores it was 29, giving an indication of the seriousness of the injuries. Seventeen died from work handling marine cargo.

These statistics on job-related casualties the capitalists and their media mouthpieces don't mention. But when it comes to the cops, the armed thugs of the bosses' state, we're positively bombarded with everything from facts and figures on injuries "in the line of duty" to the text of mayoral speeches and pictures of grieving widows at police funerals. The truth of the matter is that it is a lot riskier to hold down an industrial job than to terrorize the ghetto poor. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures for 15 selected occupations for 1997 ranked cops next to the bottom in fatal injuries per capita on the job (*Compensation and Working Conditions*, Summer 1999). A total of 151 cops were killed on the job in 2000; compare that with 523 truckers. You're ten times more likely to die if you're a timber cutter than if you're a cop!

Our answer to all this? A socialist society in which managers don't earn 218 times as much as laborers, production is run safely for the needs of all, and power lies in the hands of those who work.

Longshore...

(continued from page 16)

Socialist Organization and Workers World Party enthused over how inspiring the more-patriotic-than-thou Oakland rally was. Some from the *News & Letters* group piped up only to question the presence of Bustamante. Unlike these groups which pander to the "progressive" image of the ILWU bureaucracy, we in the Spartacist League reject the "national unity" patriotism which targets immigrants as the first victims of capitalist exploitation and oppression, and is now being used against the organized workers movement itself. As we have written in our press and argued for in discussions with longshoremen, the ILWU must take up the fight for union rights and union-scale wages for port truckers, and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

On February 9, the Labor Black League for Social Defense and Partisan Defense Committee initiated a labor-centered united-front protest in downtown Oakland that broke through the post-September 11 "national unity" straitjacket. With longshoremen at its core, the rally was directed against the anti-immigrant witchhunt, opposing both the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act. The protest gave a taste of labor's power when organized under its own banners, independent of the capitalist state and its political parties.

Bureaucratic Chauvinism vs. International Class Struggle

In order to fight, you must understand who are your friends and who are your enemies. Workers and capitalists do not have common national interests; to the contrary, their interests are *irreconcilably counterposed*. The state does not float above all class conflicts as some neutral arbiter. Rather, it acts as the executive committee of the capitalists, wielding armed force—police, courts, prisons, army—to maintain their class rule and increase their profits.

The Democrats no less than the Republicans have used the horrible attack on the World Trade Center in order to pursue U.S. imperialist aims abroad and crack down on the working class at home. At the end of June, Ted Kennedy and seven other Democratic Senators wrote Bush asking him not to intervene in the ongoing port negotiations. Forty-five House Democrats wrote both the PMA and ILWU urging them to bargain in "good faith." While this is portrayed as a signal of their support for labor, these capitalist politicians intervene only to *head off* the union from exercising its social power against the bosses. In his remarks to a strike support meeting in San Francisco on July 2, ILWU Local 10 president Richard Mead inadvertently captured the danger to the ranks of the bureaucracy's fealty to the Democratic Party: the fact that the Democrats had signed on to oppose government intervention in the negotiations, Mead said, meant that the union "couldn't just raise hell" in order to retain their support.

Partaking of the outlook of the capitalists, the union bureaucracy with its chauvinism projects an alliance with the enemies of the working class in the U.S. against class brothers and sisters abroad. Thus the union tops indulged in an orgy of anti-Asian bigotry and "buy American" protectionism at the June 27 rallies. At the Los Angeles rally, Ponce de Leon hailed, "Red White and Blue, ILWU!" A leaflet issued by Local 13 on June 26 and handed out at the rally ranted:

> "Due to a global market, foreign capital is what dictates the course of the PMA employer group against American workers.
>
> "True and loyal Americans must wonder where the profits go from these companies. Are the American tax dollars spent on increasing profits for third world countries...?"

In Oakland, Teamsters head Jimmy Hoffa Jr. likewise referred to the bureaucrats' anti-Chinese mobilization at the 1999 Seattle anti-WTO protests and denounced "shipping jobs out of America" to China and the "Third World."

This national chauvinism stands directly in the way of organizing together with the superexploited workers of the "Third World" against the U.S. capitalists who go offshore to increase *their* profits. Longshore workers' natural allies are their fellow workers of every ethnic group and nationality—from immigrant port truckers to the workers everywhere in the world who make the goods the ILWU handles. It is in the direct interest of U.S. workers to support the workers of Asia and elsewhere by using their union power independently of Wall Street and Washington. The labor movement should be mobilizing to defend the Chinese workers state from capitalist restoration. Despite its bureaucratic deformities, China embodies the gains of the 1949 Revolution which ripped the country away from the imperialist powers and the Chinese warlords and capitalists.

There is nowhere that the common interests of the international working class are clearer than on the docks, the portals into the world capitalist market. Dock workers internationally are all facing similar attacks. An International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) circular dated 17 June details European Commission plans for a "liberalisation" package, paralleling attacks in the U.S., that will bypass local dock workers altogether, introducing "self handling" of all cargo by the low-wage, non-union seamen on the ships. The ITF circular describes the powerful electronic freight-tracking technology in rapidly increasing use around the world which is at the heart of the PMA's demands for concessions by the ILWU. Moreover, specially trained U.S. customs agents are to be stationed in 20 international ports with the freedom to perform pre-emptive checks on the manifests of containers before they leave port; agents are already on their way to three major ports in Europe.

On June 14, 10,000 port workers took part in protests across Europe against the European Union's planned port deregulation law. In Hamburg, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany mobilized youth to support the dock workers and argue for our program of class-struggle mobilization. Dock workers applauded our contingent and enthusiastically entered into discussions on our perspective for workers revolution.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party—Fight for a Workers Government!

Everyone knows that the highly developed electronic freight-tracking technology being introduced today in ports around the world can eliminate enormous amounts of work. But as long as it is in the hands of the capitalist shippers, shipping lines and terminal and port operators, they will use it to increase their profits at the expense of the workers, because the capitalist system of production for profit dictates that they do so. It is the same in other areas of transport, in manufacturing and distribution.

If the capitalists are incapable of running a high-tech economy without creating mass misery and gaping social inequity, let the workers take over the ownership of the whole of industry and run it for the benefit of the whole working population under proletarian democracy. The ports are engaged in interlocking international trade in a market that has virtually penetrated every corner of the globe since the middle of the 19th century. It will take rational international planning to clean up the mess that capitalism has made of the planet. That is the perspective we fight for, to rebuild society on the principles of international socialism.

To do this, it is necessary to wage a political struggle within the unions to forge a new, class-struggle leadership. Even the most "progressive" union leadership limited to a consciousness based on trade-union struggle cannot go beyond the fight to improve the condition of the workers *within* capitalist society. What is needed is to do away with the entire rotting system of capitalist exploitation and oppression. For this, labor needs a party of its own, one that is firmly based on the program of international workers revolution with a membership that is imbued with communist consciousness. Like the party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the 1917 Russian Revolution to victory, it must be built by the fusion of the most politically conscious militants in the unions with intellectuals who have struggled to carry forward that program. The Spartacist League has set for itself the task of building that party to secure the interests of the working class as a whole through new Octobers. We urge thoughtful workers seeking the path forward for the working class to read and discuss with us. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Government Uses "National Security" to Threaten Longshoremen

ILWU: Union Gains Under the Gun

National Chauvinism: Poison to Class Struggle

SAN FRANCISCO, July 7—Workers internationally are watching the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), whose contract expired on July 1. The 10,500 West Coast longshoremen have the power to beat back the threatened attacks by the terminal operators and cargo distributors represented by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). Faced with the prospect of a strike which would bring an immediate halt to the movement of cargo worth $260 billion a year, the Bush administration went into high gear on behalf of the employers. The White House announced it was monitoring contract talks, "encouraging the parties to reach an agreement," with the implicit threat of presidential intervention to stop any strike action.

Far more menacing is the unprecedented involvement of Tom Ridge, presiding over the broad attacks on democratic rights dubbed "Homeland Security," who called ILWU International president Jim Spinosa as early as mid June, "warning him that a strike could threaten national security" (*ABC News*, 27 June). Since then both Ridge and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld have been on the phone to Spinosa regularly.

These efforts to strong-arm the ILWU bureaucracy come just weeks after the House passed an even more draconian version of the Senate's maritime security bill that is intended to purge the waterfront workforce. The House bill includes the vast expansion of the Coast Guard and criminal background checks of *all* port workers.

Under the watchword of defending the "national interest," these sinister moves are aimed straight at the heart of the working class. This was aptly summed up by Alexander Cockburn writing online on June 27, "As so often throughout the twentieth century, national security is being used to justify strike-breaking,

WV Photo

June 27: As West Coast shipping bosses take aim at ILWU union hiring hall, longshore workers rally in Oakland.

invocation of the Taft-Hartley Act and declarations of national emergency to shut down labor activism and if necessary throw labor organizers in jail." The "national interest" is the *class* interest of the bourgeoisie, not the workers!

Union Tops Salute "National Security" and the Democrats

It could not be clearer that longshoremen must be mobilized in action to beat back these attacks. Instead the ILWU leadership has mobilized the rank and file to salute the flag, abjectly reassuring the capitalist rulers that the last thing they want is class struggle. Looking to the capitalist Democratic Party to pressure the White House and spewing protectionist poison, the union tops have adopted a policy that chains labor to its class enemies and prevents the union from bringing its enormous social power to bear.

The union misleaders are giving up the union's chief weapon, the power to strike, emboldening the capitalists and ultimately demoralizing the workers. Steve Stallone, ILWU communications director, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (28 June), "It would take weeks to authorize a strike, and no one has even made a move in that direction.... No strike is being planned." The union agreed to extend the current contract on a day-to-day basis, which keeps the no-strike provision in effect and gives the PMA "more leverage to respond to possible job actions by dock workers," as the *Journal of Commerce* (2 July) was quick to note.

Spinosa & Co. closed ranks behind the "war on terror" last fall, when they endorsed the call for increased security on the waterfront and proposed that longshoremen be its guardians. The ILWU International has offered up the overwhelmingly immigrant port truckers, vituperating that "unknown truck drivers are being allowed free access to our work environment" (see "Bosses Target Dock Workers," *WV* No. 769, 23 November 2001). Much has been made of the tripartite alliance between the ILWU, the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and the Teamsters, which claims that it is organizing 50,000 port truckers. But port truckers in California report little evidence of an organizing drive, and the *People's Weekly World* (22 June) reports that the ILWU and ILA "claim jurisdiction" over trucking within and between port terminals—which sounds a lot like kicking the current non-union drivers out of their jobs. Using port truckers as a scapegoat, the bureaucracy is playing on ethnic divisions among waterfront workers and effectively diverting the ranks' anger away from its own refusal to defend the membership.

In the Bay Area, ILWU Local 10 members are rightly proud that the old Wobbly slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all" is emblazoned on their union banner. But these words fly in the face of the national chauvinist outlook and actions of the longshore tops. Rallies called up and down the coast on June 27 were saturated with "America first" chauvinism. In L.A./Long Beach, Local 13 president Ramon Ponce de Leon Jr., flanked by the American and California flags, opened the rally with the Pledge of Allegiance. The couple of thousand unionists there split on the issue, some joining in and some remaining silent.

In Oakland, the ILWU put Democratic lieutenant governor Cruz Bustamante forward to lead the heavily black and traditionally militant union ranks in the Pledge of Allegiance. Black workers remember all too well that in February last year, in a speech for Black History Month, Bustamante referred to the "National N---r American Labor Council" (only one of the vile public slurs—against homosexuals, Mexican immigrants, Asians—he has made). His remarks provoked a quarter of those at the annual awards dinner of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists to walk out. This entirely fitting representative of the Democratic Party, which is dedicated to preserving racist capitalist rule, is hailed by the union tops as a "friend of labor." Providing a platform for this racist, anti-immigrant capitalist politician is precisely the opposite of what is needed: a class-struggle fight to defend black and immigrant rights, which go hand in hand.

At a July 2 meeting of the "ILWU Strike Support Committee" in the San Francisco area, members of the International

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Police Terror U.S.A.

A big part of the bosses' "national unity" crusade has been to paint the racist, strikebreaking cops as "heroes." The videotaped police torture of 16-year-old Donovan Jackson in Inglewood, California on July 6 is a brutal reminder to any who needed it how big a lie that is. Returning to his car after paying a gas station bill, the black youth was jumped by two cops who were questioning his father about expired license plates. One of the cops dragged Jackson, who has learning and speech difficulties, by his necklace, slammed his head against the police car and punched him in the face. Jackson's "only crime," his lawyer said later, "was paying for gas at the wrong time on the wrong day."

Drawn by the screams of horrified onlookers, a nearby motel resident started filming the attack. This tape, like the one of the 1991 LAPD beating of black motorist Rodney King, shows what happens all the time in the country's ghettos and barrios. One black woman told TV reporters, "It's an atrocity. It's bad enough that we have to be afraid of terrorists in other countries, let alone have this kind of reaction in our own country." It is the cops who are the "state-sponsored terrorists" black, Latino and working people have to fear most.

Crooks/AP

WORKERS VANGUARD

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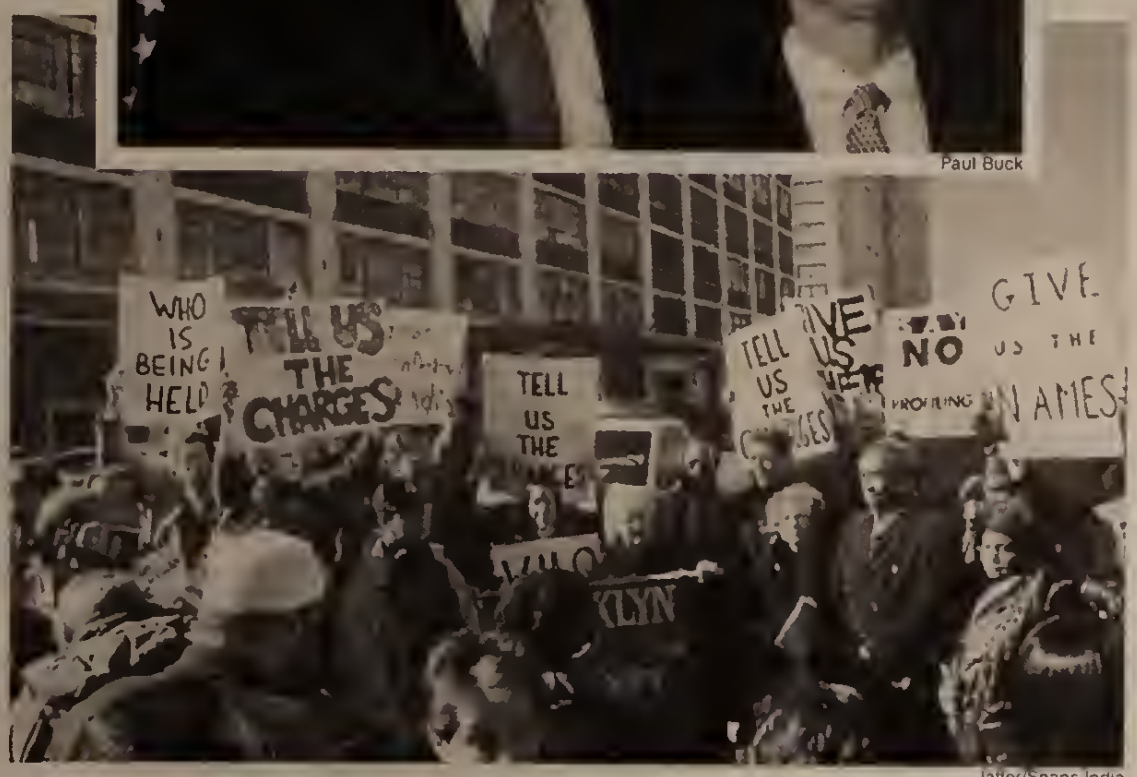
No. 785

9 August 2002

Feds Shred Constitutional Rights

Big Brother on the Loose

Paul Buck



Jaffer/Snaps India

Brooklyn protest against secret detention of immigrants, part of Bush/Ashcroft's domestic "war on terror." Witchhunt of Near Eastern and South Asian immigrants is spearhead of attacks on democratic rights of entire population.

The fervor with which Arthur Andersen and Enron executives took to shredding evidence of their corporate plunder is nothing compared to that with which their buddies in the Bush administration have been shredding the Bill of Rights in the aftermath of September 11. Starting with the roundup and secret detentions of some 1,200 immigrants of Muslim background, Bush and Attorney General John Ashcroft rammed through the draconian USA-Patriot Act authorizing widespread wiretapping, surveillance and break-ins on the basis of political advocacy; implemented new FBI guidelines reviving the Feds' deadly COINTELPRO campaign of surveillance, intimidation, disruption and frame-up; ordered military tribunals for non-citizens designated by Washington as "terrorists" and a slew of other repressive measures.

The government's "war on terror" is in fact a war on democratic and legal rights which date back centuries in English and American law. Among those on the chopping block are the right to a jury trial and *habeas corpus* challenges to unlawful imprisonment, both of which have long been hailed as crowning achievements of Western democracy. According to the government, anybody Bush designates as an "enemy combatant" can be thrown into a military prison with no legal recourse—the Bush administration no longer sees any need to even concoct a frame-up prosecution. If the government labels you a "terrorist" it means you're an outlaw to whom they can do anything they want.

Under Bush and Ashcroft, all those caught in the government's "anti-terror" dragnet embark on a Kafkaesque journey into Alice in Wonderland where the only rule is that there are no rules. The most recent twist is Ashcroft's new "turn in your neighbor" plan called TIPS (Terrorism Information and Prevention System), where he and Bush seek to mobilize over a million American workers to become snitches in the name of promoting "homeland security." Meanwhile, Congress is expected to soon pass the Homeland Security Act, creating a massive federal agency to coordinate the government's police-state designs. Just in case this isn't enough, the Pentagon is openly ruminating about eliminating the posse comitatus law restricting the use of the military within the United States.

With the cases of John Walker Lindh, Zacarias Moussaoui, Yasser Esam Hamdi, Abdullah al-Muhajir (Jose Padilla) and the thousands detained at Guantánamo, the government seeks to institutionalize in the American "justice" system norms regularly associated with the right-wing dictatorships they prop up around the world. The prosecution and/or treatment of these prisoners raises fundamental questions of democratic rights relating to everything from government secrecy, right to effective counsel, preventive detentions, military tribunals and the rights of prisoners of war. The government is also using these cases to bolster thought-crime conspiracy laws, whose victims are prosecuted on the basis of political views and associations rather than any actions they've carried out. Historically, these laws have been used to imprison countless union militants, fighters for black rights, leftists and anyone the government perceives to be an enemy.

The government has been able to ram through its new laws and executive orders by pushing the illusion that they were intended for a specific small and vulnerable sector of the population—immigrants from Muslim countries. But now American citizens Lindh, Hamdi and Muhajir have all been rounded up and face decades in prison with no shred of evidence that they committed any crimes. Though citizens, Hamdi and Muhajir have been denied access to an attorney and bail and have had no charges filed against them which they can combat in a court of law. And if the government gets its way, they—and many more to follow—will be held indefinitely. The *New York Times* (16 July) noted that the treatment of Hamdi and Muhajir suggests "that the government may now view ordinary trials as more trouble than they are worth."

As we pointed out last winter, "The purpose of the new measures is to revive and deepen the broad-ranging repression and intimidation that marked the Cold War McCarthyite witchhunt of 50 years ago. The aim today as then is to coerce the entire population into ideological conformity, with the government wielding the spectre of seemingly pervasive 'Islamic terrorism' as a surrogate for Communism" ("Anti-Terror Law: Shredding Your Rights," *WV* No. 770, 7 December 2001). The American population is now told to accept repression of their rights as the norm for an endless "war on terror."

Were it not so pernicious, this ideological onslaught would be comical—in an insane kind of way. Anti-drug television commercials have portrayed teenagers smoking a joint as abetting international terrorism. Last week Cincinnati Reds general manager Jim Bowden went after the Players' Association, declaring that if baseball players do go on strike, "make sure it's Sept. 11" because it would be like flying "the plane right into the building"!

The administration's plans have not slid through without opposition. A number of courts have directed the Immigration and Naturalization Service to open hearings to the public. On August 2, federal court judge Gladys Kessler ordered the government to finally reveal the names of those rounded up in the post-9/11 dragnets, citing a court decision from the 1960s that "secret arrests are 'a concept odious to a democratic society'." The government plans to appeal Judge Kessler's ruling, hysterically declaring that her ruling "increases the risk of future terrorist threats to our nation."

Behind the "anti-terror" witchhunt is the bourgeoisie's need to stifle any dissent as it pursues its ambitions for world domination. Writing in "The Evil That Lurks in the Enemy Within," Richard Gid Powers cites columnist Andrew Sullivan's ominous characterization of leftist opposition to the government's "anti-terror" drive: "The decadent left in its enclaves on the coasts is not dead—and may well mount what amounts to a Fifth Column" (*New York Times*, 16 June). Across the country activists protesting Israel's devastation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been brutally beaten and arrested.

It is absolutely vital for the labor movement to fight against the government's wholesale attacks on democratic rights. The laws and directives that today mainly target immigrants will ultimately be used to target black people and the whole working class. Under the USA-Patriot Act, striking postal workers who mobilize to stop or disable a scab truck could be charged as "terrorists." Last December's jailing of over 200 striking New Jersey teachers, whose spokesman was vilified as "the representative of the Taliban," is an example of how the government plans to deal with labor struggle. Even before the July 1 expiration date of the West Coast ILWU longshore contract with the shipping bosses, Homeland Security chief Tom Ridge issued an ominous warning to ILWU International president Jim Spinosa that "a strike would be bad for the national interest."

As sinister as the new "anti-terror" measures are, what the government is actually able to get away with will be determined by the level of social struggle. What is crucial is to mobilize labor's

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In Wake of Inglewood Police Beating

Black Democrats Smother Outrage

LOS ANGELES—The July 6 videotaped beating of black teenager Donovan Jackson-Chavis by Inglewood cop Jeremy Morse has once again brought to the fore the everyday reality of cop terror. Hearing the agonized screams of several onlookers, Mitchell Crooks began filming the assault from a motel across the street. Even before the camera started rolling, Jackson-Chavis, a special education student with learning and speech disabilities, had been brutally attacked by Inglewood cops and L.A. County Sheriffs who were questioning his father about expired registration tags. Jackson-Chavis was struck repeatedly on the face, head and eyes, body-slammed to the ground, maliciously choked with a silver chain he was wearing and rendered unconscious. His father, Coby Chavis, handcuffed in the back of a patrol car, watched helplessly. As Jackson-Chavis' lawyer, Joe Hopkins, commented: "They basically tried to hang him right there...had the chain not broken, we might be looking at a death." At least one of the cops involved called Jackson-Chavis a "n----r."

Crooks' video captured Morse lifting the limp, unconscious body of the handcuffed youth off the ground, viciously slamming his head onto the trunk of a police car and punching him in the face. Crooks had the good sense to turn over his videotape to the media rather than letting it get into the hands of the cops. But for exposing the criminal cop attack on Jackson-Chavis, the capitalist "justice" system rewarded Crooks by hauling him off to jail. Sending an ominous message of intimidation, L.A. County District Attorney Steve Cooley deployed a squad of undercover agents on July 11 to arrest Crooks as he was coming out of an interview at a CNN studio on petty warrants dating from 1999. While Crooks sits in jail, cop Jeremy Morse, who has a long list of other complaints of misconduct and brutality—including beating another black man, Neilson Williams, into a coma in late June—sits at home on paid leave! *Free Mitchell Crooks now!*

One of the signs at a protest in Inglewood following the beating aptly declared: "This Happens Everyday in L.A." From Riverside to Compton, from California to New York, the cops' job is to "serve and protect" the interests of the racist rulers, from terrorizing the ghettos and barrios to busting up picket lines. The police, like the prisons and courts, are at the core of the capitalist state, which is an instrument of organized violence whose purpose is to maintain the rule of the capitalist exploiters.

Beware Democratic Party Hustlers!

No sooner was the video of Jackson-Chavis' beating all over the news than comparisons were made to the infamous Rodney King beating by the LAPD in 1991. The public fury generated by that sadistic attack and the acquittal of the racist cops touched off the 1992 multiracial L.A. upheaval, the largest ever in the U.S., which put into the spotlight the widespread anger and discontent that lies at the base of American society. In the ten years since, with the elimination of millions of industrial jobs and the bipartisan drive to destroy the minimal social "safety net" that existed, the conditions of life in the U.S. have only continued to get worse for working people and the oppressed. There is a lot of social tinder out there that the racist rulers are very aware of and rightfully fear could spark a social conflagration. That Attorney General John Ashcroft, an open admirer of the Confederacy, immediately dispatched a federal investigation team over the Jackson-Chavis beating provides a palpable measure of just how fearful the ruling class was of another upheaval.

Immediately following the airing of the video, prominent black politicos shifted into overdrive to show that "this time it's different," attempting again to co-opt and channel the deep anger at the Inglewood beating into dead-end reforms of the police and electoral support for the capitalist Democratic Party. Black Democratic Congresswoman Maxine Waters, whose district includes Inglewood, immediately called for indictments of the cops involved in the beating and launched the appeal for Ashcroft to intervene with a full investigation.

A July 20 Inglewood Town Hall meeting "To Stop Police Brutality" that drew over 300 people presented a panoply of black elected officials and "community leaders." This ranged from Inglewood's black mayor, Roosevelt Dorn, and Congresswoman Diane Watson to Tony Muhammad from the Nation of Islam and Michael Zinzun, a leader of the Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA). Watson announced that the Congressional

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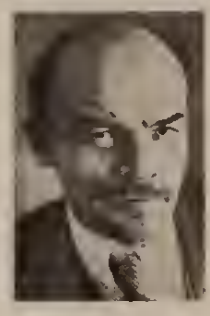
TROTSKY



LENIN

Capitalist Democracy: Tool of Exploitation

In a 1919 speech, Bolshevik revolutionary leader V. I. Lenin exposed the notion that the capitalist state, even in its most "democratic" form, could be anything but an instrument of organized violence for enforcing the rule of the bourgeoisie over the working class and oppressed. Lenin argued that only under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was inaugurated in Soviet Russia by the 1917 October Revolution, would the state serve the interests of the working masses and lay the basis for a truly egalitarian communist society.

Every state in which private ownership of the land and means of production exists, in which capital dominates, however democratic it may be, is a capitalist state, a machine used by the capitalists to keep the working class and the poor peasants in subjection; while universal suffrage, a Constituent Assembly, a parliament are merely a form, a sort of promissory note, which does not change the real state of affairs.

The forms of domination of the state may vary: capital manifests its power in one way where one form exists, and in another way where another form exists—but essentially the power is in the hands of capital, whether there are voting qualifications or some other rights or not, or whether the republic is a democratic one or not—in fact, the more democratic it is the cruder and more cynical is the rule of capitalism. One of the most democratic republics in the world is the United States of America, yet nowhere (and those who have been there since 1905 probably know it) is the power of capital, the power of a handful of multimillionaires over the whole of society, so crude and so openly corrupt as in America. Once capital exists, it dominates the whole of society, and no democratic republic, no franchise can change its nature....

This machine called the state, before which people bowed in superstitious awe, believing the old tales that it means popular rule, tales which the proletariat declares to be a bourgeois lie—this machine the proletariat will smash. So far we have deprived the capitalists of this machine and have taken it over. We shall use this machine, or bludgeon, to destroy all exploitation. And when the possibility of exploitation no longer exists anywhere in the world, when there are no longer owners of land and owners of factories, and when there is no longer a situation in which some gorge while others starve, only when the possibility of this no longer exists shall we consign this machine to the scrap-heap. Then there will be no state and no exploitation.

—V. I. Lenin, "The State" (July 1919)

Inglewood cop brutalization of Donovan Jackson-Chavis: "standard operating procedure" in racist rulers' war against black youth.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is 6 August.

No. 785 **9 August 2002**

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VANCOUVER

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ILWU Threatened by "National Unity" Crusade

Break with the Democrats— For Independent Workers Action!

SAN FRANCISCO, August 5—As they enter the fourth month of negotiations for a new contract, West Coast longshoremen face the combined onslaught of the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) and the Bush administration, which wants labor compliance on the docks so that it can wage its "war on terror" against the world's working people without disruption. Today's *Los Angeles Times* ominously reports:

> "According to a member of the union's negotiating team, the administration threatened to force members to work if a strike were called by invoking the Taft-Hartley Act. Other options mentioned included running the ports with U.S. Navy personnel, moving to break up the union's coast-wide bargaining unit or backing legislation that would restrict the union's ability to call a strike."

Citing a Labor Department official, the article states that what has propelled these "options" is "the context of a job action occurring during wartime." This means *outright government union-busting*, threatening to break up the powerful ILWU and intimidating the entire union movement. And it comes squarely in the context of U.S. imperialism's drive toward war against Iraq, the latest target in the "war on terror."

ILWU spokesman Steve Stallone got it right when he said, "The Bush administration is using the 9-11 scare as a way to try and take away union rights and come after ILWU, because we are one of the stronger unions in the country" (*Contra Costa Times*, 26 July). But what has characterized the public stance of the ILWU leadership is the refusal to take any action that might be interpreted as putting up a fight against the employers.

In mid-July, the union offered to give up 630 clerks' jobs outright, but even this was rejected by the PMA, which is determined to gain all control of work on the waterfront. The ILWU's Web site (25 July) tellingly bemoaned that "the employer's response to the ILWU technology proposal was exceptionally disappointing considering it included the most extensive job concession package since the historic 1962 M&M [Mechanization and Modernization] Agreement that saw massive manning cuts due to the introduction of the shipping container." In late July, the ILWU Coast Caucus empowered union negotiators to call a strike vote, but Stallone rushed to explain that union negotiators are "not interested in calling for it immediately.... We can just sit on this right now" (Associated Press, 26 July).

At the same time that it's on its knees before the PMA, the ILWU leadership pursues the utterly futile strategy of lobbying the capitalist Democratic Party. A July 26 issue of *Longshore Bulletin*, published by ILWU Local 10 in the Bay Area, devoted a third of the text to appeals for donations to the political action fund "to enable us to have a larger influence in state and national politics."

Worries are being stirred up among the longshoremen that the Bush government will destroy the ILWU the way Reagan did the PATCO air traffic controllers union. The combination of the ILWU leadership's fear and capitulation is beginning to frustrate and discourage the union membership. *Workers Vanguard* salesmen are encountering workers who say that since there is a Republican in the White House, the union dare not wage a strike.

But fundamentally, it doesn't matter which party is in power; the Democrats as much as the Republicans rule on behalf of the bosses. The capitalist government intervenes to try to stop *any* serious class struggle—protecting the profits of the capitalists against the working class is its *job*. The trade-union bureaucracy has poured millions into the Democrats' coffers and rounded up a lot of votes for them over the years. In return, the Democrats have kicked workers in the teeth just like the Republicans; the difference is the Democrat wears a friendly smile on his face.

Democratic president Bill Clinton invoked the Railway Labor Act, which restricts strikes in the transport industry, against American Airlines pilots in 1997. Democratic president Jimmy Carter drew up the plans to break PATCO and militarize the airports a year and a half before Reagan launched the attack on the union in 1981. Carter also invoked Taft-Harley against the coal miners during the Great Miners Strike of 1977-78. But the miners fought back: they shut down the non-union mines and dumped scab coal on the highways, making the legislation so much scrap paper. A popular expression at the time was "Taft can mine it, Hartley can haul it." In this way, the miners were able to block the mine operators' union-busting.

San Francisco: ILWU rally outside Pacific Maritime Association headquarters, July 24. Bush administration threatens anti-strike intervention in name of "national interest."

Macor/SF Chronicle

Pat Oliphant

UMWA miners defied Democratic president Jimmy Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction during 1977-78 national coal strike.

The destruction of PATCO was prepared by the AFL-CIO tops' refusal to organize strike action by the union's allies—Teamsters, machinists and pilots—to shut down the airports. Instead, the AFL-CIO pushed a toothless consumer boycott, asking the public not to fly. The ILWU is now pursuing a similar course. A report in the *Journal of Commerce* (26 July) states that a group called "Friends of Labor," which says it's affiliated with the ILWU, has been asking Home Depot customers in the Los Angeles port of San Pedro to sign letters threatening to boycott the store if it doesn't pull out of the West Coast Waterfront Coalition of large retailers that's backing the PMA. This is a diversion from the union's source of power—the ability to withhold labor and therefore stop the flow of money into the pockets of the ruling class.

This is not a narrow question of union tactics but the broader political perspective from which such tactics flow. In the midst of an economic recession and with an aggressively hostile government, the longshoremen are indeed in a tough position. But it is false to think that if you just keep your head down, they'll leave you alone. There's no hope if the union surrenders its power in advance. Every concession won by the workers took hard struggle against the bosses and their government. A prerequisite is to remove the roadblocks to class struggle, beginning by waging a political fight against the present labor leadership, which sees the world through the same lens as the ruling class and whose purpose is to ensure the subordination of the workers to the "national interests" of the enemy class.

The ILWU tops start from the premise that the working class has a vested interest in defending American capitalism. The *Los Angeles Times* article reports that when the Labor Department declared that the government "will use any means necessary" against the union to supply troops in the field, "the implication angered union officials, who said they never have held up military shipments." On the "home front," the ILWU International has already made the overwhelmingly immigrant port truckers a "national security" issue in Congress, complaining that they are being allowed free access to the docks, and has claimed jurisdiction over trucking within and between the ports. Embracing the bloody aims of U.S. imperialism against workers around the world necessarily cuts across the international solidarity of the other natural allies of the longshoremen in any strike, dockers in other countries who have a history of refusing to load and unload scab cargo.

A number of groups that call themselves socialist, including the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Workers World Party, have organized

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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IG: Simple-Minded Lies and Simple-Minded Liars

In the aftermath of the recent French presidential elections, in which the big gains scored by Le Pen's fascist National Front (FN) in the first round were translated into a landslide victory for conservative president Jacques Chirac in the second round, the Internationalist Group (IG) issued a rapid-fire series of Internet communiqués. Under headlines such as the 8 June "How ICL Turns French Fascists Into Ballot Box Rightists," they excoriated the putative "passive propagandism" and "defeatist" politics of our international organization, the International Communist League. To bolster such contentions the IG marshaled an array of lies that are as cynical as they are bald-faced.

Take the following, for example. In "Ballot Box Rightists," the IG fulminates against a "spate of articles in the Spartacist League's paper *Workers Vanguard* insisting that the FN is not fascist but an 'electoral party'." With dark innuendo the IG asks how it could be that our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France were "still calling Le Pen's party fascist as recently as April 23?" Answering its own disingenuous query, the IG asserts that "a shifty *WV* 'introduction'" to a 23 April LTF statement "subtly 'corrects' their French comrades' leaflet." Very shifty indeed, considering this introduction was on the *front page* of *WV* (No. 780, 3 May) under the headline: "France: Fascist Le Pen Scores Big Gain in Elections"!!

The IG then turns its attention to the LTF, writing that our comrades made a "conditional offer of critical support to the candidate of Lutte Ouvrière, Arlette Laguiller." Shameless. On March 10, the LTF wrote an open letter to Lutte Ouvrière (LO), whose presidential candidate, Laguiller, was running on the basis of opposition to the popular-front government of former Socialist Party prime minister Lionel Jospin, the French Communist Party and the Green Party. Noting that LO's oppositional posture was vitiated by its telling silence on the brutal anti-immigrant measures taken by this government, particularly the racist Vigipirate security campaign, as well as LO's open support to reactionary police "strikes," the LTF's open letter declared:

> "In spite of its call to oppose the government, LO finds itself tailing Jospin and Chirac when it capitulates to the climate of racist hysteria they fuel and which dominates the political life of this country. So long as LO does not oppose Vigipirate and the reactionary and racist cop mobilizations, *the LTF cannot support LO's campaign*. There is no party running in these elections presenting a candidate who represents in any real sense the workers' interests." [emphasis added]

On May 17, going into the June legislative elections the LTF issued another leaflet warning: "Beware of false advertising! LO's opposition to class collaboration is emptied of all content by its capitulation to the racist security campaign, which is a crucial mechanism in France for tying the workers to their own bourgeoisie." This was run in *WV* No. 782 (31 May) under the headline: "Why We Still Don't Call for a Vote to Lutte Ouvrière."

Why the IG Lies

The IG's lies are so transparent that any idiot who can read—and not even whole articles but just headlines—would know it. So what is their purpose?

The IG consists of elements who defected from our organization some years back, headed by former *WV* editor Jan Norden. To try to justify their defection, they charge that the ICL has abandoned its revolutionary heritage and become revisionist. This is an impossible task if the political differences are open to honest debate, and the very crudeness of their lies is testimony to that. Clearly the purpose is not to convince anyone interested in the political differences between our organizations. It is a pure and simple smear job intended to be wielded against us in circles hostile to Trotskyism, i.e., to the principles and program of proletarian revolutionary internationalism.

Lies and slanders are but the opening step to encouraging and justifying violence against political opponents in the workers movement. It was impossible for Stalin to defend his anti-revolutionary doctrine of "socialism in one country" from any Marxist vantage point. When lying was no longer sufficient to silence political opposition, Stalin brought down the fist of violence. Writing at the time of the grotesque Moscow frame-up trials of historic Bolshevik leaders, Leon Trotsky observed in his 1937 foreword to the American edition of *The Stalin School of Falsification*: "The preparation of the bloody judicial frame-ups had its inception in the 'minor' historical distortions and 'innocent' falsification of citations."

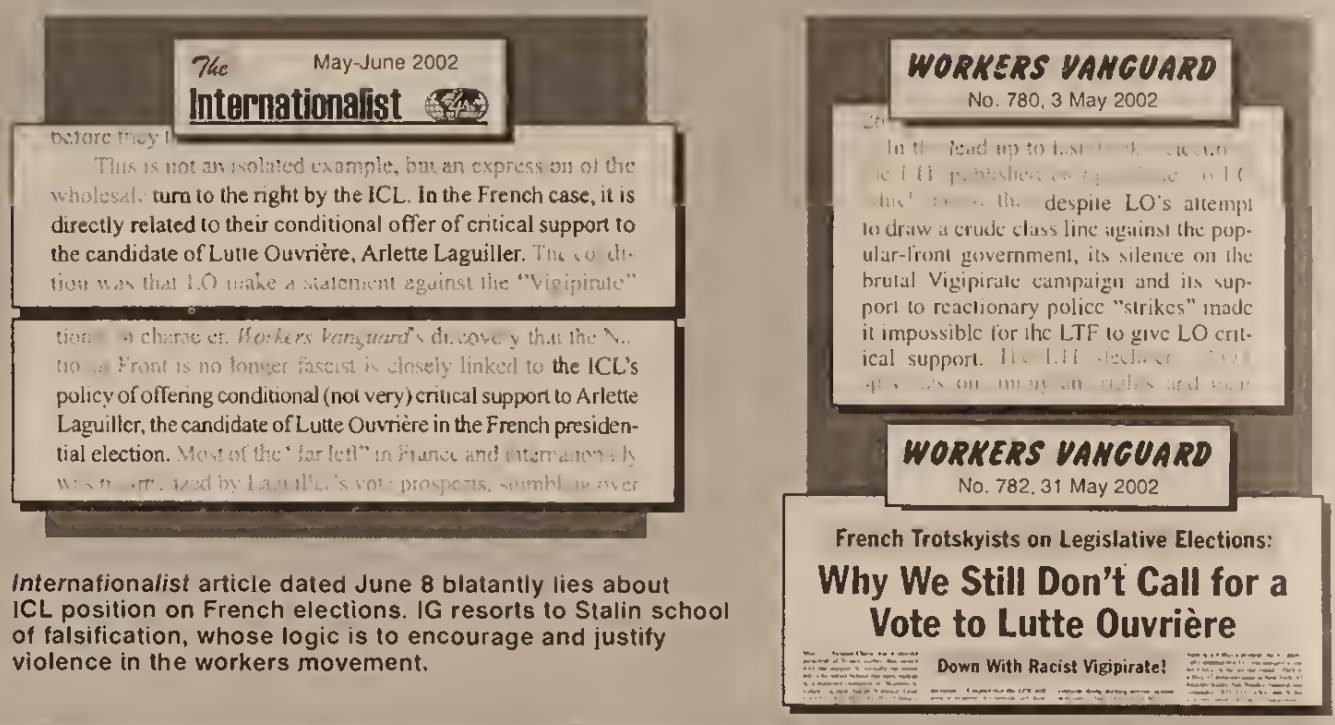
With his tiny handful of followers, IG supremo Norden is hardly in a position to emulate Stalin (though he has been known to gratuitously hail Stalin as "commander in chief" of the Red Army in World War II). But the IG's lies derive from the same desperation and opportunist appetites toward alien class forces. As we have noted, during the French elections the IG merely provided a veneer of pseudo-radical bombast to the "anti-fascist" electoral unity, echoing the "fascism is around the corner" rhetoric of the French left that was used to rally votes for Chirac. Indeed, had there been a genuine fascist threat, the fake-left line that it could be defeated at the polls would have been suicidal, standing as an obstacle to the extraparliamentary mobilization of the proletariat needed to defeat the fascists. The IG excoriated us for observing that:

> "Since the French proletariat does not currently pose an immediate threat to the bourgeois order, the capitalists are not about to resort to a fascist dictatorship. While Le Pen's gains at the polls will certainly embolden his fascist thugs, the FN's success is an electoral phenomenon."
>
> —"France: Fake Left Backs Chirac," *WV* No. 781, 17 May

The IG retorts that "*WV*'s 'hear no fascism, see no fascism' line is the smug complacency of a tendency which has lost its revolutionary will to fight" ("Ballot Box Rightists"). But the fact that we referred to Le Pen's fascist thugs being emboldened was a problem for the IG. So in its article the IG simply splices this statement out of the quote which they otherwise use in its entirety! And in the obvious hope that no one catches them in the act, the IG doesn't cite where the quote came from.

With the lies comes the bombast. Even in the face of the fact that some million and a half people demonstrated on the streets in support of the bourgeois "Republic"—and many more came out to vote in the second round of elections than in the first—the IG continued to trumpet its call "for the most combative sectors of the proletariat to actively oppose and even disrupt—i.e., to boycott—the runoff 'election'." With a wave of the hand, the IG simply disappears the obstacles to mobilizing the proletariat posed by the workers' existing misleadership. Here is a measure of the desperation, and cynicism, of a grouplet that has severed contact with social reality and abandoned any perspective of intervening in the existing working class with the purpose of winning its advanced elements to revolutionary consciousness.

But the IG could find a market for its lies against the ICL among the larger forces of the French left, such as the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), which openly shilled for the popular front—a coalition of reformist workers parties and bourgeois parties—in the first round while calling to vote for Chirac on the second. The LCR gained such prominence as the "respectable" voice of the "far left" that a whole array of reformists and centrists are now flocking to it in a new "regroupment" aimed at reconstructing a popular front with a radical "anti-fascist" image. In this regard, it is telling that the IG can barely manage a critical word against the LCR in its recent missives amid pages of shrill denunciations of the ICL.



Internationalist article dated June 8 blatantly lies about ICL position on French elections. IG resorts to Stalin school of falsification, whose logic is to encourage and justify violence in the workers movement.

The "Parliamentary Road" to Fascism?

After all its huffing and puffing over our insistence that the gains scored by Le Pen's FN were primarily electoral as against the fascism-is-imminent rhetoric that was used to cement a national front behind Chirac, the IG itself lectures in another 8 June cyberblast: "The claim that an 'electoral party' cannot be a fascist party is a classic social-democratic thesis" ("National Front At Forefront of Capitalist Drive Toward 'Strong State' in France"). From here we are informed that "Hitler's Nazis played the bourgeoisie's electoral game, and only abandoned it after taking power." In the three years of

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Le Bolchévik

While fake left pushed support for rightist Chirac following electoral gains of fascist Le Pen, LTF banner at huge May Day rally in Paris proclaimed: "Down With Unity With Chirac! For a Revolutionary, Multiethnic Workers Party!"

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated September 6.

Stand-Off over New Airport Site

Mexico: Peasant Protests Against Land Seizure

AUGUST 2—*After months of bitter struggle by the* ejidatarios *(peasants on communal land) of the village of Atenco outside Mexico City, the government announced today that it was abandoning plans to build a new international airport on the peasants' land. We print below a translation of a leaflet addressing this struggle issued last month by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México.*

Villaseca/La Jornada

Reuters

July 11: Atenco peasants battle police attempting to suppress protest against government threat to build new airport on communal lands. July 24 funeral of Enrique Espinoza Juárez, who died of injuries suffered in police rampage.

On July 11, the government of the State of Mexico, with the approval of the right-wing federal government of Vicente Fox, brutally repressed a mobilization by the *ejidatarios* who were protesting a decree expropriating their land to build a new airport. The result of this premeditated act of state terror was 15 incarcerated, many of them seriously wounded, and a siege of Atenco by the Policía Federal Preventiva [PFP] and the army. One of those arrested, Enrique Espinoza Juárez, died on July 24 from the brutal police beating, as the director of the IMSS hospital in which he was interned admitted (*La Jornada*, 25 July). But the staunch resistance of the peasants, with the support of various social organizations and the sympathy throughout the country that their struggle generated, made the government step back, withdrawing the police and troops that had kept the peasant communities under siege for several days. Now the government is talking about "dialogue" and has released the peasants it had imprisoned, but several of them still face "mutiny" charges, among others. ***The Grupo Espartoquisto de México demands the immediate dropping of all charges.***

For eight months, the *ejidatarios* had been protesting the expropriation of their lands and fighting in the courts, where they reached a favorable ruling temporarily stopping the decree. Meanwhile, the government launched a campaign of provocations and slanders trying to isolate the *ejidatarios*. The government has deported 18 American students and academics simply for showing their support to the Atenco contingent at the [May 1] Labor Day demonstration. The government wants to prepare a climate favorable for crushing resistance by the peasants. It paints them as "terrorists" and guerrillas and demonizes the social and student organizations that support this struggle, like the CGH [General Strike Council] at UNAM [Mexico City's National Autonomous University] and the Frente Popular Francisco Villa. ***Down with the repression against student and social activists!***

We oppose the expropriation of communal lands and poor peasant holdings. The government wants to starve thousands of peasants by giving them as little as the grotesque amount of 7.2 pesos per square meter for their land, while profits from building the new airport are expected to be as high as several billion dollars (*La Jornada*, 15 July). Most of these peasants are older than 45. And as one of them pointed out, although just to get a janitorial job in an airport requires a high school education, some of them have, with difficulty, only gotten through elementary school. ***We call on the entire labor movement to defend the peasants and their lands against the government's attacks.***

The Mexican countryside is sunk in the worst crisis of its history, and the rural population is rapidly decreasing. Particularly since the coming into effect of NAFTA—the treaty of imperialist plunder against Mexico—thousands and thousands of poor peasants are being thrown off their lands every year, incapable of competing in the world market. Now Fox's government plans on furthering this imperialist plundering through the Puebla-Panamá Plan [intended to extend *maquiladora* factory zones to the south of Mexico and down to Panama]. Given growing unemployment due to the economic recession, with even the *maquiladoras* laying off thousands and entire plants being shut down, many of these peasants, overwhelmingly indigenous people, come to eke out a living as street vendors. They live under subhuman conditions in improvised shacks, subject to the continuous threat of police brutally kicking them off the streets. Even the perspective of making it across the desert into the U.S.—which every year costs the lives of dozens of Latin American poor—and finding a job there, under the constant threat of deportation and the brutality of the American immigration police, has become more distant. As thousands of workers are being laid off in the U.S. because of the recession, the American imperialist rulers are sealing off their borders even more tightly as part of their racist, anti-worker "war on terrorism."

Thus, our defense of the Atenco peasants is part of a broader historical perspective for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois order. We do not romanticize, as many petty-bourgeois intellectuals and pseudo-leftists do, the current conditions of poverty, isolation and backwardness of the Mexican countryside. We want to make the advances of science and technology—education, tractors, irrigation, communications, etc.—available for all the rural population and to elevate their level of comfort, productivity and culture. It is impossible to carry out this perspective within the framework of capitalism—a system based on the production of profit for the handful of bosses and the misery of the overwhelming majority. The industrial working class, unlike the peasants, indigenous people and other oppressed sectors, has the social power and class interest to overthrow the capitalist class and thus free all the oppressed. The peasantry, however, can play a crucial role as an ally of the workers in that struggle.

But revolutionary struggle in Mexico can only be successful in emancipating all the exploited and oppressed as part of the international struggle of the world proletariat. Our revolutionary perspective in Mexico is inextricably linked to the struggle of the workers and oppressed in the U.S., whose powerful, multiracial proletariat has the strength and the historic interest to overthrow its "own" imperialist bourgeoisie. Our comrades in the Spartacist League/U.S. fight to break American workers from the reactionary lie, pushed by their reformist misleaders, that they have common "national interests" with their exploiters. Our comrades seek to win these workers to the understanding that defense of their own interests demands resolute action in defense of racial minorities and immigrant workers at home and implacable opposition to the crimes of the rapacious U.S. rulers throughout the world. A workers revolution that joins with workers and oppressed in the U.S. is the only road to a successful struggle against imperialism.

Our Trotskyist program is very distant from that of pseudo-leftist organizations such as the Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo (LTS) and the Partido Obrero Socialista (POS). The POS pathetically ***celebrated*** the coming to office of the clericalist, imperialist stooge Fox as a great "democratic revolution" (*El Socialista*, July 2000). They even went so far as to babble about the "socialist character" in the process of their "democratic revolution" (*El Socialista*, August 2000)! The LTS, a little saner and seemingly more orthodox, presents a program to "solve" the demands of the oppressed masses of the countryside (*Estrategia Obrera*, 8 July), which includes demands such as full autonomy for the indigenous peoples, full access to natural resources for the rural masses, stopping payment of the foreign debt, etc. But the liberation of the indigenous population, as well as emancipation from the imperialist yoke, cannot be realized short of a socialist revolution. The reformist program of the LTS is transparent in their recurrent demand for the "dissolution of the PFP and all the state's repressive bodies" (*Estrategia Obrera*, 6 June). To whom does the LTS think the Atenco peasants should address the demand for the "dismantling of the repressive bodies"? Fox? [Interior Secretary] Creel? The PRD [bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution]? The repressive apparatus—the police, army, jails and courts—is the core of the bourgeois state. The LTS' proposition that the bourgeois state can be "dissolved" without a workers revolution is a suicidal illusion, according to which capitalist rule can be pressured into serving the interests of the oppressed.

For their part, the PRD, PVEM (green-ecology party) and other bourgeois forces oppose the new airport fundamentally from a hypocritical "ecologist" position, given that some species of birds that live in Texcoco Lake could disappear. But in fact, the "alternate" proposal of the PRD government of Mexico City implies the continued functioning of the existing, highly unsafe airport located in one of the most polluted cities in the world. The PRD has recently tried to appear as a friend of the Atenco peasants, especially by means of its unofficial organ, *La Jornada*. But it was PRD's Mexico City mayor López Obrador who first unleashed brutal state repression against the peasants, when last November he mobilized his police against a peaceful demonstration in downtown Mexico City soon after the

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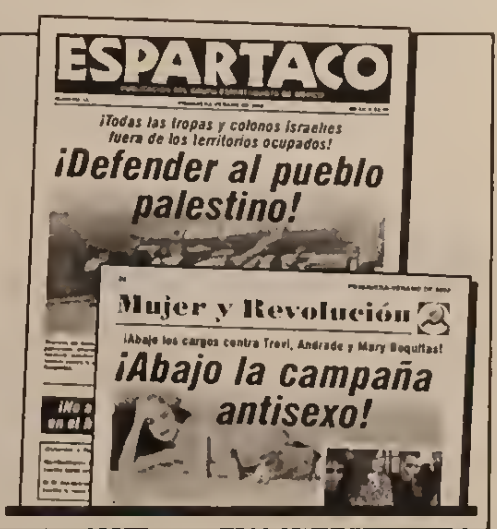

Young Spartacus

Down With High School Drug Testing!

On June 27, the Supreme Court gave its approval to the mandatory random drug testing of public high school kids who participate in extracurricular activities (everything from cheerleading to the chess club). The new ruling, which upheld the policy of the Pottawatamie County school board in rural Tecumseh, Oklahoma, is an extension of its 1995 decision giving schools the right to test student athletes for drugs and widely expands the list of students in schools across the country who can potentially be tested. The ruling also opens the door for the capitalist state to target select groups of students for drug testing if involved in an extracurricular activity—an open invitation to target black, immigrant and leftist youth.

This latest decision is part of a series of attacks that undermine student rights and chip away at the 1985 Supreme Court ruling that school administrators and teachers are not *in loco parentis* (parental bodies outside the home). Before 1985, students had next to no constitutional rights, including no protection under the Fourth Amendment's prohibition against intrusive and unreasonable searches. Students could literally be forced to do anything from emptying out their backpacks to kneeling down to have their skirts measured to see if they were "too short." Today, things are much the same. The minimal constitutional protections established in the 1985 decision have been stripped through subsequent legislation and legal rulings. As the *Los Angeles Times* (15 April) put it in an editorial: "Only prisoners, as a group, have lesser constitutional protections by law."

The brutal reality of the "war on drugs" is that it is the banner under which young black (and Latino) men are terrorized by the cops and disproportionately imprisoned, their meager possessions stripped from them. At least a quarter of the prison population consists of people convicted on drug-related offenses, and some 50 percent of those incarcerated are black. Police on drug raids confiscate cars, throw families out of their homes and shoot to kill.

Scott Goldsmith

Drug testing is invasion of privacy meant to regiment youth. Recent Supreme Court decision threatens to vastly expand testing programs in high schools.

Decriminalize Drugs!

In this context, it is clear that the drug testing of student athletes is part and parcel of a wider assault on black youth, for whom success in sports is perceived as one of the few ways to escape from the hellish misery of the ghetto. That many black youth are seen as an expendable surplus population in racist capitalist America is reflected in the desperate conditions of the inner-city ghettos, from low-wage jobs and rampant unemployment to the severely underfunded and rotting public schools. The warehousing, not teaching, of black youth takes place in overcrowded, dilapidated classrooms lacking even the most basic supplies. Overcoming the massive disparities between inner-city schools and schools in affluent white suburbs requires a fight for free, quality, integrated public education for all.

The new ruling also targets a somewhat different stratum as it aims to regiment the college-bound. Justice Clarence Thomas claimed that the ruling "preserves an option for a conscientious objector" because students who refuse to submit to drug testing are banned from all extracurricular activities, not from school, under the Tecumseh policy. But the truth, as many students know, is that it is no longer enough to score well on your SATs and earn good grades; you *have* to take part in extracurricular activities to get into the best colleges.

People should have the right to do what they want with their own bodies. In most cases, what is the administration likely to find out? That the Boy Scouts of America are "high" on testosterone? However stupid, the measure is a serious blow to the personal rights of youth and another dangerous tool of repression at the disposal of the state. Metal detectors, armed guards and locker searches are increasingly common in high schools throughout the nation. What next—cops dragging youth out of class as well? The only recourse that a student has is to either forego extracurricular activities or, in the snide words of Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, have their parents send them to a "druggie school."

Policies and laws to regiment the population have a long history in this viciously anti-labor and puritanical society. Henry Ford, for one, had the homes of workers inspected to ensure that they kept "good hygiene." In the 1950s, Joe McCarthy's hysterical anti-Communist witchhunts, the "reds under the bed" scares, the family prayer sessions pushed by the "Legion of Decency," the polygraph "lie detectors"—all were used to gear up the population for the "Crusade against Communism." Today, it's your urine they're after—General Jack D. Ripper, muttering about "vital bodily fluids" in *Dr. Strangelove*, meets the Nancy Reagan disciples! When drug testing was imposed on transportation workers in 1988, we wrote: "The purpose of this drug witchhunt is to break the resistance of the labor movement to the government's all-sided assault on American working people" (*WV* No. 466, 2 December 1988).

This bizarre campaign to ensure the "purity" of American workers and students through thousands of lab assistants checking millions of Dixie cups of piss is truly mind-boggling. In addition, this ruling could lead to even greater intrusions like demands to provide DNA samples and medical records. Imagine if teachers and administrators knew every last detail about you and could more easily find out who has HIV and who is pregnant. It would be a huge weapon for terrorizing youth. Already, in Northern California's Modoc County, the school board wanted to go even further than their counterparts in Pottawatamie County and just test the whole school for drugs, but this idea was dropped after parents and students protested. One of the protesters posed the provocative question: "Why not test the whole town?" (*Los Angeles Times*, 15 April 2002).

The argument against the Tecumseh policy in most of the liberal and student press is that extracurricular activities tend to keep kids off drugs, so forcing those who use drugs occasionally to leave an after-school activity will give them more time to do drugs. Also, liberals are fond of pointing out that drug testing costs a lot of money ($472 million in federal funds are available to pay for it). But this is to miss the point. We are in principle opposed to any law against what are

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U.S. Rulers Close Borders to "Commuter Students"

Let Them Back In!

Until recently, part-time university and college students from Mexico and Canada have been relatively free to cross the border into the U.S., attend their classes and return home at night. But not any longer. Last month, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) declared that they are to be barred from entering the country, beginning with the fall semester. As a result, thousands of these "commuter students"—most from border cities like Ciudad Juárez in Mexico and Windsor, Ontario—will be prevented from completing their programs, in which they have invested a lot of time and money. The INS ban will close the door to much of a future other than a very impoverished one for thousands of working-class youth, especially from Mexico, who will be deprived of access to higher education altogether.

The U.S. capitalist rulers have had foreign students, immigrants and refugees dead in their sights since the September 11 attacks. Over 200 campus administrations agreed to turn over confidential student files to the FBI, while the INS began a nationwide sweep, fishing for "visa violations." Over 1,200 immigrants have at one point or another been detained. With no pretensions to due process, "terror suspects" are today quietly disappeared into open-ended military detention—a revival of the *lettres de cachet* used by French monarchs to dispose of inconvenient subjects, until the Revolution of 1789 put an end to the practice. ***Down with the INS ban on "commuter students"! Free the detainees! Fight the anti-immigrant witchhunt!***

Meanwhile, Canadian police have scooped up scores of Near Eastern immigrants and held them incommunicado, reportedly turning many over to U.S. authorities. The right-wing Liberal Party government of Jean Chrétien has enacted Bill C-36, an "anti-terrorism" law every bit as sweeping and repressive as the USA-Patriot Act. Chrétien has now closed the border to all refugee claimants arriving from the U.S. And to the south, Mexican president Vicente Fox has launched his own attacks on people of Near Eastern descent, rebellious peasants and student radicals.

The INS decree extends such truly vicious domestic "anti-terrorism" campaigns against immigrants and refugees into the realm of bureaucratic absurdity. Nobody pretends that the now-proscribed "commuters" intend to stay in the country, least of all the students themselves. They are daytime visitors who spend money, mostly in depressed American cities like Detroit and El Paso. Even from the economic standpoint of the U.S. capitalist class, the ban on "commuter students" is simply irrational. Many smaller universities and colleges depend on the tuition fees of cross-border part-timers to fund their general programs. Heavily black and working-class Wayne State University in Detroit stands to lose 2 percent of its enrollment and a million dollars in revenue. Following September 11, the INS has also cracked down on unofficial border crossings near Big Bend National Park in Texas, disrupting the lives of people on both sides of the border who for decades have depended on these crossings to get to work and do their shopping.

If the new decree were about relegating black and working-class Americans to an even more substandard education, the deeply racist U.S. rulers would be solidly, malignantly indifferent. But there's cold hard cash at stake in the border states, and this consideration alone has already prompted a bipartisan Congressional resolution to create a new visa category allowing the part-time students to resume their studies.

For other sections of the bourgeoisie, more significant than the loss of short-term cash flow from students' tuition is that the new INS decree—along with other border restrictions imposed post-September 11—crimps the exploitation of labor and production for profit. An administrator at the University of Texas at El Paso has complained that keeping out part-time Mexican students would result in a shortage of skilled workers in both Ciudad Juárez and El Paso, which are in many ways already a single city. The pillage of Mexico by U.S. imperialism (and its Canadian junior partner) codified in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) cannot proceed smoothly without a pool of trained Mexican technicians and overseers. NAFTA has vastly increased immiseration in Mexico, leading to a huge increase in desperate immigrants seeking to cross the border by any means possible. The murderous impact of racist U.S. border restrictions was brought home yet again late last month in Texas when two immigrants were found dead after having been locked inside a truck in the scorching heat by ruthless immigrant smugglers.

There can be no progressive or rational immigration policy under capitalism, where all immigration laws are necessarily racist and chauvinist. The central axis of struggle by revolutionary socialists must be for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and immigrants. We have always actively fought against all manifestations of anti-immigrant racism. At a united-front protest in defense of foreign students initiated by the Spartacus Youth Club at San Francisco State University last December, militant protesters chanted: "Down with *la migra*! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!"

For years, various reformist organizations have raised the call to "open the borders." In certain conjunctures, this demand can be important in mobilizing the working class in defense of the oppressed. During World War II, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party demanded that the borders be opened to Jewish refugees escaping Hitler's Europe. However, as a general slogan, "open the borders" is purely utopian, sowing the illusion that the capitalist rulers will voluntarily dismantle their own state. Recently, this has come to the attention of the centrist League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), which, correcting its previous line, now admits that "'Open the Borders' is an ambiguous slogan at best and conveys a utopian confusion at its worst" (*Proletarian Revolution*, Spring 2002).

Yet this slimy centrist outfit slanders the SL's rejection of the call to "open the borders" as "obviously a cover-up for a national chauvinist position." They condemn the following quotation from a 1974 article:

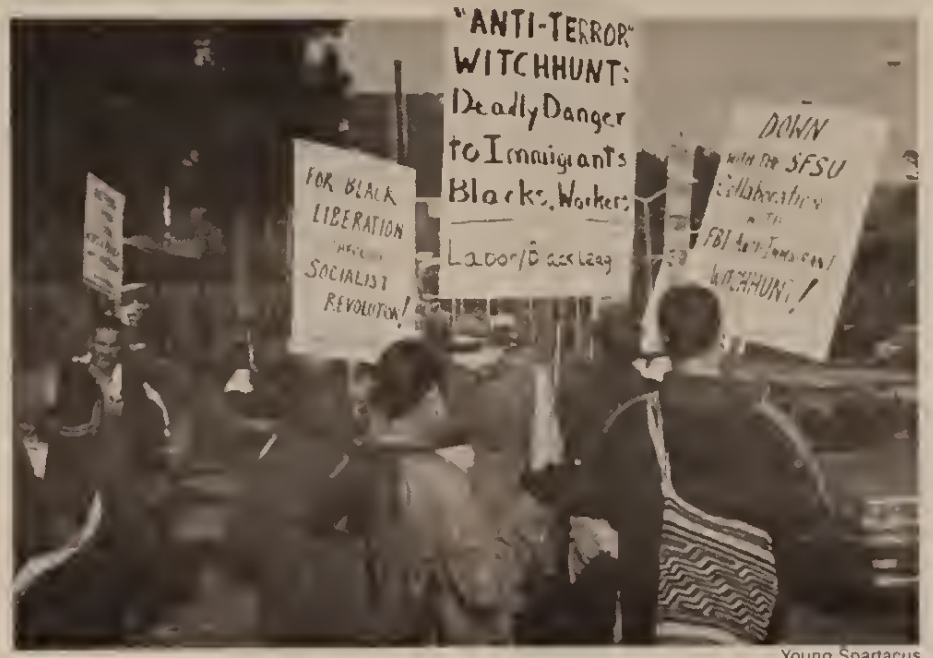
> "However, on a sufficiently large scale, immigration flows could wipe out the national identity of the recipient countries. . Unlimited immigration as a principle is incompatible with the right of national self-determination."
>
> —"The Leninist Policy Toward Immigration/Emigration," *WV* No. 36, 18 January 1974

This is a simple statement of fact! It is powerfully demonstrated by the trampling of Palestinian national rights by the massive immigration of Jewish refugees into Palestine, most of whom were fleeing the Nazi Holocaust and thanks to the imperialists had nowhere else to go. Our article also pointed out that if Mexico were to have an "open border," it would lead to "well-financed American 'colonists' buying up Mexican enterprises and real estate," subjecting Mexico to direct economic and political domination.

Above all, as dishonest polemicists, the LRP omits the central point of our article, that the call to "open the borders" is "tantamount to advocating the abolition of national states under capitalism." Though the LRP writes that to believe that an imperialist state would "tolerate open borders is an impossible fantasy," their so-called correction amounts to a rewording of the same slogan: "End all Restrictions on Immigrants and Refugees." For the capitalist state to end all restrictions on immigration would mean abolishing the border patrols, the INS, the Coast Guard and every other government agency that deals with immigration—i.e., it is a call on the capitalist state to open its borders!

It will take workers revolution expropriating the wealth of the capitalists to make possible a vast increase in the productive forces of all countries, which alone can provide a decent life for those who now live in the squalid shantytowns of the Third World as well as the ghettos and barrios of the U.S. Only this can lay the material basis for abolishing national borders. An American workers state would be committed to overcoming global inequality through an internationally planned socialist economy. This could well involve large-scale immigration from the Third World. But the real key will be the massive transfer of resources and technology to Latin America, Africa and Asia.

The entire capitalist system of production for profit is irrational, and it finds leaders, and bureaucracies, to suit. The exclusion of "commuter students" offers one more small proof of this fact. We say: ***Down with the ban! Let the part-time students back in!*** ■



Young Spartacus

Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club initiated San Francisco State protest last December against anti-immigrant witchhunt. Protesters chanted: "Down with *la migra*! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!"

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called "crimes without victims," e.g., laws against drug use, vagrancy, prostitution and obscenity. The bourgeois state has no business intervening in people's personal affairs and private lives. Such laws only reinforce the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state and encourage reactionary social attitudes.

As it is now, if you've got the money you can buy quality drugs when you want them, quality lawyers to defend you and, if needed, the Betty Ford clinic when drug use becomes an inconvenience. We Marxists call for the decriminalization of drugs, which would also take the huge profits and consequently much of the violence out of the trade. Under socialism, drug treatment and prescriptions would be easily accessible to those who need them as part of a broader program of free, quality medical care for all.

Part of Bush's so-called education plan—given the Orwellian name of "Leave No Child Behind"—forces school administrations to hand over the names, addresses and phone numbers of all students to military recruiters on demand. Maybe they should call the plan "Leave No Child Alive," as it is a step toward the potential reinstatement of the draft. In fact, the "war on drugs" and the regimentation of youth go hand in hand with the "war on terror" and U.S imperialist aims abroad. At the same time that young people can be drafted, they can be executed under the death penalty laws. But they cannot vote, drink, smoke, have sex or even buy "violent" computer games legally.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club fight for a socialist future where class exploitation has been wiped out and people are completely free to do what they want with their personal lives, and youth have control over their own future ■

Inglewood...

(continued from page 2)

Black Caucus will he having hearings around the country on police abuse, while Michael Zinzun, who is a darling of much of the reformist left in Los Angeles, called for an "elected, not appointed" civilian police review board.

It's been a long road down for Zinzun from his former days as a member of the Black Panther Party, which was forged in the heat of the struggle against cop brutality on the streets of Oakland in the 1960s. At the Town Hall meeting, Zinzun declared, "I'm not anti-police; I'm against police abuse." To give this some radical veneer, he ended with a chant of "Power to the People!" But not too much power, as a spokesman from the NAACP made clear when she declared: "Power to the People, but it has to he used judiciously." For his part, a spokesman from the Nation of Islam declared: "We should change the police department and have the Nation of Islam as the police!" Indeed, the NOI has acted as the adjuncts to the racist police in public housing projects, harassing the residents and enforcing the rulers' racist "war on drugs" and "war on crime."

Everyone on the podium of the July 20 event was united in seeking to restore public confidence in the police through calls for civilian review boards. But just about every major city in America has seen one civilian review board after another instituted supposedly to combat police brutality, and cop terror has continued with impunity. The cops cannot be "controlled by the community" for the simple reason that they are servants of a ruling class whose profits are derived from the exploitation of labor and the racist oppression of blacks, immigrants and all minorities. To be sure, the cops hate the idea of any kind of body they view as an infringement on their power, but the purpose of civilian review boards is to whitewash cop terror while building dangerous illusions that the racist, capitalist state can be reformed to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed.

In the wake of September 11, the ruling class has been pushing the lie of "national unity" in order to whip up support for U.S. imperialism's wars abroad and increased state repression. The cops, we are told, are heroes who are to he admired. And in order to ensure our "security" against the ubiquitous terrorist bogeyman, we've been told that we must sacrifice the few civil liberties that working people and minorities have in this country. But the horrible reality of black oppression, which the recorded cop beating of Jackson-Chavis once again brings to the fore for all to see, and the spectacle of hundreds of thousands of workers being laid off and their pensions and savings destroyed as a handful of capitalists get filthy rich exposes the myth that all Americans have common interests. America is a viciously racist, class-divided society, and the working class and the oppressed in this country share nothing in common with the capitalist exploiters or their political agents.

Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Party!

Echoing Zinzun et al., at a demonstration on July 12 in Inglewood, the reformist Freedom Socialist Party carried a placard reading: "The problem: police brutality. The solution: elected civilian review boards." A speaker for the October 22nd Coalition Against Police Brutality, a liberal group associated with the Revolutionary Communist Party and Refuse & Resist, did not go beyond calling for a vague "movement of the people" to "stop police brutality." But there can be no end to cop terror short of the destruction of the system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression which the cops enforce.

Sounding more radical than these pusillanimous outfits is the Progressive Labor Party, which issued a 13 July leaflet titled: "Inglewood, LA Cops Are the #1 Terrorists!" The leaflet ended with the correct statement that the ruling class uses "their racist cops to enforce terror against workers just like they want US soldiers to enforce terror against workers around the world!" But behind the radical veneer lie the same liberal politics. Expressing profound confidence that the capitalist state is the vehicle for retribution, the leaflet demands: "The beating of Donovan Jackson must be avenged by demanding that Morse be fired and jailed for racist assault on Jackson and many other residents of Inglewood!"

At the time of the 1992 L.A. upheaval against the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King within an inch of his life, the Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—issued a statement declaring:

> "The working class must not allow the black population to be isolated—*the powerful L.A. unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers should organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to solidarize with and defend the black community* as the LAPD looks to spill more blood to 'celebrate' their racist victory over Rodney King."

This year the vicious assault on Donovan Jackson-Chavis came in the midst of a contract battle pitting the powerful ILWU longshore union against the shipping bosses out to gut the union. An ILWU strike would demonstrate the social power of the labor movement, a power that needs to be mobilized in defense of the ghettos and barrios against the marauding racist cops. But the labor movement is hamstrung by the union tops, whose program is one of class peace and collaboration with the bosses, in particular through their support to the Democrats.

The first step to unleashing labor/black power is to break the chains that shackle the working class to its capitalist class enemy. The working people need their own party—one that champions the rights of black people and all the oppressed; a workers party committed to the fight for workers revolution and the replacement of the deeply inhumane and brutal capitalist system with a workers government where those who labor rule. Only then will cop terror and racist oppression be forever done away with. *Na reliance an capitalist caurts, caps ar paliticians! Break with the Demacratic Party af racism and war! Build a revalutianary workers party!* ■

Free Mitchell Crooks!

The following letter was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee on July 15 to the District Attorneys of Los Angeles and Placer counties in California.

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the vindictive arrest of Mitchell Crooks only days after the airing of his videotape showing the brutal police beating of black youth Donovan Jackson in Inglewood on July 6. The police vendetta against Crooks began from the moment the videotape was released. On July 10, L.A. Chief Deputy D.A. Curt Livesay telephoned L.A. radio station KFI-FM during an interview with Crooks to threaten him with a grand jury subpoena. The next day, plainclothes cops arrested Crooks outside CNN's office, placing him into an unmarked cop car as he was screaming for help. Crooks had to be hospitalized overnight for injuries he received during the arrest. He is now in a jail cell in Placer County.

Crooks' arrest is clearly aimed at punishing him for his courageous action. It is intended as an ominous warning to anyone who would dare document the brutality that is "standard operating procedure" for the racist cops. We add our voice to the many others in Southern California and around the country who are outraged at the vicious attack against Donovan Jackson and the arrest of Mitchell Crooks. *Drop the charges against Mitchell Craoks! Free him now!*

WV Photo

Inglewood: SL/SYC contingent at protest against cop terror, July 12.

Mexico...

(continued from page 5)

federal government issued the expropriation decree. The PRD, no less than the PRI [former ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party] and PAN [Fox's National Action Party], is a bourgeois party committed to removing any obstacle in the way of capitalism.

As Marxists, we favor advances in the infrastructure of industry and services in society—even under capitalism—such as the building of dams, electric plants, highways, etc., because they are socially useful works. The existing Mexico City airport is small, with only two runways, and lies entirely within the city. This makes it highly unsafe, not only for airline workers and passengers but also for the population that lives under the airplanes' routes. Thus, we would favor a new and safer airport for Mexico City. If the government wants to use communal lands or those of poor peasants for this, then it must pay! *These lands should be used only with the consent of the peasants, on the basis of a generous payment by the government.*

Today, most workers and peasants do not have access to air transportation, as is also the case in regard to modern highways and the Internet. We do not fight to stop advances, but for there to be *advances for all.* Only through a planned economy and the nationalization of all land, under a workers government, will it be possible to bring technological advances to the countryside in order to lift the peasantry out of its ancestral backwardness and oppression. Our struggle is based on the perspective of building a society without classes, where there is no division between those who work and those who possess. We fight for a society that overcomes economic scarcity and reaches a level of labor productivity qualitatively higher than that of even the most advanced capitalist countries. Only this can guarantee both the full scientific and cultural development of the individual and his comfort, on the basis of material plenty. To realize this perspective, it is necessary to build workers parties around the world that lead the proletariat, rallying behind it all the oppressed in struggle for their liberation. This is the fight to which the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, is dedicated. *Defend the Atenca peasants!* ■

ILWU...

(continued from page 3)

themselves into the Dockworkers Solidarity Committee. The ISO newspaper *Socialist Worker* (5 July) approvingly quotes Local 10 secretary-treasurer Clarence Thomas as saying that "national security is when everyone has a job, with a living wage, health care and a pension"; the July 11 issue of *Warkers World* quotes Jim Spinosa to the same effect. In an op-ed piece in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (23 July), left-talking Local 10 business agent Jack Heyman expresses opposition to "national security," but only because it will "deny basic civil liberties." In this way, both the union "militants" and their "socialist" chorus founder on the shoals of the "national unity" crusade. Refusing to confront its central premise, they merely seek to redefine it.

In fact, the capitalists' attacks on democratic rights and on the labor movement at home go hand in hand with their imperialist military adventures around the world. The need to win the working class to the understanding that defense of their own rights entails opposition to the U.S. capitalist rulers has motivated the Spartacist League in our support to the longshoremen against the PMA and the government. This perspective was put forward by the SL at a July 27 meeting titled "Democracy and the ILWU," which was attended by 125 people, most of them longshore "B-men" (who have no democratic rights in the union). Following a video on the historic 1934 San Francisco longshore strike, our comrade pointed to the role of the government at that time in protecting the bosses against the striking workers, stressing the urgent necessity of being able to distinguish between one's friends and one's enemies in the current struggle. She expressed our opposition to the fact that Democratic mayor (and active strikebreaker) Willie Brown was the keynote speaker at a July 24 rally sponsored by the Dockworkers Solidarity Committee in front of the PMA offices in San Francisco, noting that "his purpose in being there was to head off the union from exercising its social power against the bosses and to blow off steam." She summed up:

> "I want to remind people here about the demonstration on February 9 when the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a labor-centered united-front protest in downtown Oakland that broke through the post-September 11 'national unity.' With many of you longshoremen at its core, the rally was directed against the anti-immigrant witchhunt which has targeted many of your brothers, the port truckers; the USA-Patriot Act, which has gone against many immigrants; and the Maritime Security Act, something that strikes at the heart of the ILWU. The protest gave a taste of labor's power when organized under its own banners, independent of the capitalist state and its political parties.
>
> "What we need is a revolutionary workers party that will fight for the interests of the working class. We fight for a socialist and egalitarian society. We urge workers that are looking for a way forward to read our paper and come to talk to us." ■

IG Lies...

(continued from page 4)

this "electoral game" leading up to the Nazi victory, Germany was in a state of virtual civil war, as Hitler's SA stormtroopers staged attacks against Jews and trade unionists and the streets of Berlin and other cities saw pitched battles between the Nazis and Communist militias.

For all its fulminations about "fighting fascism," it is the IG that downplays the very real horror of triumphant fascism. A couple of years ago they went ballistic when the fascist Jörg Haider's Freedom Party (FPÖ) joined the governing coalition in Austria. This was not the first time the FPÖ had been in the Austrian government. But where the FPÖ was in a coalition with the Socialist Party (SPÖ) from 1983 to 1986, the SPÖ was frozen out of the current coalition. This fact played no small role in impelling the social democrats and their left lackeys to organize a wave of "anti-fascist" protests across Europe. And then, too, the IG brought up the "militant" rear, decrying our assertion that Haider's victory was essentially an electoral phenomenon.

As Trotsky explained in "Whither France" (October 1936): "The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery." But, as we have noted in our polemics against the IG on this question, such is not the case in Austria, where the organizations of the left and working class seem remarkably intact given the fascist threat much ballyhooed by the IG. In its "Strong State" article, the IG finally responds to our pointed question, "So does the IG think Austria is fascist today?":

> "The cynical editors of *Workers Vanguard* know perfectly well that we do not argue that Austria or Italy are fascist because of the presence of fascist parties as junior partners in coalition governments. But more fundamentally, the ICL's parliamentary blinders prevent them from seeing that while fascist dictatorship is not on the agenda, *there is a clear and present danger posed by the drive toward a bonapartist 'strong state.'* In recent years, the bourgeoisie as a whole and its reformist lieutenants in the workers movement have rammed through police-state measures across Europe, in the U.S. and throughout the capitalist world. The imperialists' current terrorist 'war on terrorism' intensifies this push. The real danger represented by Le Pen and his ilk is that in various countries where they have a historical presence, the fascists act as the cutting edge of this drive."

This is doubletalk. In a 4 May statement, the IG drew an analogy between the re-election of Chirac and the 1932 election of the arch-reactionary militarist Hindenburg as German president, who handed over power to Hitler a year later. Now, having hammered away at the imminent fascist danger, the IG assures us that there is no danger of a fascist takeover but rather that the fascists are content to remain junior partners in constitutional governments. The IG willfully and idiotically conflates very different situations. The German bourgeoisie turned to the fascists in the early '30s in order to suppress an insurgent proletariat in the context of severe social crisis and in a desire to reverse its defeat in World War I. Today, West Europe is faced with a conjunctural economic downturn in which the millions of immigrant workers brought in earlier are deemed "surplus."

To be sure, the main role of the fascist parties in Europe currently is to act as pressure groups on the parties administering capitalist rule. But it was largely under the auspices of social-democratic parties at the head of popular-front governments that a continent-wide war against immigrants was unleashed, aimed at disarming the working class in the face of relentless attacks on their living standards and double-digit unemployment rates. The bourgeoisie doesn't presently need to unleash the fascist gangs, as its "democratic" state machinery is more than adequate to handle the job of repression and terror to keep the working class in line.

Taking us to task for observing the reality that "fascist terror against immigrants is not now rampant in France," the IG points to the "fascist-infested police [who] have put immigrant areas under a state of siege." And if the cops weren't fascist-infested, they would behave differently? The IG goes on to make the supposed revelation that not only the police, but the French army, anti-abortion outfits and union-busting private security agencies are riddled with fascists. For communists it is hardly news that the capitalist state and its auxiliaries have lots of fascist knuckles and fists. But that does not make the attacks by these state agencies on the working class and oppressed equivalent to the rise of fascism. The implication of the IG's banal but breathless "revelations" is that somewhere there must be cop agencies unsullied by fascist penetration, dovetailing with the social-democratic fantasy that there can be "good cops" who serve the people.

What the IG tries to obscure with its talk of a "strong state" is exactly what Lenin emphasized in the key Marxist work on the state, *The State and Revolution* (1917): that the brutal machinery of capitalist state repression is the *normal workings of bourgeois democracy*; that the capitalist state—whether in democratic, bonapartist or fascist garb—is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

We Marxists fight every escalation of capitalist state repression and every step toward bonapartism. That is why the LTF has placed such great stress in its propaganda before, during and since the elections on the need to mobilize the proletariat against Vigipirate and the whole racist "security" campaign that has served as the crucial mechanism for tying the workers to their "own" bourgeoisie. Far from Norden's doublespeak about the fascists and the "strong state," what the workers movement must understand is that the Jospin popular front paved the way for intensified bonapartist repression, including literally writing the laws for Chirac & Co. Entire elements of the Vigipirate "emergency powers" adopted under Jospin have now been drafted wholesale into French law by Chirac.

"Death of Communism" Defectors

For the IG, the wellspring of the ICL's supposed retreat from revolutionary Trotskyism is to be found in our acknowledgment that the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state has led to a worldwide regression in working-class consciousness. Yet the impact that this world-historic defeat would have on the proletariat is so obvious that it was addressed decades ago by the adherents of Trotsky's Left Opposition in the U.S. Their 1929 "Platform of the Communist Opposition" argued:

> "The collapse of the Russian revolution as the dictatorship of the proletariat would signify the retardation for decades of the revolutionary movement in Europe and America and the uprisings of the colonial peoples, whose main point of support today is the victory of the Russian October. A collapse would be followed by an unequalled reign of reaction throughout the world and would entail a restoration of world imperialist rule without precedent in the last two or three decades."

The reactionary effects of capitalist counterrevolution are manifest. The once mass Communist parties in Italy and France—which, however reformist their politics, reflected some identification by large numbers of workers with the Russian October—have been reduced to shadows of what they were. Indeed, it is in good part because of the impact that the current reign of reaction has had on the working class that the bourgeoisie sees no proletarian challenge on the horizon and therefore no need for fascism to maintain its rule.

The IG itself is the demoralized product of the wave of imperialist reaction and triumphalism over the "death of communism" that swept the globe with the final destruction of the gains of the great October Revolution by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. Its desperation is evidenced in its pretentious, world-altering *diktats*—from clarion calls for unspecified forces (Afghani tribesmen?) to defeat U.S. imperialism in Afghanistan to thundering cries, amid a crusade for national unity behind the "French Republic," for a workers boycott of the French elections. Its lies are used to justify a reality that the IG itself has constructed.

The IG asserts that the ICL has redefined "the French National Front as an electoral rather than a fascist party" to argue that we have given up on any fight to mobilize the proletariat. Yet when a real fascist menace was posed by a potential mobilization of some thousands of Le Pen's stormtroopers in Paris on May Day, the LTF declared: "What's necessary is mass mobilizations to repulse this danger." The IG dismisses this out of hand because we pointed out that the obstacle to such a mobilization was the social-democratic misleaders who kept hundreds of thousands of people away from the fascists and herded them to vote for Chirac. Unlike the IG with its phony agitational rhetoric, we recognize that our small organization in France (much less the IG's phantom "French section") does not yet have the roots and influence in the proletariat to implement our call to defend the workers' May Day. One could posit that Norden and his sidekick Negrete have been so overcome by megalomaniacal delusions of their own grandeur that they actually believe that if they call for the workers to act they will. In fact, it is pure cynicism in the service not of combatting the current misleaders of the proletariat but of accommodating to them.

That the LTF even considered the possibility of critical support to LO had the IG so exercised that it crafted another lie—that we had made an offer of "conditional critical support." As we have said, the popular front and Vigipirate are intertwined axes of the class collaborationism that maintains capitalist rule in France. By refusing to support the popular front in the first round of the elections, and Chirac in the second, LO took a half-step away from class collaborationism. Had it taken a full step and opposed Vigipirate and the racist roundups, we would have, without qualms, offered critical support to LO in the elections—i.e., we would have voted and campaigned for them while counterposing our revolutionary program to their reformist politics every step of the way.

Indeed, such breaks from existing forms of class collaboration are precisely the basis for considering critical support. Not because they are some kind of measure of the "sincerity" of the reformist or centrist party in question, but because they are an indicator of pressure in its ranks, i.e., of the potential to win some portion of its membership to a revolutionary program and party. Applying the tactic of critical support also affords the opportunity to address workers who are attracted to an opposition to class collaborationism.

To forfeit such opportunities out of hand is to forfeit the process of splits and regroupments necessary to build a revolutionary party of scale and would signal the abandonment of any real intention to forge a Leninist vanguard party. But the IG's notion of "regroupment" has more in common with doling out McDonald's franchises based on political treatises full of sound and fury and signifying nothing. Take the first group adhering to the IG's League for the Fourth International, the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil. We had broken relations with this outfit when it became clear that they were simply opportunists interested in the defense—at all costs—of their positions at the head of a cop-infested municipal workers union in Volta Redonda. To this end they launched a series of court suits against their opponents, appealing to the capitalist state to adjust the union leadership configuration to their advantage. When we exposed this betrayal, the presses of the IG's *Internationalist* went into high gear generating lying denials and obfuscations (see "Court Papers Prove They Sued the Union—IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* No. 671, 11 July 1997).

Since its inception, the IG has demonstrated the dialectic of conciliating alien class forces and shameless lying in the service of such appetites. If indeed we had truly maligned their Brazilian comrades, which we didn't, the IG could have just published the court papers that they claimed demonstrated their innocence. But few people can get to Volta Redonda to determine for themselves the facts of the matter, and the IG's lies against the ICL have played well among some trade-union opportunists and reformists in the U.S. But not so over the French elections, where the village idiot could detect their lies.■

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Big Brother...

(continued from page 1)

social power in defense of immigrants, which requires tearing through the straitjacket of "national unity" promoted by the U.S. capitalist rulers and breaking down the poisonous ethnic divisions they promote to weaken the labor movement and maintain their rule. ***Down with the government's "war on terror"! Defend immigrant rights!***

Darul Uloom Islamic Institute AP CNN

Abdullah al-Muhajir (Jose Padilla), John Walker Lindh, Yasser Esam Hamdi. Washington has expanded repressive powers to deny constitutional rights to U.S. citizens labeled "enemy combatants."

Government Blitzkrieg on Civil Liberties

Yasser Esam Hamdi was picked up on an Afghan battlefield last November and sent to a military brig in Norfolk, Virginia in April after the government confirmed that he was an American citizen born in Louisiana. Brooklyn-born Abdullah al-Muhajir was arrested at Chicago's O'Hare airport on May 8 and held as a "material witness" for the next month. On June 10, Ashcroft convened a press conference broadcast from Moscow and announced with great fanfare: "In apprehending al Mujahir [sic] as he sought entry into the United States, we have disrupted an unfolding terrorist plot to attack the United States by exploding a radioactive 'dirty homb'." Since the government has produced no evidence that he did anything, the Feds did not charge Muhajir with a crime. Instead, he was designated an "enemy combatant" and shipped off to a military brig in Charleston, South Carolina.

Even Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz conceded, "I don't think there was actually a plot beyond some fairly loose talk" (*Guardian*, 13 June). Though admitting that the prospect that Muhajir had anything to do with a "dirty bomb" was "not realistic," former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, who also served as CIA director, chimed in: "The intent was there, the threat was there." Thus, "it was a criminal act" (*New York Times*, 11 June). In the old days a "thought crime" meant being prosecuted solely for one's political views. Under this administration it's like something out of the movie *Minority Report* with Bush, Ashcroft and Cheney as the three "pre-cogs" who designate for arrest people who haven't even planned a crime yet. Describing how "the government has produced no evidence that a dirty-bomb plot existed," a June 12 editorial in the *New York Times* noted: "We do, however, have President Bush's assurance...that 'This guy Padilla is a bad guy'."

In the case of Hamdi, prosecutors appealed a federal court ruling ordering the government to allow him to meet with an attorney. The government argued that anyone designated an "enemy combatant" did not have to be provided the legal protections available to most American citizens. Sounding like a legal brief arguing for the divine right of kings, they added: "The court may not second-guess the military's enemy combatant determination" because in so doing they would "intrude upon the Constitutional prerogative of the Commander in Chief...and possibly create a 'conflict between judicial and military opinion highly comforting to enemies of the United States'" (*Washington Post*, 20 June). The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned the lower court ruling, admonishing the judge for not adequately considering the government's position that Hamdi was an "enemy combatant."

At the same time, the cases of John Walker Lindh and Zacarias Moussaoui illuminate the use of conspiracy laws to imprison people with absolutely *no evidence* that they committed any crime. Lindh, the 21-year-old Californian whose great sin was that his religious fanaticism led him to the Taliban rather than their fundamentalist Christian counterparts in the U.S., was arrested in Afghanistan. He was charged with conspiracy to kill Americans, providing support to terrorists and using "destructive devices during crimes of violence." Lindh's lawyers sought protection from the firearms charge in the Second Amendment, citing the Justice Department's own position that it "broadly protects the rights of individuals...to possess and bear their own firearms." But the prosecution simply sneered, declaring that such rights do not apply to people like Lindh.

On July 15, Lindh pleaded guilty to providing assistance to the Taliban and to carrying explosives. As CBSNews.com (16 July) reported, the plea deal "signals a concession from the government that there really wasn't much 'there' in the case against Lindh, regardless of what Attorney General John Ashcroft said publicly shortly after Lindh was captured." Now, Lindh faces at least 20 years in prison—at the end of which the government has reserved the right to lock him up again if they deem him a "threat" to the U.S.

The "prize catch" in the government's "war on terrorism" is Zacarias Moussaoui, a French citizen of Moroccan descent who faces the death sentence on charges of conspiring with the September 11 hijackers. The government has labeled Moussaoui, who was arrested a month before the World Trade Center attack, the "20th hijacker," but they have produced nothing linking him to the September 11 hijackings: no witness, no evidence that Moussaoui ever met the plot's purported leader, Mohammed Atta (or any other hijacker), or that he even had any communications with them.

In his unsuccessful attempt to plead guilty last month, Moussaoui confessed that he was a member of Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda but denied any connection to September 11. Moussaoui's disavowal was confirmed not only by French intelligence, which had been watching him for some time, but by numerous unnamed U.S. government officials who have verified that he likely had nothing to do with the September 11 hijackers—***or anything else that he could be prosecuted for.***

In a *New York Times* (2 August) op-ed piece titled "What Was Moussaoui's Crime?" Dahlia Lithwick, senior editor of *Slate*, explained that "the government charged Mr. Moussaoui with a conspiracy he never knew about." She accounted for his "bizarre conduct," including his attempt to plead guilty, by describing how "until last week, he believed he was facing the death penalty for Sept. 11 just for being a member of Al Qaeda. Under the government's version of the law—the only version to which he had access—he assumed he was being paraded in a show trial that was more about revenge than justice."

According to CBS attorney Andrew Cohen, "Prosecutors aren't supposed to proceed to trial with cases when they know or have reason to know the evidence doesn't support the charges in the indictment.... If he merely conspired to commit a crime that never occurred and never harmed anyone, and if he was in jail at the time of the September 11 attacks to boot, how in the world will prosecutors with a straight face be able to push for a death sentence? And why in the world would any judge permit such a sentence to be carried out?" (CBSNews.com, 19 July). Not only is it not uncommon for prosecutors to push for the death sentence knowing their prey is likely innocent, but executing someone for a crime he did not commit was a hallmark of Bush's tenure as governor of Texas.

Are You Now or Have You Ever Been...a "Bad Guy"?

In the 1950s, schoolkids were instructed, "if your mommie is a commie, turn her in." Aided by modern computer technology such as "Magic Lantern," which allows the government to read the keystrokes off your computer, the Bush administration seeks to outdo the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO program of the 1950s-70s, under which the FBI and local police red squads kept files on hundreds of thousands of leftists, unionists, civil rights activists, antiwar protesters, feminists, supporters of gay rights, tenants' rights advocates—virtually anyone critical of government policies. It was under COINTELPRO that the government launched a war of terror against the radical Black Panther Party, gunning down 38 of its members and railroading hundreds more to prison.

Today, Bush's call for a "volunteer civil defense service" is being implemented with Ashcroft's launching of a massive domestic spying campaign, Operation TIPS. This McCarthyite wet dream, which is to begin in ten cities, calls for a million utility workers, postal workers, truck drivers, meter readers, train conductors and others to report any "suspicious activity." The absurdity of this was captured by a Verizon repairman who pointed out, "People know we're coming. It's kind of stupid to leave an AK-47 on the table if you know the phone guy is on his way" (*New York Times*, 21 July).

An illustration of what TIPS would mean was seen on July 17 when an Indian film star and her entourage were dragged off an ATA flight arriving in New York from Chicago. The group was held and interrogated until four in the morning on the grounds they might be terrorists. Why? Because they were South Asian and a passenger deemed they were acting "suspiciously" because they were, for example, excitedly looking out the windows of the plane at the tall buildings of New York City.

Responding to apprehension that TIPS would create an "Orwellian-type situation" from right-wing Utah Republican Senator Orrin Hatch as well as Vermont Democrat Patrick Leahy, Ashcroft announced that the TIPS program will have no permanent database to store the names of those reported. These "assurances" were greeted with relief by members of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Never mind that names reported will be passed on to the FBI and CIA—which do maintain such databases.

The Postal Service has announced it will not participate in TIPS. Last month the California Labor Federation passed a resolution rightly declaring that TIPS "is an attack on our freedom." The resolution continued:

> "WHEREAS, as seen in Nazi Germany, with workers encouraged to spy on each other, neighbors on neighbors and even family members to spy on their own kin, the government utilized these tactics more for their self-preservation, they must be opposed...."

However, any perspective of protest and social struggle in opposition to the government's draconian measures is hamstrung by the labor tops' allegiance to the capitalist order, particularly through the Democratic Party. The same resolution instead called to "encourage our elected leaders in Congress, state government and city and county levels, to oppose this draconian TIPS program."

It should be recalled that it was Democrat Clinton who laid the groundwork for many of the repressive decrees implemented today. As author Gore Vidal wrote: "Though Bush's predecessors have generally had rather higher IQs than his, they, too, assiduously serve the 1% that owns the country while allowing everyone else to drift. Particularly culpable was Bill Clinton" who, "in his frantic pursuit of election victories, set in place the trigger for a police state which his successor is now happily squeezing" (*Guardian*, 27 April).

Clinton's response to the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing of a federal office building, which was carried out by white American Timothy McVeigh, was to launch vicious assaults on immigrant rights, including implementing secret trials, and to virtually eliminate *habeas corpus* appeals for death row prisoners. Vidal added, "Clinton said that those who did not support his draconian legislation were terrorist co-conspirators who wanted to turn 'America into a safe house for terrorists'"—the same logic used by Bush & Co. to justify their attacks on democratic rights.

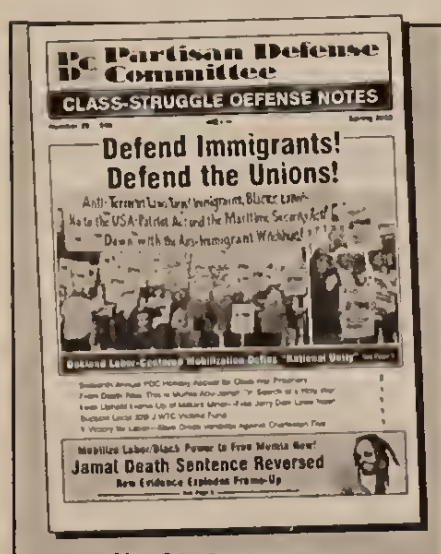
While Ashcroft's plans were long in the works, it was the Democrats' efforts to make political hay out of pre-9/11 "intelligence failures" by the FBI that set the stage for the Bush administration to issue its new FBI guidelines, which provide justification for massive and intrusive state surveillance, suspension of democratic rights and the use of extralegal force. Such investigations for "prevention" provide the perfect open-ended situation for the government to justify its actions: if there are not terrorist attacks, then the methods are "proven" successful; if there are terrorist attacks, this is justification for even more state surveillance.

Defending the new guidelines during Congressional hearings last week, New York's Democratic Senator Charles Schumer complained that Minneapolis FBI agents failed to seek a warrant to search Moussaoui's computer because "the bar for getting those warrants is set too high" (*New York Times*, 1 August). Too high! This bar could have been vaulted over by anyone. Every single one of the nearly 1,000 warrant applications made last year to the secret FISA court—established by the 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act—was approved; and since its origin that court has turned down less than five of the more than 10,000 applications it received!

Defend Democratic Rights!

The U.S. capitalist rulers are constantly seeking to reinforce their means of control over the population. For nearly 30 years, the rights of labor, black people and immigrants were being chipped away by legislation and court decisions. The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center handed Bush & Co. a power saw to finish the job.

The result has been a panoply of newly minted laws, orders, directives and gov-



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Palestinians...

(continued from page 12)

(defined as a per capita income of $2.50 per day). Income is expected to plunge by yet another 30 percent by the end of the year.

The tightening ghettoization of Arab towns and villages, combined with the massive destruction of West Bank society and infrastructure carried out by the Israeli military in April, has reduced what economic life existed to the barest minimum. Meanwhile, the Zionist rulers are withholding some $600 million in international aid from the Palestinians. ***Israel's rulers are carrying out a policy of starvation in the Occupied Territories.***

After nine years of Palestinian "autonomy," the number of Zionist settlers has doubled, totaling some 400,000 in Gaza, the West Bank and an ever-expanding East Jerusalem. The true face of the settler movement was seen in the pogromist rampage last week in Hebron, where some 500 settlers protected by 6,000 troops lord it over an Arab population of 120,000. A funeral for a settler killed by Palestinians was turned into an anti-Arab pogrom, as a racist mob shot dead a 14-year-old girl in her home, wounded her brother, stabbed another young boy and broke into Palestinian houses and smashed up the local market. A recent poll conducted by the liberal Peace Now organization showed that 68 percent of the nearly 200,000 West Bank settlers would be willing to leave if compensated. Presumably, these are largely the recent immigrants who were forced to live there by the government or those drawn mainly by artificially low housing costs. That leaves a solid core of 60,000 or more hard-bitten zealots—just in the West Bank—who are determined to serve as an advance guard in a genocidal war to expel the Palestinians.

At bottom, the settler movement is an auxiliary army of occupation and the settlements little more than military outposts, linked by strategic "bypass" highways, open only to Jews, and a growing network of military checkpoints where Palestinians are routinely terrorized and humiliated. It is to maintain this apparatus of terror that the Israeli government spends ***$1 billion*** a year on "security" and housing subsidies in the Occupied Territories, even as it denies the bare essentials of existence to the Palestinian population and slashes social services for working people in Israel. Defense of the Palestinians must begin with the demand for ***the immediate removal of all anti-Arab fortifications in the Occupied Territories—the troops, the settlements and the apartheid highway network.***

While Palestinian attacks on Israeli soldiers and their fascistic settler auxiliaries at least target the enforcers of the brutal Zionist occupation, the bombings of schools, buses, shopping malls or discos are criminal from the standpoint of the working class. Such attacks are aimed simply at killing as many Israeli civilians as possible, just as the Israeli state terror in Gaza, carried out with far more formidable firepower, was aimed at killing as many Palestinians as possible. The choice of Hebrew University as a Hamas target is particularly significant, as this is one of the few venues where Jews and Arabs have continued to intermingle despite the steady deepening of national antagonisms over the last two years. And, in fact, many of the wounded at the university were Arab students.

The organizers of such indiscriminate bombings—whether Islamic fundamentalists or Palestinian nationalists like the Al Aksa Brigade—share the reactionary mindset of the Zionist rulers. Just as Sharon deems every Palestinian a "terrorist" to be tortured, murdered or starved to death, Hamas & Co. consider it a crime to have been born into the Hebrew-speaking population or even to associate with it in any way. Such criminal attacks serve only to deepen the grip of chauvinism over the Hebrew-speaking working people and drive them further into the arms of their own exploiters.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The Gaza City attack came just as the Tanzim militia associated with Yasir Arafat's Fatah organization was about to declare a cease-fire that would end "all attacks on innocent men, women and children who are non-combatants." Obviously timed to scuttle this unilateral declaration, which was largely brokered by the European Union, Sharon's bombing followed a pattern of provocation that goes right back to the start of the Palestinian uprising. What triggered the *Intifada* in the first place was Sharon's march (with the approval of the then Labor government) through the Muslim holy shrine of Al Aksa in Jerusalem with more than a thousand heavily armed soldiers in the fall of 2000.

Since then, every attempt to broker some kind of "peace" agreement—invariably based on the demand that the Palestinians cease to defend themselves against the Zionist occupiers—has been buried in the rubble and burning wreckage left by another onslaught of the Israeli war machine. Thus when Arafat met U.S. president Clinton in November 2000, Israel responded by blowing up a Fatah activist in his van—also killing random pedestrians—with anti-tank missiles launched from helicopters. Similarly, a Jordanian "peace mission" in April 2001 was greeted with an Israeli bombing attack in Lebanon along with additional provocations in the West Bank and Gaza.

This ***betrayal*** of the just aspirations of the Palestinian people was the result of the nationalist strategy pursued by Fatah and the rest of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), including such "radical" groups as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Enormously outgunned by the Zionist state, the PLO was under no illusion that a military struggle could achieve Palestinian statehood. In practice, these petty-bourgeois nationalists looked to the Arab bourgeois states, the United Nations and, finally, directly to the U.S. imperialists to pressure Israel into a deal.

With the counterrevolutionary collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the PLO was deprived of crucial diplomatic and financial support, paving the way for the ignominious U.S.-sponsored "peace." The result has been such a catastrophe that large sections of the historically cosmopolitan Palestinian population have

AFP

Along with seven killed, 80 students, both Jewish and Arab, were wounded in criminal July 31 bomb attack by Hamas at Jerusalem's Hebrew University, one of few integrated institutions in Israel.

This past February, Israel reacted to a Saudi-sponsored "peace" proposal by devastating another refugee camp in the West Bank, killing over 30 Palestinians.

Throughout this slaughter, Israel has been backed to the hilt by the U.S. imperialists with arms, supplies and billions in cash. For both major bourgeois parties in the U.S.—Republicans and Democrats—support for the Zionist state is an unassailable article of faith. At the same time, the U.S. seeks to maintain enough of a semblance of concern for the plight of the Palestinian people so as not to completely discredit Washington's Arab client regimes in the face of widespread popular unrest and powerful Islamist opposition movements. Thus after Israel's air strike in Gaza, some State Department advisers wanted to "put enough daylight between us and them so that our efforts are not completely discredited."

This is where black Democratic Party mainstay Jesse Jackson steps in to offer a helping hand. Last month, Jackson traveled to the Near East to urge the Palestinians to adopt a policy of "nonviolence" and to promote "reconciliation" between Israel and the Palestinians. Jackson called on the United States to "use its leverage, incentives and world power to make it happen," as though the same government that subjects black Americans to ghettoization and mass incarceration will somehow "protect" the Palestinian people from the Zionist terror machine armed and subsidized by U.S. imperialism.

Jackson is looking to revive the "peace process" that Democrat Clinton presided over in 1993. Coming after the 1991 assault on Iraq, in which U.S. imperialism reasserted its unchallenged hegemony in the oil-rich Near East, the 1993 "peace" deal was seen by Washington as a way of sealing a Pax Americana in the region. For the Zionist rulers, it was a way of offloading the policing of the Occupied Territories into the willing hands of Arafat and a handful of his nationalist cronies. For all the vague promises of an eventual bantustan-style mini-state in the sweet by-and-by—if the Palestinians "behaved themselves"—that was the real content of the "autonomy" ushered in by the Oslo Accords.

turned to the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, purveyors of religious obscurantism, anti-woman bigotry and anti-Semitism.

The horrors to which the Palestinians have been subjected have provoked outrage and protest around the world. But many of these protests have been aimed at appeals to one or another imperialist agency to intervene in defense of the Palestinians. We warn that any imperialist military intervention would only aid in ***quelling*** the Palestinian national struggle, as the United Nations did in overseeing the creation of the Zionist state in 1948 and in disarming Palestinian fighters in Lebanon in 1982, leading to Sharon's massacre of over 2,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. As for the U.S., it is already intervening in the region, not only in support of Israel but in the ongoing bombing of Iraq. We fight rather to mobilize the working people in this country and internationally in concrete acts of class-struggle solidarity with the besieged Palestinians. ***Down with the U.S./Israel oxis of terror! Down with U.S. aid to Israel!***

There can be no genuine self-determination for the Palestinian Arab people—carved up between Israel, the Occupied Territories, Jordan and Lebanon—short of thoroughgoing socialist revolutions that sweep away the capitalist order throughout the Near East. Nor is self-determination conceivable without the right of Palestinians to return to the lands inside Israel from which they were expelled in decades past. But the Hebrew-speaking nation also has the right to exist. The contending national claims of these two peoples can never be equitably sorted out under capitalism, which is based on national aggrandizement.

It is vitally necessary to build revolutionary workers parties that will fight to break Hebrew workers from the stranglehold of intense chauvinism and Arab workers from the nationalism and Islamic reaction that bind them to their rulers. Only under the red banner of proletarian internationalism can all the peoples of the region achieve national and social justice within a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

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ernment agencies to be wielded by the ruling class against the proletariat and all the oppressed. This was made abundantly clear by Peter Kirsanow, Bush's commissioner for "Civil Rights"—a man who has spent his entire career opposing civil rights. During a July meeting in Detroit, Kirsanow ominously told a crowd largely made up of Arab Americans, "forget about civil rights" if there is another terrorist attack by "the same ethnic group that attacked the World Trade Center." Kirsanow continued, "Nobody will be crying in their beer if there are more stops, more detentions, more profiling." As British commentator Chris Floyd put it, the government wants Americans to accept its police-state measures, "otherwise, it'll be camps, curfews and kangaroo courts for the whole damn country" (*Moscow Times*, 26 July).

The only rights sacred to the bourgeoisie are the rights to own property and exploit labor. The rights cherished by working people were never freely granted by the capitalist rulers, but won through hard and often bloody social struggle. In his 1935 treatise *The State in Theory and Practice*, Harold Laski noted:

> "How accidental was the union of capitalism with democracy. It was the outcome, not of an essential harmony of inner principle, but of that epoch in economic evolution.... It would offer social reforms so long as these did not jeopardize the essential relations of the capitalist system."

The capitalist state—cops, courts, prisons and army—is nothing but an instrument of organized violence to protect the interests of the filthy-rich capitalists against the workers who produce the wealth of this society. Having secured a fabulous increase in their riches and profits over the past two decades through increasing the exploitation of the working class and slashing virtually all social programs benefiting the poor (as well as looting their own corporations to the tune of billions), America's rulers are quite cognizant they are sitting on top of seething discontent among the masses at the bottom of this society.

By first targeting Muslim immigrants, the rulers have created the spectre of an "enemy within" in order to strengthen the powers of their own consummately violent state. What is necessary is to fight now in defense of our rights and the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed. The Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, initiated the Oakland February 9 united-front, labor-centered mobilization of trade unionists, immigrants, blacks and others in defense of immigrant rights and against the government's new repressive laws. As the SL speaker emphasized at the rally:

> "In fighting every injustice and every oppression, we in the Spartacist League have the aim of making the working class as a whole conscious of its historic tasks: bringing down this whole system of greed, exploitation and war that is capitalism. It's necessary to fight, and in the process forge a party of professional revolutionaries that acts as a tribune of the people—addressing questions like the oppression of women, the right to abortion; a party that fights against anti-gay bigotry; a party that recognizes the centrality of the fight against black oppression in the fight for a socialist revolution. Join us in this fight!" ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Defend the Palestinians!

AFP

Down With Bloody Zionist Occupation!

Fifteen Palestinians were killed, 160 were wounded and an entire Gaza City neighborhood was destroyed in July 22 Israeli attack by U.S.-supplied F-16 jet.

U.S. Hands Off Iraq!

AUGUST 5—Just before midnight on July 22, an American-supplied F-16 fighter jet dropped a one-ton bomb on a densely populated neighborhood in Gaza City. Supposedly aimed at killing one man, the alleged founder of the military wing of Hamas, the terror bombing killed 14 other Palestinians, including nine children, who were asleep in their homes. Right-wing prime minister Ariel Sharon gloated that this was "one of our major successes," while "Labor" foreign minister Shimon Peres responded to international criticism by conceding that "a smaller bomb could have been more appropriate"! In other words, the extent of death and devastation—an entire block of apartment buildings reduced to rubble, scores of people cramming hospital wards, dead babies dug out from the heaps of debris—was too much for these butchers to conceal.

This atrocity was a bloody provocation designed not to prevent terror attacks by the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas, as Israeli government spokesmen claimed, but to *guarantee* more of them. On July 31, Hamas set off a bomb at lunch time in the cafeteria of Jerusalem's Hebrew University, killing seven people, mostly students. This was followed in rapid succession by a murderous Israeli crackdown in Nablus—one of seven West Bank cities reoccupied last month—more army killings in Gaza and further Palestinian terrorist attacks. Yesterday, Hamas claimed credit for the bombing of a bus which left at least nine people dead and more than 40 injured. Meanwhile, the Zionist rulers are carrying out the Nazi policy of "collective punishment" with a vengeance, blowing up homes or deporting families of suspected terrorists and subjecting the whole Palestinian population to a total lockdown.

Seizing on the Hebrew University attack, whose victims included five Americans, U.S. president Bush issued a blank check for the next round of brutal Zionist attacks, intoning that "Israel must defend herself." But in the face of an international clamor, even Bush felt compelled to distance himself from the "heavy-handed" Gaza bombing. Above all, the White House is concerned that any serious escalation by Sharon could pose an obstacle to its one overriding obsession in the Near East: the crushing of the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. Over the past month, the Bush administration has sharply ratcheted up talk of an invasion. A number of possible war plans are being mooted, including a massive ground invasion involving a quarter-million troops and an "outside-inside" scheme combining heavy air strikes with a deployment of 50,000 troops to seize Baghdad and assassinate Hussein.

The invasion threat has generated considerable unease among the West European powers, among Arab leaders like Jordan's King Abdullah—who warned Bush that an invasion could throw the whole region into turmoil—and even among elements in the Pentagon. Most pusillanimous have been the Democrats, who whimper only that Bush should first present his case for an invasion in Congress. What case? Even Hitler felt the need to fabricate a provocation to justify his invasion of Poland in 1939. But the American imperialist rulers arrogantly declare that they need no justification to overthrow any government or "preemptively" invade any country they can get away with attacking. For all the blather about "weapons of mass destruction," Bush administration spokesmen have rejected out of hand Iraq's offer to reinstitute the United Nations "arms inspection" regime.

An American invasion of Iraq would massively deepen the destruction carried out by the U.S. in the 1991 Gulf War, and by the bombing campaign which continues to this day, further devastating the infrastructure of what was once one of the most advanced Arab countries. In recent months, Washington has been putting a squeeze on the "oil for food" program which provides a minimal lifeline for a population besieged by the continuing UN starvation blockade. Curtailing oil sales ensures that there will be even more victims than the one and a half million men, women and children who have already died from malnutrition and lack of medicines. ***Down with the imperialist embargo! U.S. honds off Iraq! All U.S./UN troops out of the Near East! Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinions!***

Reuters

Hebron, July 28: Fascistic Zionist settlers riot against Palestinians, killing 14-year-old girl. In Hebron, 120,000 Palestinians are placed under 24-hour curfew while 500 settlers roam the streets protected by thousands of Israeli troops.

Zionist Cycle of Terror

The current plight of the Palestinian people is the end-product of the 1993 "peace" accords setting up an "autonomous" Palestinian Authority that is now effectively buried under Israeli tank treads. A recent World Bank study conveys some sense of the nightmarish conditions in the Occupied Territories. The lack of any real Israeli investment since the territories were seized in 1967 meant that Palestinians relied overwhelmingly on menial, low-wage jobs in Israel. But especially since 1993, those jobs were increasingly sealed off through ever more frequent "security" closures and the building of a concrete-and-barbed-wire wall around Gaza. From 1992 to 1998, the total number of Palestinian workers employed in Israel declined by half—and even more in the case of Gaza residents—reducing per capita income to 1967 levels. Today, the unemployment rate has surpassed 50 percent, half of all children suffer from malnutrition and two-thirds of Palestinians live below the poverty level

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Down With the UN Starvation Embargo!

AP photos

Reuters

U.S. Hands Off Iraq!

SEPTEMBER 3—The war drums are beating ever more loudly in Washington. After months of "leaked" invasion scenarios and strident ultimatums for a "regime change" in Baghdad, Vice President Richard Cheney and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld last week declared the obvious: the Bush cabal is openly charting a course for war against Iraq. In response to widespread expressions of unease or opposition from imperialist allies, Near Eastern client regimes and even Republican stalwarts in the U.S., the White House arrogantly declares that it will press ahead with or without Congressional "debate," international support or a United Nations fig leaf.

Some 200,000 U.S. and British troops are already in the region, including thousands just across the border from Iraq in Kuwait. Faced with Saudi Arabia's opposition to the use of bases there, the Pentagon is massively expanding and equipping its air base in the tiny emirate of Qatar. Washington is mollifying opposition to the use of critical military facilities in Turkey with a $4 billion aid deal, down payment for future services rendered. On August 8, 5,000 Turkish troops reportedly joined a large number of U.S. Special Forces commandos already in place in the imperialist-controlled Kurdish area of northern Iraq to attack the Hurriyet airfield, located near Iraq's main oil fields.

Cheney, Rumsfeld & Co. are itching to "finish the job" they began under Bush Sr. in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, when then-Defense Secretary Cheney ghoulishly autographed a "bunker buster" bomb of the kind that incinerated hundreds of civilians crammed into a Baghdad air raid shelter. That war began with the bombing of a baby food factory and ended with the massacre of tens of thousands of Iraqi troops, literally shot in the back as they retreated along the infamous "highway of death." The U.S. deliberately targeted water sewage and treatment systems, devastating what had been one of the most developed societies in the Near East. In the years since, thousands of families have seen their loved ones buried or

AP

U.S. warplanes menace Iraq. Women demonstrate in Baghdad, January 2001, on tenth anniversary of 1991 U.S. imperialist war.

homes demolished under U.S. and British bombs. A million and a half more have fallen victim to the more "civilized" terror of the United Nations starvation blockade, among them an estimated 5,000 children under the age of five who die every month from malnutrition and lack of medical care.

The war propaganda being churned out to justify another round of imperialist mass murder is breathtaking in its cynicism. The wealthiest, most powerful purveyor of terror in history fulminates against tinpot ruler Saddam Hussein as a menace to the world, "another Hitler." Britain, which gassed insurgent Kurdish villages in Iraq in the 1920s, joins the U.S., which saturated the jungles of Vietnam with Agent Orange and CS gas, in denouncing Iraq's use of chemical weapons in the 1980-88 war with Iran. The U.S. ought to know: it was secretly aiding and militarily advising Iraq at the time. The Pentagon "wasn't so horrified by Iraq's use of gas," recalled a veteran of that covert aid program. "It was just another way of killing people" (*New York Times*, 18 August).

Washington rants about purported "weapons of mass destruction" in Iraq while providing Zionist Israel with fighter jets and helicopter gunships to kill Palestinian kids and wreak mass destruction in the Occupied Territories. And the war-crazed Zionists could well nuke Baghdad should a single Iraqi missile land on Israeli soil. The Pentagon's "Nuclear Posture Review" allows for a "pre-emptive" nuclear strike against Iraq, among other countries. Coming from the ruling class that A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, this is no idle threat. Now Cheney ludicrously claims that Iraq, whose only nuclear reactor was bombed by the Israelis in 1981, is on the verge of developing nuclear weapons. The truth is the U.S. wouldn't so readily contemplate an attack if Iraq did have a nuclear arsenal, which remains about the only real guarantor of national sovereignty in today's world.

War is the continuation of politics by other means. Imperialist war is the concentrated expression of the "normal" workings of the capitalist system, which daily condemns countless numbers of people around the world to death by malnutrition, lack of medical care and industrial "accidents." As always, imperialist terror abroad will mean further repression and regimentation at home.

Wielding the bodies of the thousands slaughtered in the World Trade Center attack, the Bush administration declared an open-ended "war on terror" against all perceived enemies, foreign and domestic. The cry of "national unity" was used to mobilize the population behind a murderous military adventure in Afghanistan. In the U.S., it has meant anti-immigrant witchhunts and racist dragnets of Near Eastern and South Asian immigrants, increased surveillance and spying, draconian attacks on democratic rights and new laws targeting the rights of organized labor in particular. Now the government has met the possibility of a West Coast port strike with threats of everything from Taft-Hartley injunctions to a military occupation of the docks.

Against the "national unity" promoted by the bosses and the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats, we counterpose the class unity of the proletariat internationally. If the working class is to defend its interests against the capitalist exploiters, it must stand in solidarity with the neocolonial victims of American imperialist depredation. In the face of impending imperialist war, we strive to inculcate in the working class and antiwar youth the Marxist understanding laid out by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky in the 1930s:

> "The struggle against war, properly understood and executed, presupposes the

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Young Spartacus

On the Slogan "No U.S. Aid to Israel!"

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NYC Transit: Deathtrap for Workers

Christopher Bonaparte Killed on Tracks

Bonaparte family

On August 9, New York City subway track worker Christopher Bonaparte was struck and killed by a rerouted A train in the subway tunnel near Liberty Avenue in Brooklyn. The circumstances surrounding his death—the normal hazards that track workers face every day—illuminate the callous indifference to the lives of workers exhibited by New York City Transit (NYCT) brass.

Bonaparte was a flagman. On the night of the accident, he was stationed some distance up track from his work crew in order to stop oncoming trains if necessary and alert his crew to "clear up" to allow the train to go by. Because of a sick passenger on the A line in that area, a southbound A train was rerouted from the local to the express track. Normally, at 3:00 in the morning there are no trains running on the express tracks. Bonaparte knew nothing of the service change and was struck by a train that he did not expect when he stepped onto the southbound express tracks.

Over the past 20 years, nearly one transit worker per year has been killed by electrocution or being hit by trains. The majority of those victims were working in the track division, which is heavily black and lower paid. NYCT doesn't issue radios to flagmen, only to supervisors. When trains are rerouted, crews working on the tracks are often not notified The tunnels are poorly lit; footing is hazardous. According to NYC transit officials, the flagman assignment is normally considered a safe one! In reality, working track is scary and, of course, deadly dangerous.

Chris Bonaparte was killed by a system that substitutes workers' blood for capital investment: extra flagmen and clean, well-lit tunnels cost money, and so do radios. NYCT spends millions on drug testing and company spies, but won't spend the money for the necessary safety measures or adequate manpower to save workers' lives. Massive funding is needed to rebuild New York City's antiquated, decrepit transit system and institute real safeguards for workers' (and riders') safety.

Even as Chris Bonaparte lay dying, the NYCT's "safety" program was in motion. In accordance with standard company procedure, the traumatized train operator was drug-tested, as was the blood of Bonaparte. As usual, the investigation had little to do with safety—liability is what concerns the transit bosses. The conclusion is always the same: the worker made an error, and his death is the result of his own faulty actions. So blame the worker—dead men can't talk. Liability of the NYCT = $0.

This was the same slander used against the late Samuel McPhaul, another flagman who died of electrocution in a dark and hazardous tunnel just over a year ago. In this case the company's Office of System Safety distributed a report based on McPhaul's subpoenaed medical records to track supervisors and track workers in order to squelch workers' anger and push management's baseless claim that McPhaul's prior health problems, such as high blood pressure, caused him to simply collapse onto the 600-volt third rail. At the Linden Avenue train yard in Brooklyn, supervisors went so far as to spend *four hours* reading aloud the entire document to assembled workers. According to Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 shop steward Michael Smith, "There was no purpose behind it. They were just trying to blame Mr. McPhaul for his own death. They were going through this man's personal life" (*Chief-Leader*, 12 July). TWU Local 100 protested these outrageous actions by transit officials, getting them to cease distribution of the report.

Belying their claims of promoting safety, the NYCT does not meet the minimal state and federal standards for safety on the tracks. But the union's recent push for stricter standards falls far short of what is needed. Even now, after the death of Bonaparte, the union is worse than silent, going so far as to alibi the company's murderous and vindictive policies. "There were no safety violations. It seems to be just an unfortunate reality of this line of work," said Local 100's vice president of track John Samuelsen (*Chief-Leader*, 16 August). When a worker dies on the job there certainly is a violation! It should not happen and it certainly would happen a lot less if the next time such an incident occurred the union mobilized workers throughout the system to down tools and walk out in recognition of their fallen co-worker and in protest against the bosses' disregard of safety.

When current Local 100 president Roger Toussaint was a track worker and an up-and-coming union activist he made a big issue out of safety, but now he is a "responsible labor statesman." The only way workers have ever won anything, including safety in the workplace, is by wielding their power in defiance of the bosses' laws. *Transit workers must fight for elected union safety committees with the power to immediately shut down any unsafe working condition on the spot*, unlike the present situation where union stewards and safety reps can only respond to the most outrageous violations.

Chris Bonaparte's funeral was a sad and somber occasion for the mostly black track workers who came to pay their respects. Every member of Local 100 should have been there, but the union leadership hardly publicized this terrible death on the tracks. It will take a class-struggle leadership, committed to fighting capitalism, to mobilize workers in defense of their lives and their futures. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Defense of Semicolonial Countries Against Imperialist Attack

The Bush administration is openly preparing to invade Iraq. The working class in the U.S. and throughout the world must support the military defense of Iraq against American imperialism, despite the reactionary and oppressive Saddam Hussein regime. When in the late 1930s imperialist Japan invaded and occupied sections of China, then ruled by the reactionary nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky advocated and explained the policy of revolutionary defensism as it applied to China.

We must carefully distinguish between the imperialist countries and the backward countries, colonial and semicolonial. The attitude of the working class organizations in and toward these two groupings cannot be the same. The present war between China and Japan is a classic example. It is absolutely indisputable that, on the part of Japan, it is a war of rapine and that, on the part of China, it is a war of national defense. Only conscious or unconscious agents of Japanese imperialism can put the two countries on the same plane....

The working class movement cannot remain neutral in a struggle between those who wish to enslave and those who are enslaved. The working class movement in China, Japan, and in the entire world must oppose with all its strength the Japanese imperialist bandits and support the people of China and their army.

This does not at all suppose a blind confidence in the Chinese government and in Chiang Kai-shek.... In participating in the legitimate and progressive national war against Japanese invasion, the working class organizations must preserve their entire *politicol independence* of the Chiang Kai-shek government....

A pacifist who has the same attitude toward China as toward Japan in this terrible conflict is like one who would identify a lockout with a strike. The working class movement is against a lockout by the exploiters and for a strike of the exploited. At the same time, strikes are often led by misleaders who are capable of betraying the working class movement during the strike. This is no reason for workers to refuse to participate in the strike but it is reason for mobilizing the working masses against the defections and the treason of the leadership. It often happens that during or after a strike the organized masses change their leadership. This can very well happen in China. But this change can be favorable for the people only if the Chinese and international working class organizations support China against Japan.

—Leon Trotsky, "Pacifism and China" (25 September 1937)

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TWU Tops Feud After Queens Bus Strike

A Strike, a Sellout, a Lawsuit

NYC Transit

NEW YORK CITY—For seven weeks this summer, more than 1,500 striking Queens bus workers remained solid in the face of an anti-union offensive by the city and the private lines bus companies. These members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 were fighting in defense of their health benefits and for job security. But rather than mobilize the power of the 36,000-strong Local 100 in support of the strike, the TWU tops pursued the impotent strategy of appealing to "labor-friendly" Democratic Party politicians. And after a long, bitter struggle, the bus workers were sold out by the Local 100 misleaders who told them to swallow a contract that barely maintained existing health benefits and offered no assurances of job security.

Both Local 100 president Roger Toussaint and TWU international president Sonny Hall hailed the sellout as a "victory." The contract, which expires in seven months, includes a 4 percent retroactive wage increase for 2001 and 4 percent for 2002, but this still doesn't achieve parity with the union's Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) bus workers. While the workers will have to jack up payments to their health plan from $3 to $10 per week, health benefits are only being kept alive by a $3.75 million "advance" from the city. The companies are intent on paying back this "advance" through "productivity improvements," which will mean speedup and other attacks on working conditions. As for job security, Toussaint pointed to a non-binding resolution signed by a majority of City Council members (that wasn't even voted on) to "preserve" jobs and union protection. As one bus worker put it: "We were out seven weeks for nothing. We're signing a contract that was the same as the original offer" (*New York Times*, 7 August).

Toussaint came to power last year as part of the "progressive" New Directions (ND) slate, which postured as a militant alternative to the discredited, more conservative candidate of the "old guard" bureaucracy led by Sonny Hall. Just days after the strike ended, Toussaint went to court to seek an injunction to stop Hall from bringing union discipline against him for his comments to the labor-hating *New York Times*. Thus Toussaint treacherously invited the anti-labor courts to intervene into the union's internal affairs. According to the *Times* (7 August), Toussaint had "advised the bus drivers' negotiating committee against a strike" and said that George Jennings, vice president of Local 100's private lines bus division and an ally of Hall, "fomented the strike."

WV Photo

July rally of Queens bus strikers, who held out for seven weeks before sellout by union tops.

Toussaint made these comments just as the bus drivers were voting to settle their strike, after walking the picket lines for weeks in the sweltering heat and living on only $50 a week in strike benefits. But Toussaint's opposition to strike action is a longstanding policy, as was seen during the tumultuous 1999 battle over the city's subway and bus workers TWU contract. When the "old guard" bureaucracy then at the helm of Local 100 caved in to the city and state government's anti-strike injunctions, Toussaint and the ND "opposition" also opposed a strike and even stopped workers from uttering the word "strike" at an ND rally. During the 2000 union elections, Toussaint and other ND candidates repeatedly stressed that they were not "strike-happy."

Seizing on Toussaint's statement to the *Times*, Hall declared in an August 8 memo titled "Irresponsible and Unacceptable Statements" that the bus workers "should not have been told by their Local Union President that they were fools to be on STRIKE and to be told it was a STRIKE their President did not support." Under pressure from the increasingly frustrated bus strikers, Hall's atty Jennings led a walkout of hundreds of strikers at a July 14 membership meeting where Toussaint had paraded a bunch of Democratic politicians. But Jennings never offered an alternative to Toussaint's losing strategy and in the end supported the sellout deal. Jennings even called on the private lines workers during the middle of the strike to split Local 100 by forming their own union!

Fortunately, Toussaint's suit against Hall was dismissed by the court. But the threat of government intervention still hangs over the union's head, as Toussaint & Co. have called for the Labor Department to "investigate" the vote counting at last year's TWU international convention, where Hall defeated a bid by Toussaint for international president. Assisting Toussaint in all these dangerous maneuvers is Local 100 lawyer Arthur Schwartz, a leading light in the sinister Association for Union Democracy, which specializes in dragging the unions into the bourgeois courts (see "Association for Union Democracy: Lawyers for Government Union-Busting," WV No. 738, 30 June 2000).

It is *as stupid as it is criminal* to invite the courts and Labor Department to intervene into the unions. With the contract expiration date for the city's 34,000-plus subway and bus workers less than three and a half months away, the last thing these workers need is the bosses' courts and other government agencies mucking around in the union's internal affairs. Far from being neutral, the capitalist courts are a crucial arm of the bourgeois state—a machinery of violence and repression wielded against the working class and oppressed on behalf of those who live off the exploitation of labor. The ruling class welcomes such opportunities to come into the unions as a way to gut their independence and dictate how they are run. *Government, cops, courts out of the unions!*

The strategy of appealing to the capitalist courts and politicians, which is pursued by *both* wings of the TWU bureaucracy, has shackled labor's power. This encourages management attacks and undermines the union in the face of the bosses' schemes to keep transit workers divided. In addition to the private lines, MTA public sector bus workers are divided between New York City Transit (NYCT) and the Manhattan and Bronx Surface Transit Operating Authority (MaBSTOA) divisions. Furthermore, several New York City bus lines and facilities are organized by various locals of the Amalgamated Transit Union.

Now, NYC mayor Michael Bloomberg has proposed that the private lines be taken over by the MTA and saddled with the state Taylor Law, which outlaws strikes by public employees. A union leadership unwilling to challenge the Taylor Law "negotiates" with its hands tied behind its back. The "Regional Bus Company" proposal pushed by Bloomberg is connected to plans to split Local 100's subway and bus bargaining units, which would cripple the union, particularly in the event of a strike. What is needed is *one industrial union* of all NYC transit workers, *one expiration date*

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Spartacist Forums

South Africa Torn by AIDS Crisis
Workers Struggle Against ANC Neo-Apartheid Rule

CHICAGO
Saturday, Sept. 7, 5 p.m.
University of Illinois Circle Center
Room 505 750 S. Halsted
For more information: (312) 563-0441
e-mail: spartacist@iname.com

TORONTO
Saturday, Sept. 14, 6:30 p.m.
U of T, International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (north of College)
For more information:
Trotskyist League (416) 593-4138
e-mail spartcan@on.aibn.com

The Reparations Controversy—
Break the Chains of Capitalist Enslavement!

Saturday, Sept. 7, 2 p.m.
Broadway Presbyterian Church
Broadway and 114 St.

NEW YORK CITY
For more information: (212) 267-1025
e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

Defend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution!
Workers' Protests Shake China
Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Thursday, Sept. 19, 6 p.m.
University of British Columbia
Room 212A, SUB

VANCOUVER
For more information: (604) 687-0353
e-mail: tllt@look.ca

Feds Shred Constitutional Rights
"War on Terrorism" Targets Everybody

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, Sept. 7, 3:30 p.m.
Echo Park Public Library
1410 W. Temple St.,
For more information: (213) 380-8239
e-mail: slsycla@cs.com

BOSTON
Saturday, Sept. 21, 2 p.m.
Harvard Science Center
For information and room: (617) 666-9453
e-mail. bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Thursday, Sept. 5, 7 p.m.
UC Berkeley, 126 Barrows
For more information: (510) 839-0851

BAY AREA

Black Bus Driver Assaulted by Chicago Cops

Defend Arlene Russell!

CHICAGO—On July 17, black bus driver Arlene Russell was arrested on the job and manhandled by police after she protested a racist white cop calling her a "stupid black b---h." Russell, a member of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241, was held for eight hours while the police ran her fingerprints against an international "terrorist" database—a vivid example of how the repressive measures adopted in the post-September 11 "anti-terrorism" drive target workers and minorities.

Russell's case has sparked outrage among her union brothers and sisters, particularly black women drivers who face constant racist and anti-woman abuse on the job. Many Chicago transit workers remember the 1987 struggle to defend black bus driver Cassandra Seay against similar bogus "assault" charges after racist cops viciously beat her. ATU members mobilized to fill the courtroom in support of Seay, winning her acquittal. Out of this struggle, the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League was launched.

Reprinted below is an August 6 letter by the Partisan Defense Committee to Cook County state's attorney Richard A. Devine protesting this racist outrage. We urge all labor, minority rights, student and community organizations to take up Russell's defense and send similar protest statements to: Richard A. Devine, Cook County State's Attorney, 500 Richard J. Daley Center, Chicago, IL 60602. Fax: (312) 603-3000.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee vigorously protests the arrest and prosecution of Arlene Russell, a black bus driver for the Chicago Transit Authority.

On July 17, Ms. Russell was driving the number 12 bus east on Roosevelt Road, when she passed an elderly man who was waving to the bus from across the street; he was then immediately picked up by a police patrol car. Suddenly the police cruiser pulled in front of driver Russell's bus, cutting her off. Two officers jumped out and stood on each side of her bus, a Hispanic officer falsely accused her of stranding a passenger and cited her with a supposed moving violation while a white police officer began banging on the door and shouting racial epithets, including calling her a "stupid black b---h." Within minutes additional squad cars arrived on the scene, including one carrying a Chicago Police Sergeant. When Ms. Russell used her cell phone to report this racist abuse to the Office of Professional Standards on the spot, the policeman who had been shouting racist remarks outrageously attempted to grab the phone out of her hand! He then proceeded to violently grab Ms. Russell's arm, twisted it behind her, painfully squeezed handcuffs on her and dragged her down to the station. Claiming she struck a police officer, they charged her with a misdemeanor battery, which carries a prison sentence. The police continued their vendetta by running an international criminal check on Ms. Russell and held her in lockup for more than eight hours.

This is a blatant case of violent police brutality against a member of the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241 and constitutes a threat to all working people, blacks and minorities in this city. The bogus charge of "battery" for supposedly striking a police officer is an obvious fabrication to cover up the brutal racist actions on the part of the police. *We demand that all charges against Arlene Russell be dropped immediately!* ■

South Chicago: Snapshots of Latino and Black Life

The following contribution, dated July 3, was submitted by Comrade Seneca of our Chicago branch.

* * *

Shame, shame, shame.
I don't wanna ga ta Mexico no more, mare, more.
There's a big, fat policeman at my door, doar, door.
He made me pay a dollar,
He made me go to jail,
I don't wanna go to Mexico na mare, more, more,

This was the clapping game the neighbor's young girls were singing in my kitchen just the other day. Incidentally, the father of these two immigrant girls came home about a month ago after serving six years in jail as a "convicted drug trafficker" (i.e., peddling a few grams of cocaine). He may be facing deportation soon, which will most likely mean yet another perilous trip across the river to come right back to where he was deported from. For the Mexican immigrant children of South Chicago—a neighborhood located on Chicago's Southeast Side in the shadow of the old South Works steel plant—words like "*la migra*" and "social security numbers" have a place in their everyday vocabulary.

For Latino working-class immigrants, the fight for immigrant rights is *central* to the fight for labor rights. And *this is a life or death questian* in many ways. Occasional news investigations offer a glimpse into the very real danger of the Mexican border crossing which many make after each time they get deported; and they *do* make it because, for many Mexicans, "home" offers them little or no means for survival. Immigrants without a social security number in Chicago cannot open an account with the electric or gas companies, and this means suffering sub-zero temperatures without heat in their homes. There were two cases in Chicago of immigrant children who needed organ transplants and could not get them because they were undocumented and the families couldn't pay cash for the transplant procedure. This is to say nothing of life-threatening dangers of state repression for non-citizens, and particularly "illegal aliens," on the part of cops, border patrol agents and vigilantes. Undocumented immigrant workers are very attuned to the fact that the American bourgeois injustice system does not offer them a legal leg to stand on in *any* fight.

These points I mention just to provide a backdrop to the reality we are dealing with when we talk about the question of Latino immigrants in America. This is important to consider when dealing with the question of class struggle in America and specifically the wedge that the racist white ruling class seeks to drive between the black and Latino immigrant working class. And, together with the help of black and Latino petty-bourgeois misleaders, the bourgeoisie has been to a large extent successful in driving this wedge.

South Chicago has historically been, and continues to be, an entry port for working-class Hispanic immigrants. It is also one of the neighborhoods where the displaced black ghetto masses have moved, increasingly more so since the demolition of housing projects. While they live side by side, the two communities interact as little as possible. Many Mexicans say they are afraid of blacks, and they attribute criminality and violence in the neighborhood to black people.

Resentment is often expressed by Mexican immigrant women about the mistreatment and humiliation that they are subjected to by some of the black and even Chicano staff in the area's public clinic. Many complain of being greeted with comments like, "You're back again?!" and "Speak English! You're in America!" and being sent home from the Emergency Room with nothing but a bottle of aspirin to show for it. This reflects a conversation I had with a comrade from the Bay Area. His sister is a nurse in a school and she said to him that, as bad as the black children are treated, the Mexican children are treated even worse.

One also perceives a strong sense of resentment around the question of public aid (i.e., food stamps, vouchers, workman's comp, etc.). Many Mexican immigrants I have spoken with perceive America's "safety net" for workers and the poor, or rather what is left of it, as some sort of treasure chest that allows black Americans and Puerto Ricans to live so much better off than their immigrant counterparts. Rather than seeking to organize to fight for the same entitlements for immigrants, often this perception translates into a sour-grapes attitude of "well, we immigrants want to work, we don't want any handouts."

In the workplace, many Mexicans hold a perception that blacks have a bad work ethic. Upon probing them to define what they mean, I have found that their conception of a "bad" work ethic amounts to wanting to have better wages, a shorter and less intensive workday, and better and safer conditions at the workplace! Mexican workers could stand a whole lot to gain by adopting the very "work ethic" that many now despise! Once I overheard a supervisor (who, incidentally, is a black Latina woman from Belize) say to her Mexican employee that she prefers to hire Latinos because blacks "don't like to work." And this employee, beaming with pride, just ate up every word she said. I later found out that 16-hour nonstop shifts are frequent occurrences for him.

The "work ethic" question is closely tied into the "Amnesty Campaign," which is a nationwide campaign to legalize undocumented immigrants through public marches and lobbying politicians. In the precarious circumstances they live in, undocumented Latino immigrants tend to take comfort in the illusion that, if they just prove to the bourgeois rulers that they are essential to American capitalist society—by doing grueling work for pitiful wages in dangerous conditions and paying taxes faithfully while asking nothing in return in the way of benefits—then the capitalist rulers will somehow be convinced to grant them full citizenship rights.

On the other side of the issue, many black workers feel resentment toward Latinos. Many see yet *another* immigrant group which, in a generation or two, manages to climb the ladder and "pass over" them, so to speak, while they remain at the bottom. It is important to recognize that there is a lot of truth in this statement; being a white Hispanic and a U.S. citizen opens up a lot of possibilities that their immigrant parents, as well as blacks and black Latinos, just do not have. It can also lead to a false sense of security and a certain hostility toward "illegal" immigrants. I would like to make a side note here of the considerable antagonisms I have seen between Latino citizens "with papers" and the undocumented immigrants. Where I live, the term "Chicano" or "Chicana" has become a derisive term that Mexican immigrants use in reference to privileged, petty-bourgeois Mexican Americans who refuse to speak Spanish and use their position of power to humiliate immigrants or otherwise not solidarize with them in any way.

I know a young boy whose father is Puerto Rican and mother is Mexican American. He is dark-skinned with European features, and he can speak a little Spanish, which he learned at the insistence of his grandmother. He has two cousins on either side of the family: one is a blond-haired white boy and the other is black. All three are "Latino" since all six of their parents are "Latino." But you would be a fool to think their experiences in America will be the same just because they are all "Latino." My point is, within two or three generations, as the language falls away, "Latinos" in America are essentially assimilated into one of two categories: black or not black.

The central issue here is *the vital interest* of black and immigrant workers to unite in common struggle. It is necessary to combat the false consciousness that the black and Latino petty-bourgeois misleadership peddle: that the other worker is the enemy; that blacks will never fight for immigrant rights; that immigrants are nothing but scabs who want to steal black workers' jobs.

Combatting such false consciousness is the task of a revolutionary workers party; this is what I sought to explain to incredulous Mexican immigrant workers in South Chicago who couldn't understand why black longshoremen in Oakland would give up their Saturdays (when they can make $1,000 in one day if they drive down to the L.A. ports) to come out to a labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrants! It is not a moral issue; it is a question of survival and of labor defense, I told them. Our February 9 Oakland mobilization against the Maritime Security Act and in defense of immigrant rights has indeed made an impact on workers I have spoken with.

Racial tensions between black people and Hispanics is a nationwide issue, and this must be understood and fought against as we seek to forge a multiracial vanguard party. The fight against black oppression, which is a cornerstone of American capitalism, must be posed pointblank with any and all potential Latino contacts as part of the fight to raise the consciousness of the Latino working class to understand that black liberation is integrally linked to their own liberation. ■

Chicago Democrats Trash Public Housing

Segregation City

CHICAGO—At a rate of nearly one building every month, the Democratic Party administration of Mayor Richard M. Daley is ripping down the city's high-rise public housing projects and dumping tens of thousands of mostly black families into the streets. In the past three years, 29 of 52 high-rises run by the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) have already been demolished, and the rest are scheduled to be razed in the coming decade with the aid of a promised $1.6 billion from the federal government. The CHA's so-called "Plan for Transformation" is part of a nationwide destruction of public housing that, together with the "end of welfare," began under Clinton and continues to intensify under the Bush administration. Under the "HOPE VI" demolition plan instituted by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), more than 100,000 housing units are scheduled for destruction (roughly 10 percent of the nation's public housing), with one-quarter of these in Chicago, a whopping 65 percent of the CHA's family housing.

WV Photo

State Street housing project demolished in 1999, forcing many black residents onto the streets.

Chicago's high-rise projects are crime-infested, police-state wastelands, rotting away from years of so-called "deferred maintenance" which translates into residents living without electricity, hot water or elevators. Journalist Alex Kotlowitz captured the squalid conditions, describing what resident Gwendolyn Hull faces in her CHA apartment:

> "In the living room and the bathroom, water from the vacant apartment above had seeped through the ceiling. Hull urged me to turn on the hot-water faucet in the bathtub. The water, even after running for five minutes, was cool. Hull boiled water as needed, and so did neighbors I spoke with. She showed me what she'd rigged to keep out the rats that had chewed through the base of her front door: She nailed three soup-can lids to close up the space. The utility room that houses all the circuit breakers remained unlocked for months, so kids would turn off the electricity to many of the apartments."
>
> —*Chicago Tribune Magazine*, 10 March

The decaying projects are hardly a decent place to live—but they sure beat the streets, as evidenced by the large number of homeless squatters who have taken over vacant CHA apartments. There are already over 80,000 homeless people in Chicago, a population that has swelled as Illinois has purged its welfare rolls by almost 75 percent in the last five years. The wholesale demolition of Chicago public housing and casting out of its impoverished and overwhelmingly black residents graphically illustrates that the racist American bourgeoisie views the black ghetto masses as an expendable population not "worth" providing with even the most elementary means of subsistence. As enormous numbers of black men are being imprisoned in America's jails, the only housing available to the women and children left behind in the inner cities is being snatched away.

Publicly owned housing for the poor was one of the hard-fought gains—along with industrial unions, social security, unemployment compensation and welfare—resulting from the labor battles of the 1930s. The Federal Housing Act of 1949 declared it to be the "policy of the United States" to provide a "decent home and suitable living environment for every American family." But in Chicago, the North's most segregated city, this gain has always been undermined by the ruling class's commitment to stone hard segregation. With black people prohibited by racist "covenants" from owning homes in white areas, and white landlords refusing black renters, the mass migration of Southern black workers that flocked to Chicago industry beginning during World War I had literally no place to go but the hideously congested South Side ghetto. The horrendous conditions black families lived in are vividly depicted in the play and movie *Raisin in the Sun*.

But rather than build housing on vacant sites, the city's racist rulers were determined to keep blacks penned in to the South Side's "Black Belt." In the 1930s and '40s, the city tore down huge swaths of tenement housing, displacing thousands. The construction of one of the city's first public housing projects, the Ida B. Wells Homes, destroyed nearly as many apartments as were eventually supplied. When it finally opened in 1941, over 17,000 families battled for some 1,600 apartments. Later, in the 1960s, as federal funding dried up, black families were warehoused in cheap cinderblock high-rises like the soon-to-be-demolished giant, 28-building Robert Taylor Homes complex, where 28,000 residents were packed into an area two miles long and a quarter-mile wide.

The very few public housing projects built in white areas, such as the Trumbull Park Homes in Irondale near the South Side steel plants, were reserved for whites only. In the 1950s, the first black families to move into Trumbull Park were attacked by rioting mobs abetted by the local cops and politicians. The planned route of the 14-lane Dan Ryan Expressway, which opened in 1962, was changed by the current mayor's father, Richard J. Daley, to cordon off the largely black projects from the all-white Southwest Side neighborhoods—especially the racist enclave of Bridgeport, ancestral home of the Daley

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Life in the Democracy of Fear

FEAR does funny things to people.

As a direct result of the national wave of fear flooding the U.S., hundreds (if not thousands) of men are held virtually incommunicado in state, federal and military jails; a national snitch program is being proposed, and high-ranking military officials are angling for control of the nation's interior, including its police powers, in the name of "national security."

Although much of this is attributable to the events of 9/11, it is not mere coincidence that these efforts are taking place in the midst of rising unemployment and a widening economic recession.

High-ranking government and military officials, always in search of more power, now want even more. They want Congress to repeal or seriously water down the Posse Comitatus Act, which restricts the military from domestic law enforcement.

History, especially in times of great national hysteria, teaches us important lessons about when the military runs things.

When soldiers of the Japanese Empire struck Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, it would not be long before the media, the military and the politicians launched a racist assault on people of Japanese ancestry—even those who were born in the U.S., and were therefore, according to U.S. law, American citizens.

John L. DeWitt, the West Coast army commander, said it plainly, "The Japanese race is an enemy race, and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become 'Americanized,' the racial strains are undiluted."

When it was raised to Gen. DeWitt that there was no evidence of Japanese American "sabotage or espionage," the General saw this as proof of their sneaky nature, "The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken." [See "A People's History of the Supreme Court," by Peter Irons, p. 350.]

When no proof becomes absolute proof, what is proof, but opinion?

In Gen. DeWitt's words, "A J-p's a J-p." Period.

The Supreme Court, in the infamous *Korematsu* and *Hirabayashi* cases, although they used more elegant words, agreed.

Over 100,000 men, women and children were sent to U.S. concentration camps, in the nation's lifeless and desolate deserts, because they were guilty of being "J-ps."

A racist, sensationalist media, a power-hungry bigoted military leadership, and a craven corps of politicians and judges,—voila!—you have hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, and more, in concentration camps. For *years*!

Does this sound at all familiar? Look around you.

What is now taking place in Cuba's Guantanamo Bay took place on Indian reservations 60 years ago. Progress?

Or are we seeing the grim shadows of a repeat of U.S. history? Land of the free—indeed.

22 July 2002

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Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal," to: Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Young Spartacus

On the Slogan "No U.S. Aid to Israel!"

The following article is based on a presentation by WV *editor Alan Wilde at the SL/U.S. Eleventh National Conference this summer.*

Israeli tanks and forces are laying siege once again to the West Bank. In our March 30 statement about the invasion of Ramallah and other parts of the West Bank, including the horrendous destruction wreaked in Jenin, we wrote that all this could very well be a first step toward a complete re-occupation of the entire West Bank and Gaza Strip. Now, to underscore the point, Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon and his government have announced that they indeed will seize land given to the Palestinian Authority under the Oslo Accords until "Palestinian terrorism" ends. Articles in the *New York Times* report that some members of the government, the Labor Party members essentially, are uneasy about this.

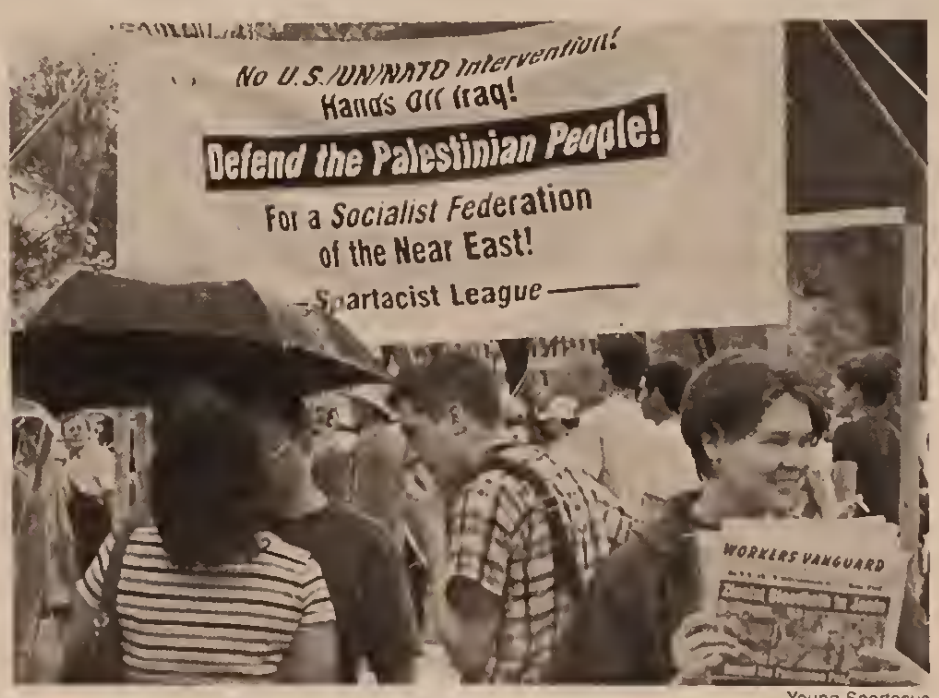
But this uneasiness has nothing to do with concern for the Palestinians. Israeli defense minister and Labor Party spokesman Binyamin Ben-Eliezer declared on Israel radio, "When you speak of occupation, the meaning is that you start dealing with everything from health to sewage. That's not the intention. The intention is a presence on the ground in light of the present reality...for as much time as necessary." That is, we'll take their land and let them starve, if they're lucky. A more direct statement came from an Israeli official who, in Nazi-like manner, declared that for every Israeli killed, 1,000 Palestinians should be slaughtered. To give a sense of proportion, that means that for the 19 people murdered in one of the horrible suicide attacks in Jerusalem, 19,000 Palestinians should die.

The pro-Palestinian movements all over the world have attracted the sympathies of millions of people horrified by the plight of a stateless population fighting to defend its rights, not least its right to self-determination, against an enemy with one of the world's most advanced military apparatuses. On April 20 in the U.S., some 90,000 people rallied in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco against the "war at home and abroad" with the primary focus being Israel's war. Despite the influence of religion, with many people mobilized through their mosques, the fact that tens of thousands of Palestinians and other Arabs came out to protest is significant in a country caught in the hysteria of an "internal enemy" exemplified by Arabs and Muslims. It is in this context, in the context of a national rebellion that continues after nearly two years of brutal suppression, that the slogan "No U.S. aid to Israel" comes up.

A lively debate over if and when it was appropriate to raise "No U.S. aid to Israel" has recently taken place inside our organization. It was kicked off when comrades objected to a trend in our public work and press to what amounted to an equation and conflation of the demand itself with the very opportunist manner in which reformist groups used the demand. In *WV* No. 779 (19 April), we dealt with this slogan as follows:

> "In the U.S., with neither the Democrats nor Republicans even feigning to sympathize with the Palestinians, reformists like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Workers World Party (WWP) and Socialist Action focus on the call to end U.S. aid to Israel. These groups peddle the illusion that by changing its policy toward Israel, American imperialism can be a force for 'peace' and 'justice' in the Near East. Thus the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (5 April) declared: 'We have a responsibility to stand up for justice—and demand that the U.S. government end its support for Israel's terrorist regime.' The clear implication here is that the American government is somehow less of a terrorist regime."

We then continue by pointing out how U.S. support to Israel has been a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy for a long time and how, as Marxists, we seek to mobilize the proletariat in concrete acts of class-struggle solidarity on behalf of the Palestinians.



Young Spartacus

Spartacist banner at Washington, D.C. anti-war, pro-Palestinian protest on April 20.

We have noted in almost every *WV* article on the Near East that Israeli military equipment is largely provided by the U.S. and have called for an end to U.S. intervention into the region. A logical extrapolation of these positions would be that we're for ending American aid to Israel. However, that article in *WV* No. 779 dodged the issue of U.S. aid to Israel, and implicitly made it seem that we are opposed to the demand of ending American aid to Israel. But it's not just that we don't oppose the demand against U.S. aid to Israel—*we enthusiastically support it.*

There is a very useful article from the *Militant* (19 July 1941), the paper of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), titled "Shall We Campaign for Government Aid to the USSR?" The article begins with the following: "It is to be expected that many people who accept our fundamental principle of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union should be anxious in some way or other to translate that principle into action. Once the principled question of the necessity of defending the USSR is accepted, we are still left with the problem of HOW to defend the Soviet Union. What shall we in this country do to defend the Soviet Union?" Well, many of these pro-Palestinian rights activists, much like the readers the *Militant* was trying to address, are asking, "What should we in this country do to defend the Palestinians?"

On the face of it, the question of U.S. aid shouldn't be difficult. We are for ending U.S. aid to Israel. That means all aid, not only what is explicitly expressed as military aid. American economic aid to Israel is financial support to an ultra-loyal ally and a key prop for Zionism, including within Israel, because in addition to it being used to finance the slaughter of Palestinians, it is also used to maintain an illusory level of economic development within Israel itself. It has to do with the fact that Israeli Gross Domestic Product and per capita income resemble those of a European country rather than a Near Eastern one, serving as yet another glue binding the Hebrew-speaking population to its rulers. Additionally, the economic aid allows Israel to do what it wants to the Palestinians as long as it continues to anchor the flow of oil to the U.S. from the region.

The question we're faced with is how to best express our position on the "No U.S. aid to Israel" demand. And questions on this subject have come up, like the issue of "hot-cargoing"—i.e., trade unions refusing to handle goods. Comrades said that unless this slogan "No U.S. aid to Israel" is given a class axis through a concrete example, it will come off sounding like we're appealing to U.S. imperialism to be good and just. It would then follow that to express "No U.S. aid to Israel" in slogan form, we need an accompanying slogan that gives it a proletarian axis, like "Hot cargo military goods to Israel."

One comrade stated that he did not think we should raise the "No U.S. aid" slogan. I don't know if that comrade still has this position, but I think it's important to address the questions that he posed. He pointed to the fact that we haven't raised the slogan in the past, except in one or two examples dating back to the early 1970s, and the reasons for our not having done so should be considered. He argued that the whole question of government aid is not how Marxists normally motivate their class axis. The comrade also noted the fact that the U.S. aids Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, bloody and repressive regimes all over the world—why only select out Israel?

ISO, SWP and Socialist Action feature variants on "No U.S. aid to Israel" slogan designed as appeals to U.S. government to alter its policy toward the Zionist state which is considered even worse than U.S. imperialism.

Our Main Enemy Is U.S. Imperialism

In answering these questions, I want to outline what potential political problems you could encounter with the slogan. First, it was suggested that we raise "*Down with* U.S. aid to Israel" instead. "No U.S. aid" has the quality of pleading for a better foreign policy, while "Down with" is a call of condemnation and is aimed at mobilizing the American working

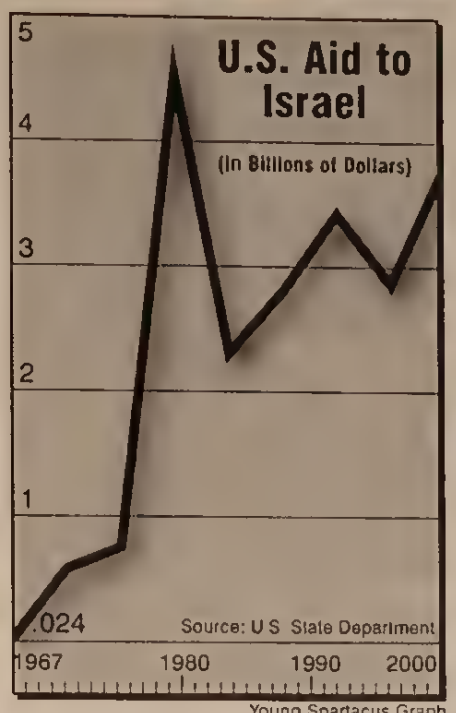
class, though I doubt this distinction will be appreciated by the average reader or person. Context is everything here, and I think this is where the problems arise.

Raised as a central demand, "No" or "Down with" U.S. aid lends itself to a campaign of altering American foreign policy, which carries the implication that the U.S. is somehow a lesser evil than Israel. This approach has certainly been true with our reformist opponents. I quoted a *Socialist Worker* article implying that earlier. Another example is a slogan the ISO sometimes raises that is similar to the "No U.S. aid" slogan—"Stop funding Israeli terrorism." This latter slogan amounts to a direct appeal by the ISO to the U.S. government to stop funding entities that the ISO considers even worse than U.S. imperialism. For the ISO and other groups, but especially the ISO, "No U.S. aid" has become a very central feature of their interventions and has almost come to define their attitude toward the conflict as they tie the slogan to the campaign for American companies and campus administrations to "divest" from Israel. It's sort of like, you're an American or Arab American horrified by what's going on in the Occupied Territories, what can you do? Demand that the U.S. stop aiding Israel.

We don't want to ignore the fact that the U.S., our own government, is funding the army of the Zionist state, which is butchering Palestinians with impunity. At the same time, we want to use this as yet another example to show how the American imperialists aid in the oppression of the oppressed all over the planet. Israel is clearly an enemy, but U.S. imperialism is the main enemy. So we want to give the "Down with U.S. aid" slogan a proletarian axis. Our starting point is mobilizing American workers against American capitalists.

Here we and the reformists part paths. They want to appeal to the U.S. imperialist state, we want to appeal to the working class to mobilize against the U.S. imperialist state. Using the example of the 1935-36 Italian-Ethiopian War, during which the Stalinists were calling for sanctions by the "democratic" imperialists against Italy, the 1941 *Militant* article stated, "Our position [of opposing sanctions] was based on the following reasons: First, we cannot rely on any capitalist government to fulfill progressive tasks; Second: we cannot make a demand for government sanctions because the very nature of such a demand would have a tendency to compel us to support the government in an imperialist war which might result from the exercise of sanctions; Third: it is essential for us to stress independent working-class action."

The article goes on to note that if a government, for its own reasons, was aiding a side we supported in a conflict—such as, in our time, Iran sending arms shipments to the Palestinians—we would not be opposed to that support, but we wouldn't agitate for it. It stresses: "There's a difference between not raising any objection, when a capitalist government sends aid, and *agitating* for such aid. The key to the whole question consists in the understanding that we cannot rely on bourgeois governments to aid our cause. Neither can we take any responsibility for bourgeois governmental policy." In its own way, this answers the question about governmental aid that was posed by the comrade.



Young Spartacus Graph

IDF/AF

Nureldine/AFP

U.S. aid to Israel: F-16 fighter jet on delivery flight from U.S. to Israel (top right). Site of F-16 air strike on July 22 in Gaza City that killed 15 Palestinians, wounded 160 and destroyed or damaged five apartment buildings.

In the case of agitating for an end to American aid to Israel, this demand is a negative one, not qualitatively different from saying "U.S. troops out of the Near East!" or "U.S. hands off Iraq!" or "Abolish the racist death penalty!" We're not calling on the government to do anything, but to stop doing something. In the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict, there's nothing wrong with that.

At the same time, we don't want to frame the discussion as one centrally around a slogan of trying to alter American foreign policy. The U.S. does aid repressive regimes all over the world. We're for ending that, too. But that isn't going to happen until the working class comes to power here. If the U.S. does stop funding and arming Israel as a regional gendarme, that money and military hardware will be given to someone else. For example, more military aid to Egypt or Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, I want to stress that the relationship between the U.S. and Israel is special and not replicated with anyone else. I would highly doubt that the U.S. would allow, say, Egypt to develop the world's fifth-largest nuclear arsenal.

We haven't used the slogan in decades, at least in regard to the Israel-Palestine conflict. Why not? In *WV* No. 31 (26 October 1973) around the time of the '73 Arab-Israeli War, we had a front-page headline, "No U.S. Aid to Israel." But the article really doesn't motivate the slogan. It was written at a time when the U.S. was beginning to greatly increase its support to Israel, while at the same time continuing to support the Arab states. The article notes, "The U.S. bankrolls not only the Israeli army but also the armies of Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Outright U.S. military grants to Israel in the 1949-68 period totalled $369 million, while outright grants to Jordan totalled $556 million." That is, more to Jordan than to Israel.

More interesting is the article that ran alongside the "No U.S. aid" article in *WV* No. 31. It was a National Maritime Union Militant Solidarity Caucus resolution that our supporters put forward around the same time. Officials of the AFL-CIO maritime unions had issued a call for a boycott of Soviet cargo and ships until the USSR stopped sending aid to the Arab states for use against Israel during the '73 war. Obviously, no such action was called against the Americans who were sending aid to Israel. As against the anti-Communist call of the union tops, our supporters put forward this resolution to "raise instead the demand for a boycott of all military aid being flown or shipped from the U.S. to Israel as being the most important way American workers can oppose this reactionary war." The resolution continues:

> "Demand that since labor political strikes are possible, as indicated by the call of the AFL-CIO maritime officials, that this tactic be applied *in the interests of labor*, rather than in the interests of Israeli, U.S. or other ruling classes, through such actions as the 'hot cargoing' of scab lettuce and grapes to support the California farm strikers, and, address the call of American maritime workers to our brother maritime and transportation workers in the USSR to oppose Russian aid to the reactionary Arab states as we oppose aid to Israel and to struggle against their false leaders for the institution of a working-class Soviet international policy of providing aid to the workers' struggles around the world, that is, to Arab workers, not their bosses."

In other words, oppose U.S. aid to Israel, oppose Soviet aid to the Arab bourgeoisie and oppose the foreign policy of American imperialism.

In *Young Spartacus* No. 20 (November-December 1973), we had a front-page article titled "Not Jew Against Arab, But Class Against Class." At the end of the article, we had a paragraph under the subhead "No U.S. Aid or Troops to Israel!" The article concludes:

> "U.S. imperialism, which in the past has completely equipped the armies of both Israel and Jordan, in the present conflict is backing Israel to the hilt. The U.S. government has made it quite clear with the dispatch of Marines and additional aircraft carriers to the Mediterranean that it is prepared to intervene directly in the Near East chancing direct global confrontation with the Soviet Union and nuclear holocaust in order to prevent a decisive Israeli defeat. Further, Israel is known to have its own nuclear arsenal and this too could touch off a global confrontation. It is the responsibility of revolutionaries to struggle against U.S. military intervention into the Near East conflict, whether it takes the present form of supplying and equipping Israel or the form of direct intervention. A call for a trade-union boycott of all arms shipments to the Near East must be taken to the American working class."

Note that it says "all arms shipments to the Near East," not just Israel. This article

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Kyoichi Sawada

AFP

U.S. imperialism, enemy of world's working people. Left: U.S. Army torture during Vietnam War, in which U.S. killed two million Vietnamese in failed bid to smash social revolution. Right: Red Cross warehouse in Kabul destroyed by U.S. bombing last October in first phase of "war on terror."

U.S. Aid...

(continued from page 7)

was written during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, when we had a revolutionary defeatist position on both sides. Today, we defend the Palestinians against the Israelis.

The question of U.S. aid to Israel has come to the fore in the last few months. During the first *Intifada* between 1987 and '93, Palestinian youth were pitted against Israeli soldiers with machine guns, and I would add, Israeli machine guns—for example, Uzis and Galil assault rifles. Yitzhak Rabin vowed to break bones, and they did, killing lots of people in the process. But this current *Intifada* is a bit different, and it hits you immediately in the face. Palestinian youth with rocks or lightly armed Palestinian militiamen are pitted not against machine guns, or not only against machine guns, but against U.S.-built and -supplied F-16 fighter jets, Apache helicopter gunships, Merkava tanks, which are built in Israel with German parts bought by American money, and numerous other weapons supplied by the U.S. The Palestinians cry out, not only are they killing us and doing it with the most obscene brutality, but they're doing it with *your* weapons.

At the same time, the situation in the U.S. and Europe is a bit different. Most West European countries are, or were until very recently, run by social-democratic or popular-front governments. As a result, the reformist left saw no problem in appealing to these governments to actually intervene in the conflict on behalf of the Palestinians. In the U.S., we have a very right-wing Republican administration. It is preparing to go to war with Iraq. For our opponents to call on this government to intervene on behalf of the Palestinians is for them going a bit too far. But our political opponents also cannot appeal to the Democrats because they are even more pro-Israel than the Republicans. Instead, they focus on the negative: "End American aid to Israel." For them, that's how the U.S. can play a "positive" role in the conflict, and that's how the reformists use and push the slogan.

We didn't come up with the "No U.S. aid to Israel" demand, but it's out there. People raise it, opponents raise it and we need to polemicize against them because they raise it to appeal to U.S. imperialism, to prettify it and to bill it as a lesser evil than the Zionists. There is a useful article to review on a similar question, in *WV* No. 47 (21 June 1974). In it we polemicize against the SWP, which raised the demand to cut off all U.S. funding to Pinochet's junta regime in Chile after the bloody coup that overthrew the Allende popular-front government. We wrote:

> "Going beyond the demand of freedom for all victims of the generals' repression, this slogan purports to be a means of combatting the Pinochet regime. However, it leaves unanswered the fundamental question of which class can put an end to such bonapartist dictatorships. The implicit perspective behind the demand for cutting off aid to the junta, when raised in the absence of any explicitly revolutionary slogans, is that of toppling the Chilean butchers by pressuring Nixon."

This expresses a bottom-line approach to the question.

Humbert-Droz Archives

McGraw-Hill

1917 Bolshevik Revolution inspired joint struggle by Jews and Arabs against capitalist exploiters. Right: Opening rally of Comintern's 1920 Baku Congress, with delegates from over two dozen peoples of Asia. Below: Communist Leopold Trepper (standing, second from left), a Polish Jew, with CP Arab-Jewish Unity group in Tel Aviv in 1925.

On the Slogan "Hot Cargo Military Goods to Israel"

At the same time, all that does not mean that the "No U.S. aid" slogan in and of itself necessarily builds illusions in U.S. imperialism. As a methodology, it's not good to condemn a slogan simply because of how the opponents use it. The reformists are always reformist and will use every slogan in that light. Precisely because it so fits the present circumstances, we can and should raise the U.S. aid question both in slogan and propaganda form. We oppose American aid to Israel, and we should say so. We think Israel is an enemy but for us the main enemy is U.S. imperialism, and we should say so. While the opponents look to the American government, we appeal to the working class to rally to defend the Palestinian people. Here, I think, is the problem: how do you concretely express that appeal?

As I said, comrades argued that we should raise a slogan, such as "Hot-cargo military goods to Israel," in conjunction with the U.S. aid slogan. But there's a point on fatuousness in calling for hot-cargoing; it has nothing to do with the current consciousness in the working class or what's even remotely realizable right now. Moreover, comrades worried that we'd be sliding over into implying that Israel was our main enemy. The Bay Area International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10 motion against U.S. aid to Israel from April 18, while very important in itself, does not pose the hot-cargo question. It's not the ILWU that's going to be hot-cargoing anything to Israel. Shipments to Israel go out of the East Coast, so it's going to be the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) on the East Coast. Unfortunately, the ILA has far from a left-leaning union leadership. Further, the country whose goods should be hot-cargoed is the U.S., but fat chance of that.

Let me clarify one thing here. When we talk about hot-cargoing military goods to Israel, we are talking about a time-limited campaign against military goods, not a complete trade boycott of Israeli goods and trade, which would certainly make it look like Israel is the main enemy. Support to sanctions or a trade boycott is essentially calling for American warships to close Israeli ports and would result first and foremost in starving the working class.

An article in *Australasian Spartacist* No. 170 (Autumn 2000) is interesting in its handling of the hot-cargo issue. At the time, Indonesia was on a bloody rampage in East Timor, which later was used as a pretext for Australian troops to occupy East Timor. In polemicizing against the Australian Labor Party and the union tops who had pushed for hot-cargoing goods, including food, to Indonesia, our Australian comrades said: "As proletarian internationalists, opposed above all to our 'own' ruling class, we call for the Australian workers movement to black han [hot-cargo] arms and supplies to the Australian-led military forces." Thus, this question can be addressed without losing sight of who your biggest enemy is. However, if it's not done right, hot-cargo calls can put you in very bad company. In Australia, such calls were explicitly aimed at getting troops into East Timor, and they worked. The campaign also was replete with a lot of anti-Indonesian chauvinism.

Anti-Semitism in the Arab World

We understand that the Israel-Palestine conflict is at bottom one between two nations claiming the same piece of land. However, in popular perception, Israel is seen as the Jewish state, and this has implications. The situation is more complicated than what one would encounter in a typical fight over national rights—it's exacerbated by the interpenetration of the two peoples. Anti-Semites will use outrage against Zionist atrocities to promote their repulsive program. They've come out to pro-Palestinian rights demonstrations, even waving Palestinian flags. A few years ago, I was reading a book on Jewish history by Israel Shahak, the late Israeli anti-Zionist and pro-Palestinian rights activist. I got on the Internet, typed his name and saw a link that claimed to have the entire book. It turned out to be a Nazi Web site that advertised the book as "Learn about the Jews from a Jew's own mouth."

Another example is how modern anti-Semitism in the Near East, or in the Arab world, is a new phenomenon born around 1948. There's an interesting new book called *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* by Maria Rosa Menocal and Harold Bloom. Now, it's not like these peoples all lived in peace at all times or something, but European anti-Semitism only found its way into the Near East in the 20th century. For example, when Jews were kicked out of Spain, it was Turkey and North Africa that took them in, not out of any intrinsic love, but this was where refuge was found.

The blood libel used to be unknown among Arabs. One guy I recently read put it another way: why would Muslims care if Christians and Jews are killing each other to make matzo? But today it's very widespread. Recent articles in a Saudi newspaper recounted this filthy rubbish as fact, while going on and on about how supposedly no Jews were killed in the World Trade Center attack. Arabic television regularly features this question, "Where were the Jews on September 11?" A recent television program on Al Jazeera asked the question, "The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, did that book rightly predict what the Jews would be doing in the Middle East today?" The Egyptian state paper *Al-Ahram* when writing in English uses the term "Zionist." It does not make that distinction when writing in Arabic. It uses "Jewish."

It used to be that there were Jews in Arab countries. They helped found some of the most radical anti-colonial movements in the region and were portrayed in popular literature accordingly. Nobel Prize-winning Egyptian writer Naguib Mahfouz wrote positively about them. In one of his novels, *Midaq Alley*, he describes an Egyptian girl confined to her home, looking with envy at Jewish girls down the street working in a textile plant. She desperately wanted to be like them, as Mafouz described it, "liberated."

One of the effects of the existence of Israel was the driving out of hundreds and hundreds of thousands of Jews from Arab countries, so today the only Jews an Egyptian or an Iraqi would know are in Israel, i.e., Israeli equals Jewish, Jewish equals Zionist. A book by a respected American scholar, Joel Beinin, titled *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry* was lambasted in the Egyptian press for arguing that 1) not all Egyptian Jews were Zionists, far from it, and 2) they were driven out against their will from a country where their ancestors lived for hundreds of years, if not longer. The 19th-century German Marxist August Bebel called

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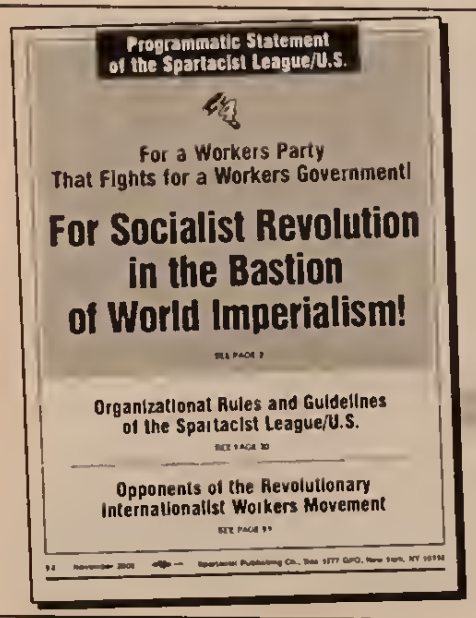

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

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Sydney SYC Says:
Australian/UN Troops Out of East Timor!

On August 21 at Sydney University, leftist and minority students joined the Spartacus Youth Club and the Spartacist League of Australia in a spirited protest to demand: "Down with Australian imperialism's plunder of East Timor's oil/gas!" and "Australian/UN troops out of East Timor!" Linking outrage at the imperialist pillage, codified in the Timor Sea Treaty, to the need to oppose the racist military occupation that helps enforce it, protesters chanted: "Down with the Timor Sea Treaty! Oppose the Australian military!" Among the endorsers were a shop steward from the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union (AMWU), the Freedom Socialist Party and Workers Power. The endorsement of this anti-colonial protest by the latter two groups stands in contrast to their participation in the 1999 rallies which screamed for Australian troops to be sent to East Timor.

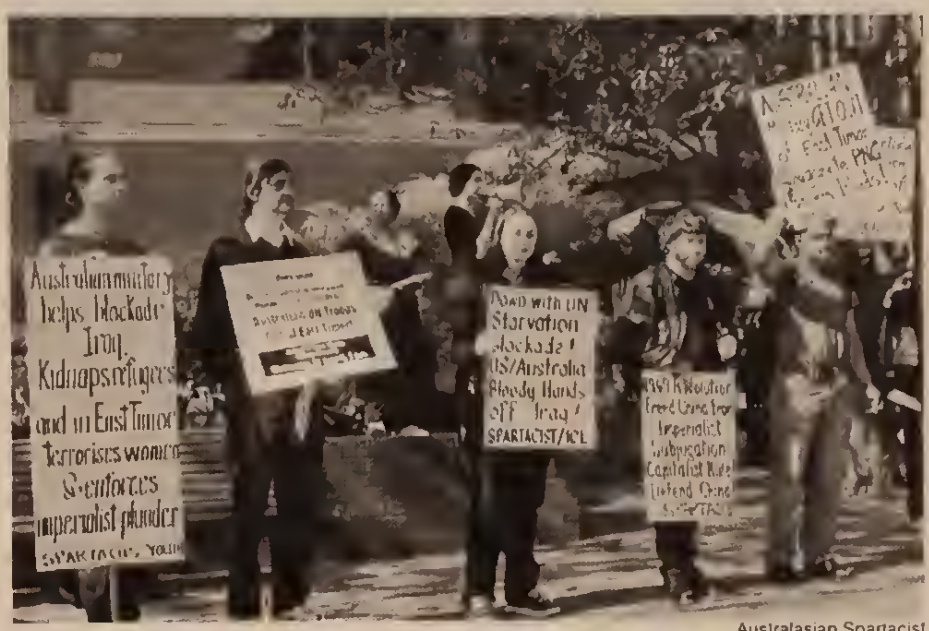
Fighting to expose the "human rights" imperialism fraud pushed by the fake-left in 1999, an SYC speaker stressed that smashing illusions in the neo-colonial occupation of East Timor is key to mobilizing opposition to the impending U.S./Australia onslaught against the people of Iraq. Demonstrators enthusiastically received internationalist greetings from the Spartacist Group of Japan, which in calling for Japanese and all UN/imperialist troops out of East Timor, noted that the East Timorese had protested the arrival of the Japanese "Self Defense Forces" in their country earlier this year.

It was not surprising that the protest attracted interest from Timorese students. In the last several weeks the Australian/UN military force has arrested scores of opponents of their imperialist occupation, some of whom were involved in a spectacular breakout of 180 inmates from a jail in the East Timor capital on August 16. On the very day of the Sydney University demonstration, East Timor was shaken by the second day of actions by thousands of angry protesters shouting anti-UN slogans. We print below the call issued by the SYC and SL/A for the united-front action at Sydney University.

* * *

When the prime minister [John Howard of Australia's right-wing Liberal Party] was in East Timor in May for the proclamation of "independence," he was met by some 500 protesters carrying signs such as "Howard: you are a thief." They were denouncing the Australian imperialists' extortion of East Timor's huge oil and gas resources codified by the Timor Sea Treaty. Australia is to get *82 percent* of the massive Greater Sunrise field that is entirely on East Timor's side of the mid-point between the two countries. As Australian resource giant Woodside is set to greatly increase its Timor Sea revenues, the East Timorese people live in the poorest country in Asia, with more than 40 percent of the population living below the official poverty line of 55 U.S. cents (!) a day.

In a darkly fitting testament to what they face, the Timor Sea Treaty was signed on [East Timor's] Independence Day itself. That evening, Australian troops caused a scandal by stealing at gunpoint an East Timorese flag from a hotel. Such vile piggishness is standard for the Australian-led UN occupation. An aid worker described a typical conversation among UN administrators, recounting with disgust how these colonial overlords would speak about the East Timorese with *filthy racist contempt*: "They have an IQ of a dog—well, at least I can train my dog" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 January 2001)!! After two and a half years of this arrogant, racist occupation, preceded by centuries of Portuguese colonisation and 24 years of brutal Australian-backed Indonesian rule, some East Timorese were understandably joyful about formal independence. But the kind of "independence" they face can be seen in Australia's biggest direct neocolony, Papua New Guinea [PNG]. In June last year, the Australian puppet regime in PNG murdered six people following mass worker and student protests against privatisations and other brutal austerity diktats imposed by Australia and the IMF. ***Austrolion military get out of Eost Timor, Bougoinville, PNG ond Solomon Islonds!***



Australasian Spartacist

Demonstrators at protest initiated by SYC and SL/A calling for troops out of East Timor on August 21 at Sydney University.

In PNG the Australian imperialist state—other than in Bougainville island which they militarily occupy—plays mainly the role of puppet-master. But in East Timor they are at the core of a force of 5,000 UN troops that are to be the main military power there for at least another two years. We call for a united-front demonstration on 21 August at Sydney University against the Australian imperialist plunder and military occupation of East Timor.

The social power of the working class must be mobilised in actions against White Australia neocolonialism. Only by implacable opposition to the racist rulers and their predatory designs in the region, can the Australian working class forge anti-capitalist class-struggle unity with the proletariats of Indonesia, Philippines, Japan, etc., and effectively fight against the increasingly violent union-busting and destruction of their jobs and livelihoods at home. Such a perspective requires a political struggle against the thoroughly pro-imperialist ALP [Australian Labor Party] and its White Australia, social-democratic program, in the fight to build a leadership that is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist.

With even the servile East Timorese government complaining, some Laborite-left groups such as the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and Workers Power (WP) have recently written articles against the ripping-off of East Timor's oil/gas...without saying a word about the Australian troops that enforce this! But the superexploitation and plunder of the neocolonies by the capitalists of the richer countries is maintained, ultimately, by the threatened and sometimes actual use of the violent might of the respective imperialist states. After the people of Bougainville revolted in 1989 against the brutal looting and destruction of their lands by Australian mining giant CRA (now part of Rio Tinto), the then-Labor government sought to murderously quell the uprising, first by sending in helicopter gunships and SAS [Special Air Services] killers and later by imposing a starvation naval blockade. 20,000 Bougainvilleans died as a result!

More generally, the jackal Australian imperialists and their big brother U.S. allies have killed millions in seeking to defeat anti-capitalist revolutions in this region—from the 1950-53 war against North Korea to the dirty losing war against the heroic Vietnamese masses. Today, the U.S. and Australian rulers use military pressure to complement the economic penetration of China by foreign imperialist and overseas Chinese capital, with the goal of reversing the gains of the 1949 social revolution in China. Pre-revolutionary China was horribly exploited by the imperialist powers who carved up its territory between them, while the brutally oppressed women faced forced marriage, foot-binding and illiteracy. ***Defend the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban deformed workers states!***

The Australian rulers barely pretend any longer that the East Timor occupation is aimed at countering the murderous, pro-Jakarta militias. Rather they speak of urgent threats to "internal security" from disgruntled, former Falintil [Armed Forces of National Liberation of East Timor] independence fighters. Carrying banners comparing UN police to Indonesian secret police, East Timorese protested last month the brutal cop seizure of former independence leader, Mau Cali. Above all, the Australian occupation aims at ensuring the smooth flow of profits from semi-colonial Indonesia, where hundreds of millions seethe with discontent as they continue to live on the edge of economic disaster and where separatist insurgencies have flared. ***Austrolian imperialism honds off Indonesia!***

It is hardly surprising that most of the left groups have not to this day called for Australian troops out of East Timor. Because when it counted most, in September 1999, the Democratic Socialist Party, ISO, Socialist Alternative (SA), WP and the Socialist Party joined the Laborite union bureaucrats in marching—and in the case of the DSP and ISO even *endorsing*—demonstrations screaming for Australian troops to "free" East Timor. With the growing unpopularity of the Australian/UN expedition, some SA and ISO cadre now verbally claim that they never supported it! No doubt they point to *obstroct* statements warning against "reliance" on the UN or after the fact admissions that:

> "Such an orientation towards a 'troops in now' position meant that the demonstrations called in Melbourne by Trades Hall were dominated by the slogan from the beginning. The union actions and public rallies were effectively reduced to a means to that end."
>
> —*Socialist Worker Review*, November 1999

But in the *concrete*, the ISO and SA hailed both the pro-imperialist "troops in now" union bans on Indonesia and the "troops in now" rallies as "magnificent"

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Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

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Tuesday, Sept. 10, 7 p.m.
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UC Berkeley, 246 Dwinelle Hall
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

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Marxism, Communism and the Fight for Revolution Today
University of Toronto
International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (north of College)
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Tuesday, Sept. 24, 6 p.m.
The Principles of Communism
University of British Columbia, Student Union Building, Room 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail tllt@look.ca

CHICAGO

Tuesday, Sept. 17, 6 p.m.
Marxism: A Guide to Action
University of Illinois at Chicago
Room to be announced
Readings and room location:
(312) 563-0441

NEW YORK CITY

Tuesday, Sept. 10, 7 p.m.
The Main Enemy Is the Capitalist Class at Home—Down With the "Anti-Terror" Witchhunt!
Columbia University
(116th and Broadway)
Meet at Hamilton Hall Lobby
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail nysl@compuserve.com

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U.S. Aid...

(continued from page 8)

anti-Semitism "the socialism of fools." It has never done the oppressed any good, and it stands counterposed to the cause of the Palestinians.

There's a related point to be made. We defend the Palestinians against Zionist state brutality, defend them wholeheartedly and fight for their national rights. But as Marxists, we understand that nationalism is counterposed to the cause of the international proletariat. In the forum given by Len Meyers that we printed in *WV* No. 783 (14 June), Lenin is quoted on this question: "Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism Be it even of the 'most just,' 'purist,' most refined and civilised brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism." Moreover, it's not always the case that the nationalism of the oppressed nations has a bourgeois-democratic content. Palestinian nationalism runs the gamut from radical left-nationalists like the PFLP and DFLP all the way to the reactionary fundamentalists of Hamas.

The Complexities of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

There is a certain pressure on us to be concrete and provide some kind of solution to a pretty desperate situation in the here and now. The opponents, the pro-Palestinian groups, the Arab groups, that's how they approach the question. We simply cannot. We understand that things can change very rapidly, including for the better, but we shouldn't be Pollyannas. Hopelessness is a very foreign concept to Marxists, but on this question of Israel-Palestine there is a lot of hopelessness. There is not very much one can do in an immediate sense to relieve the condition of the Palestinians. The level of chauvinism in Israel is very high—higher than it's been in decades. It's not a situation that can be solved by saying "Independence for this" or "Israel out of that." In fact, what comes closest to an immediate slogan that we raise is "Israel out of the Occupied Territories."

But even this is a pretty long-term solution. There are now over 400,000 settlers in the Occupied Territories and East Jerusalem. A few years ago, they were extremely unpopular in Israel, for various reasons. But today, because of the hardening up, sympathy for the settlers is quite high. But let's suppose that you get some Israeli government that says it will clear most of the settlements, then what? Do you think it's just going to happen, do you think the settlers will just leave? Think of how much consciousness in Israel will have to change for Israelis to accept the concept that the army may have to fire on settlers to get them out. The core of the settler movement is not in there because of cheaper housing, but for ideological reasons, and such hardened ideology is not going to be easily bought off, even with generous compensation.

So the situation is pretty bleak right now. Its nature demands social revolution, but the working class that holds the key, so to speak, the Hebrew-speaking proletariat, is deeply wedded to Zionist chauvinism. You can turn to workers in Egypt, Iran, Iraq, where the prospect of social revolution is more favorable. It's a point we have made on permanent revolution, that it's not just a question of world socialist revolution happening everywhere at the same time, but of a sequencing of revolutions, in this case eventually bringing about revolution in Israel/Palestine.

But even in these other countries, there are enormous obstacles to overcome, including nationalism, fundamentalism, a lack of a communist alternative to embrace the justified rage of the masses. In the Near East, "more favorable" is a very relative term. That's why the article "No Exit" by Amos Elon, an Israeli Labor Zionist, in the *New York Review of Books* (23 May) is impressive. Americans operate on a tacit assumption that every problem has a straightforward answer. This article convincingly makes clear that this is not true in Israel/Palestine. I would also add that the desperation of the situation drives people that may otherwise look to or at least consider a proletarian solution to instead just settle for "No U.S. aid" or divestment, something that, as they put it, at least "raises awareness."

The more you try to be concrete, the more it seems you are at some distance from reality. Raising "hot-cargo" as a slogan has the same problem in a sense as using "For labor strikes against the 'war on terror'" as a slogan. It sounds as fatuous as calling on Israeli workers to strike in defense of the Palestinians right now. It's a perspective, but it's not currently on the agenda. The Israel-Palestine conflict is one of those questions that in the end can go in only a few directions: genocide and/or nuclear holocaust or social revolution.

Daniel/Media

Israeli workers protest layoffs at tire factory in Tel Aviv, 1989. Zionist state must be destroyed from within through Arab-Hebrew socialist revolution.

Raising the Slogan "Down With U.S. Aid to Israel"

I would argue that we can and should raise the slogan "Down with U.S. aid to Israel." But it's a secondary and subordinate slogan, necessarily so because of our program on the Near East. I mean, you can say "Down with U.S. aid to Israel" until you're blue in the face, but if you don't talk about a socialist federation of the Near East, it's all for nothing. What we want to emphasize is our cutting-edge program, which can win people over to us. "Down with U.S. aid" is not cutting-edge. Social revolution is.

I want to raise the slogan, in a certain way, to get it off the agenda. To pro-Palestinian rights activists, "Defend the Palestinians" in and of itself is not a very cutting-edge slogan. But it's necessary to say it and to say where we stand. We share the aim of ending U.S. aid to Israel, so let's debate how it's going to be done. That's when the politics come out. Having it as a subordinate slogan means that it doesn't need to be out there every day. If you're only going to take two signs with you, I wouldn't make this one of them. If you're going to have a contingent with a lot of signs, or a speakout with a lot of signs, why not?

The best and most complete expression of these questions is going to be propagandistic. We are a fighting propaganda group, not a mass party. However, that doesn't mean that you can only raise slogans that are immediately realizable. Unless you're talking about something like "Stop the Klan" when they're actually about to march, our slogans are generally not realizable in any immediate sense. When we say "All Indian and Pakistani troops out of Kashmir," it's not like that's around the corner. All our slogans demand propaganda to explain where we're coming from, what we mean by them.

The problem is the more you try to be concrete, the more you have to deal with the relationship of forces. "Hot-cargo military goods to Israel" as a concrete slogan to end American aid to Israel—that's not very real right now, I think, in fact, the way we did it in *WV* No. 779 is about as concrete as you can get in the present pass: "Marxists fight to mobilize labor in concrete acts of class-struggle in solidarity with the besieged Palestinian masses, including political protest strikes and labor action to prevent the shipment of military goods to the Israeli rulers. But such a perspective can only be realized by mobilizing workers in the U.S. against their *own* rulers, not by fostering illusions in the potential benevolence of the American state."

Our aim is to intersect the most advanced section of the working class and radical milieus and to raise their consciousness, and that's how we should approach the question of slogans generally. When we use the slogan on U.S aid, it has to be linked with other slogans that express our defense of the Palestinians, our opposition to U.S. imperialism and our working-class angle to this question. By this I mean the whole question of proletarian revolution in the Near East, including to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. I thought that *Militant* article stated it very well: "To leave the ground of independent working-class action in favor of a working-class cause is to jeopardize the cause itself."■

East Timor...

(continued from page 9)

or "fantastic" (*Socialist Worker*, 24 September 1999). Opportunistically gushing about the national-chauvinist mobilisations. SA even called to "accelerate the campaign of industrial action that the union movement has initiated and build bigger and more militant demonstrations in the streets" (*Socialist Alternative*, September 1999).

For their part, WP carried out a feat of political gymnastics over the 1999 troops to East Timor campaign that centrists—revolutionary in words, social-patriotic in deeds—specialise in. They at times called for UN troops out and denounced as "in contradiction with all Marxist principles" the DSP being "at the head of the chorus calling for imperialist intervention into East Timor." But they too, loudly joined the said "chorus," which they hailed as "solidarity with East Timor," cheering the trade union bans that egged on the Australian troops as "excellent demonstrations of working class solidarity and action in support of a progressive end" (*Workers Power*, November 1999-January 2000).

The capitalist state can never be pressured to serve the cause of liberation because it exists to enforce the rule of exploitation of the racist capitalist class. That is why the cops brutally assault workers' picket lines (such as recently at the BHP steelworks in Victoria) and pro-refugee protests, hunt down and seize courageous young children and adults who have fled immigrant concentration camps and tap the phone calls of the CFMEU construction union. Meanwhile the courts persecute union militants like the AMWU Skilled Six. In criminally promoting the fraudulent "human rights" credentials of the bourgeois state over East Timor, the fake left undermines struggles against state repression while greasing the skids for heightened imperialist militarism. The "human rights" military is busy kidnapping refugees on the high seas and dumping them in disease-ridden camps on desolate island neocolonies. The May federal budget featured billions to expand the military and build more immigrant detention centres. And not content with the SAS joining the U.S.-led war of terror against Afghan villages, hospitals and wedding parties, [Australian] foreign minister Downer joins hawks in the U.S. administration in beating the drums for war against Iraq.

U.S./UN/Australia get out of Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Persian Gulf! Hands off Iraq! Against the fiction of a potentially benevolent capitalist state, we Trotskyists of the Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League say: ***Not one person, not one cent for the Australian imperialist military!*** In a small victory, on March 6 we led a demonstration at Melbourne's RMIT campus that caused the Australian army to abandon their Orientation Day recruiting stall.

When we issued leaflets and held demonstrations against the Australian military expedition to East Timor in 1999, we fought against a huge wave of patriotism. Since then the Australian military has attacked anti-UN demonstrations of unemployed East Timorese and terrorised Timorese women in their homes, while we've all been promised "a war without end." We need to struggle! ***Students opposed to the superexploitation of the "Third World," internationalist-minded workers, immigrants from countries under neocolonial subjugation and socialists must all come together in united front action to demand: Down with Australian imperialism's plunder of East Timor's oil/gas! Australian/UN troops out of East Timor!***■

Reuters

Australian occupation forces, part of UN "peacekeepers," terrorize East Timorese in capital of Dili.

Chicago...

(continued from page 5)

clan. For over three decades, every Democratic mayor—including Chicago's first black mayor, Harold Washington—has defied a 1969 court order mandating integrated "scattered site" housing in white neighborhoods.

For Quality Housing for All!

Now Boss Daley Jr. is tearing down the CHA projects—which once housed 200,000—with a plan designed to maintain the same racist segregation. Nearly 80 percent of CHA families kicked out of the projects since Daley's plan took effect three years ago have ended up in the poorest black neighborhoods. In a 2001 survey of 1,500 residents forced out of the Robert Taylor Homes, fully 10 percent wound up homeless. As the residents' homes are bulldozed from under them, they are supposed to rely on the "Housing Choice Voucher Program" (formerly known as "Section 8") that leaves CHA residents, 95 percent of whom rely on some form of public assistance, to the mercies of the racist cutthroat real estate market. Even before the lists were opened two years ago, there were 60,000 households on the waiting list for vouchers, and then another 100,000 people applied. And even if people do qualify for vouchers, there is a reported shortage of over 150,000 low-income apartments.

According to a recent study, only half of those driven out of the projects to date have been able to cut through the red tape and restrictions. In line with the "welfare reform" laws, you cannot qualify for a voucher if you have a prior drug arrest or have been late with rent payments! If you do manage to get a voucher, you have to find an apartment in 120 days, otherwise the whole application process starts over again. And if you do find an apartment, you still have to pass a credit check and pay a security deposit. Moreover, more than half of Chicago's landlords simply refuse to rent apartments to people using the vouchers, especially black renters from the projects. As CHA chairman Sharon Gilliam remarked: "Housing has never been an entitlement...and currently there is no move to make it one" (*Chicago Reporter*, June 2000).

The "Transformation Plan" makes phony promises to build low-rise "mixed income" housing to replace the bulldozed projects. What this means for some 6,000 residents (down from 18,000 in the 1960s) of the 70-acre North Side Cabrini-Green projects—prime targets for destruction because of their location abutting the swanky "Gold Coast"—is that of the new units built, only 15 percent will be rented to specially screened families on public assistance. The *real* plan is to turn over the prime real estate to Daley's cronies for private development of yuppie townhouses, while the less-favored tracts on the South and West Sides will end up looking like Afghanistan. Profit-hungry developers are having a field day: the Illinois Institute of Technology wants the Robert Taylor Homes site, while the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle has used "eminent domain" to snatch up and demolish the once-vibrant Maxwell Street bargain shopping district, legendary home of the Chicago blues scene. As was often noted in the 1960s, "Urban renewal equals black removal."

Contreras/Chicago Tribune

Police repression is routinely meted out to black youth in Chicago's housing projects.

The black workers who migrated from the South between the two world wars were drawn by the promise of industrial employment. U.S. Steel's South Works complex employed almost 20,000 at its peak, including many unionized black workers, though many of them worked in the harshest, lowest-paying jobs. But by the late 1970s the Midwest had become the Rust Bowl, with black workers being first among those losing their jobs. Formerly bustling industrial cities like Gary, Indiana became boarded-up wastelands with union jobs largely gone. Laid-off workers and their families were forced into humiliating welfare programs and rotting public housing. With hospitals closed and schools decrepit, the black ghettos are little more than prisons occupied by racist cops.

A primary vehicle for driving black people out of public housing has been the racist "war on drugs." Black politicians from Democrat Jesse Jackson Sr. to reactionary demagogue Louis Farrakhan supported the launching of this campaign, whose main target has been the black and Latino ghetto poor. White Jackson today decries the "prison-industrial complex" and police brutality, in the 1980s he echoed the bourgeoisie's anti-drug rhetoric, inanely declaring: "We've lost more to dope than to the rope."

In an article titled "Deadly Symbiosis" (*New Democracy Forum*, April-May 2002), French researcher Loïc Wacquant powerfully demonstrates the "convergence of ghetto and prison" that has "put the United States on the path to mass imprisonment." In Chicago, records for 2000 show that over three-quarters of those arrested for drug offenses—*and over 90 percent of those sentenced to prison*—were black. Nationally, 70 percent of the prison population is black and Latino, with one out of every nine black males between the ages of 20 and 34 incarcerated—a rate higher than that of South Africa at the height of the racist apartheid system! More than one-third of black men in their 20s are either in jail, on parole or on probation—and in the Northern inner cities, this increases to more than two-thirds.

The "war on drugs" has been a useful tool for the CHA as it empties the projects in preparation for their demolition. Last January, cops in Cabrini-Green were issued arrest quotas to speed up the pace of their drug busts. Wacquant points out that the CHA "has deployed its own police force and even sought to institute its own 'misdemeanor court' to try misbehaving tenants on the premises."

Drug raids with names like "Operation Blue Thunder" have targeted housing project residents for arrest and eviction. Under a federal "one strike you're out" law, a public housing tenant can be evicted if a relative or even a guest is caught with drugs anywhere. Though this draconian measure was signed into law in 1988 by Reagan, it was Clinton in 1996 who ordered HUD to strictly enforce it. The law was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court on March 26 in a case involving four elderly public housing tenants in Oakland, California thrown out of their apartments.

Unleash Labor/Black Power!

Chicago is the quintessential American city, where the racial oppression of black people—which is central to maintaining the capitalist exploitation of all labor—is played out in all its rawness. But the key to fighting this oppression is also at hand in the tremendous untapped social power of Chicago's multiracial working class. Black workers are integrated into strategic sectors of the proletariat—transit, auto, steel and postal—and have a higher rate of unionization than white workers, even after decades of shutdowns and layoffs. Under the leadership of a revolutionary workers party, black workers can form a living link fusing the anger of the ghettos and barrios to the social power of organized labor.

The labor movement must fight for jobs for all at union wages and benefits! To unleash labor/black power requires breaking the hold of the labor tops, who chain the workers to the capitalists and their state, particularly through their prostration before the racist Democratic Party. The only difference between the Democrats and the Republicans is that the Democrats *pretend* to be friends of labor and the oppressed so they can get away with the same racist, union-busting program that the Republicans openly advocate. Fast on the heels of abolishing "welfare as we know it," the Democratic Clinton administration passed the 1998 Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act that has served to gut public housing for the poor and launched the current destruction of Chicago public housing.

Black workers who acknowledge that black Democratic Party leaders like Jackson Sr. are bankrupt may still look back with reverence to Harold Washington. In his 1983 election campaign, even as he fought the backlash of racist Democratic politicians like "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak, Washington signaled his intention to carry out the same policies as his predecessors by refusing to call for open housing or to even broach the idea of busing to break down the Jim Crow segregation of the schools. And it was under Washington's reign that rumblings began about doing away with the CHA projects, while neglect turned them into hellholes. Black politicians like Washington serve as front men for racist capitalist rule, posturing as defenders of black and minority rights in order to better enforce the bourgeoisie's gutting of welfare, jobs, education and housing.

While poor families increasingly crowd into homeless shelters, millions of square feet of office space that could provide housing lie vacant in the Loop and suburbs. *Decent public housing should be a basic right!* But capitalism is an irrational economic system based on the exploitation of millions of working people for the profit of a tiny minority. As far as the capitalists are concerned, if there are no jobs for the ghetto masses, there is no reason to house, educate or feed them. The conditions first visited on doubly oppressed black workers are increasingly the reality for more and more of the white working class.

Today the ever-widening gap between the filthy rich and the immiserated poor is unprecedented, while rents continue to skyrocket. *For a massive public works program to build quality integrated housing and reconstruct the rotting urban infrastructure!* To provide jobs and quality housing, education and health care for all requires the expropriation of the capitalist class through proletarian socialist revolution. Writing on the miserable living conditions of workers and poor in his 1872 work *The Housing Question*, communist leader Friedrich Engels explained:

> "Whence then comes the housing shortage? How did it arise?... It is a necessary product of the bourgeois social order; that it cannot fail to be present in a society in which the great masses of the workers are exclusively dependent upon wages, that is to say, on the sum of foodstuffs necessary for their existence and for the propagation of their kind; in which improvements of the existing machinery continually throw masses of workers out of employment; in which violent and regularly recurring industrial vacillations determine on the one hand the existence of a large reserve army of unemployed workers, and on the other hand drive large masses of the workers temporarily unemployed onto the streets.... In such a society the housing shortage is no accident; it is a necessary institution and it can be abolished together with all its effects on health, etc., only if the whole social order from which it springs is fundamentally refashioned." ■

WV Photo

Chicago transit workers joined January 2001 PDC-initiated anti-Klan demonstration in Gary, Indiana.

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Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

> uncompromising hostility of the proletarian and its organizations, always and everywhere, toward its own and every other imperialist bourgeoisie....
>
> "The struggle against war and its social source, capitalism, presupposes direct, active, unequivocal support to the oppressed colonial peoples in their struggles and wars against imperialism. A 'neutral' position is tantamount to support of imperialism."
>
> —"Resolution on the Antiwar Congress of the London Bureau" (July 1936)

For class struggle at home against the U.S. capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade! U.S., UN and all imperialist forces out of Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Near East!

Nuclear Cowboys on the Loose

Launched as the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy was undergoing terminal degeneration, the 1991 Gulf War was billed as the "first post-Cold War war." Shortly thereafter, the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, was destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution, an unparalleled defeat for the international proletariat that was hailed by the imperialists and cheered as well by liberals and many self-styled "leftists." The end of the Cold War did not usher in a promised new era of world peace. Rather, as we warned at the time, the absence of the Soviet Union as a counterweight to U.S. imperialism would lead to a far more dangerous world. The decade following the Gulf War was marked by one American military adventure after another, from Panama, Somalia and Haiti to the Balkans and Afghanistan. At the same time, with the imperialists no longer united around an anti-Soviet consensus, rivalries among the major powers have sharply intensified.

Wielding its economic predominance and, above all, its unchallenged military might, the "world's only superpower" asserted its right to ride roughshod over the planet. The American bourgeoisie has grown dizzy with success from a series of easy wins. And the current administration, with its bellicose "unilateralism," gives particularly demented expression to that imperialist triumphalism. The Cheney/Rumsfeld/Wolfowitz cabal includes rabid "neo-conservative" Richard Perle, a former Reagan aide and adviser to the ultra-Zionist Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs. Their perspective of "regime change" extends far beyond Iraq, as revealed in a recent think-tank report which denounced the Saudi monarchy, longtime client of the American oil monopolies, as an enemy and urged an American military takeover. As they plot one military adventure after another, these types act as if they truly believe that they are on a mission from the god of their choice.

With the exception of Zionist Israel and a deeply divided Britain, not one of America's allies has endorsed an invasion of Iraq. With the Near East already seething over the U.S.-backed Israeli slaughter of Palestinians and the U.S.-led assault on Afghanistan, a number of pro-Western Arab regimes fear they could be swept away in the social turmoil provoked by an American invasion of Iraq. Turkey has also refused to line up behind Washington, concerned that if the Kurds in Iraq were to break away following Saddam Hussein's downfall this would strengthen separatist tendencies among the deeply oppressed Kurdish national minority in Turkey.

In Europe, France's right-wing president Jacques Chirac has denounced any American action taken without a United Nations mandate, and polls show that three-fourths of the population oppose a war against Iraq, with or without a UN mandate. The front pages of the French press, which in the aftermath of 9/11 proclaimed, "We are all Americans," are now filled with stories of American complicity in the massacre of Afghan war prisoners. In Germany, Social Democratic (SPD) chancellor Gerhard Schröder denounces an invasion as an "adventure" and warns that Germany will not contribute a penny and will withdraw its elite "bio-terror" unit from Kuwait in the event of a war. Schröder's right-wing challenger Edmund Stoiber also opposes a war against Iraq.

In Britain, Labour prime minister Tony Blair, widely reviled as Bush's "poodle," faces a split within his own cabinet over support to a U.S. war. If Blair were forced to pull out of a war against Iraq, this would leave the U.S. without even the most threadbare "coalition." The Trades Union Congress is expected to adopt an antiwar resolution at its annual conference later this month, reflecting both widespread popular opposition to war and a resurgence of labor militancy which threatens the government with a number of major strikes in the coming months.

A demonstration called by the Stop the War Coalition for September 28 in London is expected to bring out the largest numbers in years. But the aim of the protest organizers, chiefly the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), is to channel opposition to U.S. war moves into support for a wing of British imperialism less beholden to American interests. The SWP goes so far as to lionize the new Archbishop of Canterbury for his antiwar stance, enthusing that his "appointment is one more sign of a new turn in British politics" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 3 August). The Spartacist League/Britain and other sections of the International Communist League in Europe fight to win militant workers and antiwar youth to the program of class independence and proletarian internationalism.

Reuters

Der Spiegel

February 1991: Then Pentagon chief Cheney signs bomb of type that incinerated hundreds in Baghdad air raid shelter. Below: "Highway of death," where U.S. air attacks slaughtered thousands of retreating Iraqi soldiers.

At one level, the European (and Japanese) imperialists fear that a U.S. occupation of Iraq would further tighten America's grip on the Near East oil spigot. More broadly, the American administration is seen as a gang of nuclear cowboys who tear up treaties and flout established rules of international diplomacy and commerce with abandon. An article in *Die Zeit* (1 August) by former SPD chancellor Helmut Schmidt, the elder statesman of German politics, was headlined: "Never before was American foreign policy so imperial. Europe must live with that—but shouldn't subjugate itself." As though in response to Cheney's ravings that neocolonial Iraq is out for "domination of the entire Middle East," a UN Security Council diplomat remarked: "The issue is no longer how threatening is Saddam Hussein, but how dangerous for the rest of the world is what the United States is planning to do to Saddam Hussein."

Concerns over a go-it-alone invasion of Iraq are also fueling unease within U.S. ruling circles. What happens to Iraq—divided among a ruling Sunni minority, a Shi'ite majority and a distinct Kurdish population—after Saddam Hussein is brought down? Despite a relatively sparse occupation force in Afghanistan, anger against the U.S. "liberators" there is already running so high after a series of American atrocities that the country could well erupt. And an occupation of highly urbanized Iraq would be fraught with considerably more danger for U.S. forces.

Notably, it is not liberal "doves" who are the most vocal critics of Bush but rather leading elements of the Republican right, including Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser under Bush Sr. and key architect of the 1991 war, and (in a more muted form) James Baker, secretary of state at the time. In a prominent op-ed piece in the *Wall Street Journal* (15 August), Scowcroft warned that "an attack on Iraq at this time would seriously jeopardize, if not destroy, the global counterterrorist campaign we have undertaken" and result in a "very expensive" occupation. Who pays is no small matter. In 1991, the U.S. got its coalition allies to foot 80 percent of the $80 billion (in 2002 dollars) bill. The next military adventure will undoubtedly be at least as costly, and the bill will come due in the midst of a spiraling economic downturn.

As for the Democrats, they have done little more than mumble about the need for Bush to "make his case" for war before Congress, while focusing their Congressional campaign efforts on the worsening economy. This is not just a matter of short-term electoral calculations; the Democrats are at least as hawkish as the Republicans on Iraq and Israel. It was the Clinton administration which bombed and starved Iraq for eight long years, and it was Clinton's UN ambassador, Madeleine Albright, who intoned when asked what she thought of the death of half a million Iraqi children due to sanctions, "That is a very hard choice, but we think the price is worth it." *Down with the two imperialist war parties!*

For Class Struggle Against Imperialist War!

War is a litmus test for professed socialists, demarcating revolutionary Marxists from every variant of reformist and centrist opportunism. From the start of the U.S. military buildup in the Gulf in 1990, we fought for a perspective of proletarian opposition to the imperialist war machine. In an article headlined "Break Blockade of Iraq!" (*WV* No. 509, 7 September 1990), we declared: "Working people in this country must stand on the side of Iraq against the warmongers and union-busters in Washington. And that means waging the *class struggle* at home." We denounced the "UN fig leaf brigade" of liberals and leftists who promoted imperialist economic sanctions as an "alternative" to war and we declared that sanctions were themselves an act of war. We called for military defense of Iraq against imperialist attack, making clear that this could not entail any political support to the anti-working-class, anti-Kurdish regime of Saddam Hussein, who had himself earlier been a favorite of the American imperialists.

Today, rad-lib MIT professor Noam Chomsky tours the campuses decrying the murderous sanctions imposed on the Iraqi people. But in 1991, Chomsky urged the imperialists to use "the peaceful

International Communist League

(Fourth Internationalist)

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means prescribed by international law: sanctions and diplomacy" to get Iraq out of Kuwait (*Z Magazine*, February 1991). Some years later, Chomsky opined, "Occasionally, the population has compelled the state to undertake humanitarian efforts," citing as a "real example" the "protection zone that the Bush administration reluctantly extended to the Kurds in northern Iraq" following the 1991 war (*Boston Review*, December 1993-January 1994).

Another left-liberal luminary, Boston University historian and self-described pacifist Howard Zinn, today writes that "an attack on Iraq would constitute an attack on the Charter of the United Nations" (*Boston Globe*, 19 August). In fact, the UN Charter has been a cover for one imperialist slaughter after another, from Korea in 1950-53 to the continuing starvation sanctions against Iraq. Zinn then immediately suggests that a U.S. war against Iraq might at some point be justified: "Let us suppose that international law should not stand in the way when extraordinary circumstances demand immediate violent action. Such circumstances would exist if there were, in the language of our own Supreme Court, a 'clear and present danger' represented by the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein." So the professed "anarchist" Chomsky praises the potential beneficence of the imperialist state, and the pacifist Zinn allows that imperialist war may be justified! Even when sincerely held, the doctrine of pacifism—i.e., opposition to the use of force in principle—is an obstacle to a genuine struggle to rid the world of imperialist militarism.

With left-liberals such as Chomsky and Zinn echoing the aims of the imperialists, avowing the need to punish Saddam Hussein, the so-called "socialists" take on the garb of pacifism. Thus, at the time of the Gulf War the reformist Workers World Party (WWP) and International Socialist Organization (ISO) threw themselves into building antiwar coalitions limited to nearly identical appeals to "bring the U.S. troops home" and to shift government spending from war to social services. The WWP formed the "Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East" while the ISO endorsed the "National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East." The ISO declaimed that "in the case of the blockade and in the event of an actual war, we are on the side of Iraq" (*Socialist Worker*, October 1990). But that line went no further than the fine print in its paper. In fact, neither of the "antiwar" coalitions called for defense of Iraq against the American imperialist behemoth, and the one backed by the ISO explicitly called for UN sanctions as an "alternative" to war (see "Liberal Mask Is the Real Face—ISO in the Antiwar Movement," *WV* No. 520, 15 February 1991).

Today, WWP leader Deirdre Griswold writes: "The only course away from disaster is an independent, anti-war fightback. It cannot rely on old warhawks of either capitalist party" (*Workers World*, 29 August). This is a statement that WWP can find no "antiwar" Democrats to suck up to, for now. But its whole history is one of building coalitions aimed at appealing to "progressive" capitalist politicians, and that has not changed. A flyer by WWP's latest antiwar coalition, ANSWER, for an "Emergency Response Protest" in the event of war conspicuously avoids the call for defense of Iraq and is limited to the same butter-not-guns pacifism that characterized its previous antiwar fronts, centered around such demands as "Money for jobs, housing, healthcare & education—Not for war!"

WWP, ISO et al. argue that only by limiting the struggle to the most minimal pacifist-reformist demands can a movement be built based on the broadest possible unity. What they mean by this is not the broadest unity of the working class and its allies internationally on the basis of ***class struggle***, but class-collaborationist unity with capitalist politicians. The call to end war and allocate money for jobs and all the other things that working people and minorities need begs the question of *how*. Exploitation, unemployment, racism and imperialist war are intrinsic to the capitalist profit system.

The only way to put an end to them is for the working class to overthrow the capitalist order through a socialist revolution. At bottom, the reformists share and promote the lie explicitly propounded by liberals like Chomsky, that the existing capitalist state can act in the interests of the oppressed through mass pressure. In doing so, they serve to disarm and divert militant workers and leftist youth from the struggle against the capitalist system that breeds war.

Defend Iraq! For Permanent Revolution!

While tailoring its politics to "progressive" Democrats in the U.S., Workers World simultaneously promotes the "anti-imperialist" credentials of Third World nationalist regimes, including Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Thus Griswold lauds "the continued defiance by the Iraqi leadership of U.S. efforts to roll back their independence, won in 1958 by an anti-colonial revolution, and bring their country under the total domination of U.S. oil companies."

Taking a diametrically opposed tack is the Progressive Labor Party (PL), which equates imperialist and neocolonial states because they are all capitalist, a notion shared by some left-wing anarchist youth. This ultra-"revolutionary" posture is a cover for crass capitulation to U.S. imperialism, preaching neutrality in wars between the imperialist oppressors and those they oppress. Thus, as the U.S. and its imperialist allies were terror-bombing backward Afghanistan, PL declared in an 8 October 2001 statement: "When bosses fight among themselves, workers must never choose sides among them." Contrast this with what Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin wrote in *Socialism and War* (1915): "If tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' 'defensive' wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slave-holding and predatory 'Great' Powers."

Karen Robinson

Desperately ill children deprived of medicine due to U.S./UN sanctions that have killed over one million Iraqis.

Aral/Sipa

Kurdish refugees, pawns and victims of U.S. 1991 war, were trapped in freezing mountain passes as they fled Iraq.

It is instructive to look at the attitude of Trotsky's Fourth International to the Sino-Japanese War in the late 1930s. When Japanese imperialism invaded semicolonial China in 1937, the Trotskyists advanced a policy of *revolutionary defensism* toward China, then under the rule of Guomindang butcher Chiang Kai-shek, hangman of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution. In a resolution titled "The War in the Far East and the Revolutionary Perspectives" adopted at its 1938 founding conference, the Fourth International declared:

> "The defeat of Japanese imperialism will not only open roads to the revolution in China and Japan but will encourage fresh waves of revolt in all the colonies of the imperialist powers.... Revolutionary support for China's struggle does not, however, mean that revolutionists must furnish cover for the hankrupt Kuomintang regime and the Chinese bourgeoisie.... China's national liberation, and the emancipation of the Chinese masses from all exploitation, can be achieved only by the Chinese masses themselves, in alliance with the proletariat and oppressed peoples of all the world."

Likewise today, the mobilization of the Iraqi masses in struggle against an imperialist assault must be combined with the struggle to overthrow the bloody regime of Saddam Hussein. In the 1950s, Iraq had a powerful proletarian movement under the leadership of the Communist Party (ICP). The overthrow of the British-backed monarchy by a military coup in 1958 opened up a revolutionary situation in which the proletariat could have seized power had the Stalinist ICP leadership not subordinated the struggle to the nationalists. This betrayal paved the way for a bloodbath of workers, Kurds and Communists by the bourgeois-nationalist Ba'ath Party, in which Saddam Hussein was then a rising star, with the CIA providing lists of those to be murdered. This is what Workers World describes as an "anti-colonial revolution."

From the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 to the Iraqi Revolution of 1958, the Stalinist program of "two-stage revolution," subordinating the proletariat to a supposedly "anti-imperialist" national bourgeoisie, has meant bloody defeat for the workers. From Egypt to Iraq and Iran, bourgeois-nationalist regimes act as local enforcers of imperialist subjugation and backwardness. Despite formal independence, the semicolonial bourgeoisies of the Near East remain dependent on the imperialists and fearful of any challenge to their class rule by the proletariat and the oppressed.

It is necessary to forge Trotskyist parties based on the perspective of permanent revolution: the chains of imperialist subjugation can only be broken through a workers revolution that shatters bourgeois rule as part of the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution, especially in the imperialist citadels. Only within a socialist federation of the Near East can the national rights of all the many peoples of the region be achieved, from the Palestinians to the Kurdish population, which is divided among Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey.

To a man, the reformists and centrists promote the liberal lie that imperialism is just a policy which can be changed through pressuring the capitalist state. But as Lenin stressed in polemicizing against similar views advanced by German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, imperialism is the "highest stage of capitalism," marked by the concentration and domination of finance capital, the pre-eminence of the export of capital and competition among the advanced capitalist countries to control markets and spheres of exploitation. War is a necessary product of the capitalist system.

The International Communist League adheres to Lenin's injunction in *Socialism and War* that revolutionaries "not deceive the people with admitting the idea that a peace without annexations, without oppression of nations, without plunder, and without the embryo of new wars among the present governments and ruling classes, is possible in the absence of a revolutionary movement." We fight for socialist revolution in the U.S. and internationally as the only way to put an end to war and imperialist oppression. This requires building revolutionary working-class parties like Lenin's Bolsheviks, in the U.S. and around the world, as part of reforging Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Near East, 1950s: Permanent Revolution vs. Bourgeois Nationalism

Two-part article from *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 740, 741 25 Aug. and 8 Sept. 2000

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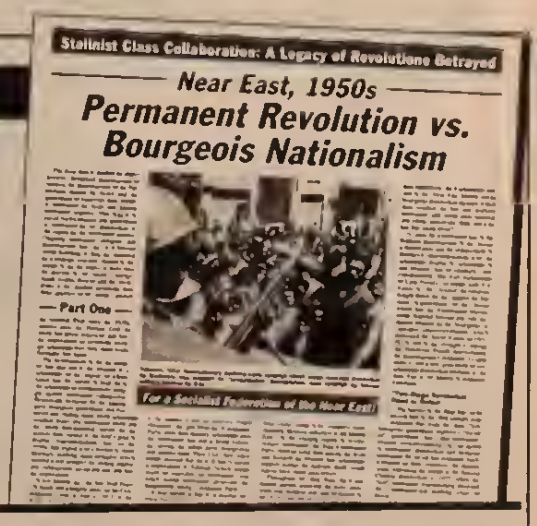

ILWU...

(continued from page 16)

Council for Latin American Advancement put it at the Oakland rally, the government is "trying to break the ILWU and use 9-11 as an excuse. If they do it to these guys, they'll do it to us."

This understanding has brought the ILWU support from many other unions, including a pledge of support from the recent annual congress of the International Transport Workers Federation Dockers Section representing 400,000 port workers internationally, whose solidarity is key to the ILWU's defense. *If the White House uses the military or other means to break an ILWU strike, longshoremen and other maritime workers throughout the world should refuse to handle American cargo, including military shipments.* International port workers solidarity was crucial in the successful defense campaign for the Charleston Five, International Longshoremen's Association members who were threatened with jail sentences for defending their union in a South Carolina waterfront battle in 2000.

With the economy slumping and with an aggressively hostile government, the longshoremen are indeed in a tough position. Nevertheless, the concentration and centralization of shipping gives dock workers enormous potential social power. Since West Coast ports handle over 50 percent of all waterborne imports to the U.S., the *Los Angeles Business Journal* (27 May) worries that a ten-day work stoppage by the ILWU "would create a $19.4 billion loss to the national economy." Especially amid the current wave of corporate scandals, in which the Bush gang is directly implicated, any move to use the military to break the ILWU could very well trigger a popular backlash in support of the union. The need would be posed to mobilize the entire labor movement in defense of the longshoremen.

But this requires a fight against the policies of the labor misleadership that has *pledged loyalty to the government's "war on terror" at home and abroad* that serves as the pretext for the capitalists' attack on the ILWU. Indeed, an official ILWU placard raised at the August 12 coastwide rallies read, "Fight Terrorism, not American Workers." The immense power of organized labor can only be brought effectively to bear when mobilized in complete independence from the capitalist state and from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Instead, the official leaders of the ILWU are doing the exact opposite by promising to load military cargo even in the event of a strike and by signing on as guardians of "national security" in the ports. As the Pentagon war machine gears up for the mass slaughter of the Iraqi people, the labor bureaucracy sees the U.S. rulers' export of terror as something on the order of a "public service."

The ILWU has a longstanding policy of moving military goods during strikes. At the Oakland rally, Spinosa declared that especially since the September 11 attacks, the union was "not against the men and women who serve this country.... We'll give them the support they need." In fact, the military is not there to serve "the country" but to defend the profits of the filthy rich U.S. capitalist class and its drive to maintain global dominance, using working-class youth recruited to fight as cannon fodder.

Embracing the chauvinist flag-waving of the U.S. ruling class cuts directly against international workers solidarity and especially sabotages the fight to organize immigrant workers in the U.S. *Workers Vanguard* salesmen were told that the "Fight Terrorism, not American Workers" sign was provocatively posted on August 13 at the APL terminal in Oakland, where low-paid, non-union port truckers—many of whom are Latino, Arab and Asian immigrants—line up to load and unload containers. Last year, in the midst of the post-9/11 anti-immigrant witchhunt, the ILWU International responded to the racist, anti-union Maritime Security Act then pending in Congress by pointing to the port truckers as a "national security" issue. Thus Spinosa & Co. are directly aiding the capitalists who use jingoistic anti-immigrant racism to divide the workers along ethnic and national lines. We say: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Labor must organize immigrant workers!*

ILWU rally at L.A. port, August 15. Union tops push government's "war on terror," pretext for imperialist war and attacks on immigrants, labor.

UPI

During 1971 strike, longshoremen were ordered to load military cargo for U.S. war against Vietnamese by ILWU "progressive" Harry Bridges.

The power of the working class is shackled by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which regards production for profit—the foundation of the capitalist economic system—as sacrosanct. But that system is predicated on the exploitation of labor, and driven toward war in competition over spheres of trade and exploitation. While the Republicans flaunt their ties to big business, the Democrats are the "soft cops" of American capitalism. At the August 12 rallies, union officials paraded across the platform a range of Democratic Party politicians, from Senate majority leader Tom Daschle in Portland to Mayor Jerry Brown in Oakland, who claimed to be "friends of labor." The labor bureaucracy seeks to deflect government attacks by appealing to such "friends in high places," as Local 10 secretary-treasurer Clarence Thomas put it at the Oakland rally.

The "high places" of the capitalist state will only be used *against* the workers. At the Long Beach rally, an aide to Democratic Congressman Grace Napolitano condemned "what Ronald Reagan did to the air traffic controllers" in destroying the PATCO union in 1981. But Reagan's attack on PATCO—following a blueprint drawn up by Democrat Jimmy Carter—could have been defeated if the Machinists, Teamsters and pilots unions had shut down the airports, a demand for which there was enormous support among the ranks of labor. Instead, the AFL-CIO misleaders hid their refusal to fight behind impotent rallies and consumer boycotts.

Bush's plans to break an ILWU strike are directly related to his plans to invade Iraq. The Defense Department has awarded a contract to Maersk Sealand, which just opened a new terminal, the largest in the world, in the Port of Los Angeles. According to the *New York Times* (19 August), Maersk—an anti-union hardliner in the PMA—is to operate eight cargo ships for carrying ammunition and tanks, to be positioned near the U.S. military staging point at Diego Garcia island in the Indian Ocean.

Democrats in Congress have largely been either silent on Iraq or hawkish. To the extent that some Democrats have argued against government intervention against the ILWU, they have emphasized that the union has not and will not obstruct the imperialist war machine. Thus in a letter encouraging Bush not to intervene in the current negotiations, eight U.S. Senators, including Democrat Edward Kennedy, stated that the ILWU and PMA "have an outstanding record of providing efficient operations at our West Coast ports—especially in times of war, emergency, and national crisis" (*Boston Globe*, 12 August).

Indeed, ILWU spokesman Steve Stallone pointed out that "we loaded military cargo even during the 1971 strike, when the Vietnam War was on" (*Lloyd's List*, 8 August). Under founding leader Harry Bridges the ILWU did so even though, on paper, the ILWU called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, and even at the height of convulsive domestic opposition to the war. They thereby not only undercut the longshoremen's own strike but kept the weapons flowing to bomb and kill insurgent Vietnamese workers and peasants fighting the U.S. imperialist colossus.

Isaac Deutscher, a veteran Marxist intellectual, commented at an earlier point in the Vietnam War that one dock workers strike would have been worth a thousand peace marches. Providing a taste of such labor power, Australian seamen struck against renewed bombing of Vietnam in January 1973. Likewise, at Japan's Sasebo port late last year, the All Japan Dockworkers Union refused to load armaments and military supplies onto Japanese warships headed to assist the U.S.-led war of terror on Afghanistan.

On August 23 in Stockton, California, ILWU Local 10 and the ANSWER coalition, a group backed by the reformist Workers World Party (WWP), co-sponsored a rally against Bush, demanding "No New War Against Iraq! Government Hands Off the ILWU!" Speaking at the rally, Local 10 president Richard Mead quoted Bridges' statement, "War makes rich people rich and working people dead." But these are cynical empty words, as the ILWU tops have sworn in advance that they will continue to load military shipments in the event of a strike.

The 23 August *Socialist Worker*, newspaper of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), correctly stated that the slogan "Fight terrorism, not workers" raised by the longshore union tops on August 12 "plays right into the Bush administration's hands—the government is justifying its threat to intervene precisely on the basis of a 'national emergency'." But in its reports on the August 12 rallies, *Socialist Worker* says not a word about the parade of Democratic Party politicians. Nor have they or the WWP's *Workers World* made any mention of the ILWU tops' promises to load military cargo in the event of a strike. Refusing to challenge the allegiance of organized labor to the Democrats, these reformists reinforce the ties between the working class and the "liberal" party of American capitalism.

It is a widespread sentiment among many working people that the Democrats are a "lesser evil," and that while building a workers party might be a good idea, its time has not come. But the whole reason for the labor tops' alliance with the Democrats is to prevent that time from *ever* coming. The struggle for the independence of the unions from the capitalist state requires a *political* expression—a workers party that gives conscious leadership to the struggles of the workers and the oppressed and wins them to the fight for a workers government to expropriate the capitalists. Those who labor must rule!■

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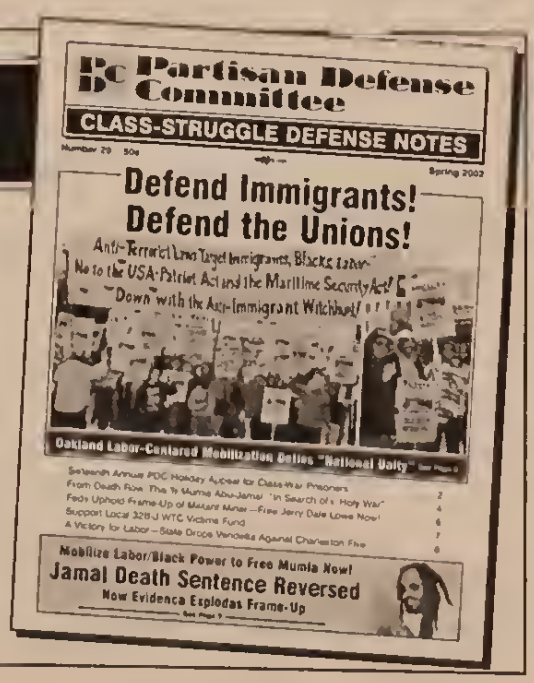
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NYC Transit...

(continued from page 3)

for all contracts and *full parity in wages and benefits* at the highest levels! *Labor must smash the Taylor Law!*

For Trade Union Independence from the Capitalist State!

Behind Toussaint's lawsuit is a sellout, and behind the sellout is a strike that should have been fought through to victory as the opening battle of the TWU's much larger contract fight against the MTA this December. Bloomberg cynically claimed that the strike was a "private dispute" between the unions and the struck companies, but in fact it was a strike against the city as well since the city franchises the routes to seven private companies and subsidizes them to the tune of $100 million a year. Bloomberg declared a "state of emergency" one week before the strike began, and hundreds of "dollar vans" were given permits to act as scabs along struck routes.

The TWU must fight to organize the "dollar van" drivers, most of whom are immigrants. This is all the more critical now in the face of the post-September 11 anti-immigrant witchhunt carried out by the ruling class, which is a deadly threat to the labor movement as a whole. But the Local 100 leadership promotes the bosses' "national unity" campaign, which fuels anti-immigrant and anti-labor repression. The TWU tops used a mass transit workers rally for health benefits in April to promote red-white-and-blue patriotism, kicking things off by singing the national anthem. The TWU tops have competed with the transit bosses in handing out T-shirts, hats and buttons emblazoned with the American flag.

The biggest factor weakening the bus strike's impact was that other lines (public and private) were working streets parallel to struck routes. TWU officials vowed to prevent scabbing by their own members working for the MTA and raised money and food for strike assistance, but that's as far as their "solidarity" would go. Instead of mobilizing transit workers in solidarity with the Queens strikers, union officials ran the contract fight and strike as a Democratic Party lobbying effort, never even calling a single union-wide rally. This was right in line with Toussaint's stated aim of "establishing Local 100's political machine," trading votes for crumbs and empty promises from capitalist politicians. TWU officials turned every large meeting of private lines workers into a parade of Democratic Party politicians and hailed the "support" the union was receiving from U.S. Senators Hillary Clinton and Charles Schumer. Transit workers should remember that these "friends of labor" support the strikebreaking Taylor Law and backed the court injunctions that threatened massive fines and imprisonment and were wielded to crush the threat of a strike in December 1999. In a stark display of ruling-class unity, Republican mayor Giuliani and Democratic state attorney general Spitzer collaborated to level the anti-strike injunctions against the TWU.

Larry Hendrickson

WV Photo

Local 100 president Roger Toussaint with Democratic Senator Hillary Clinton, who supported use of Taylor Law to prevent December 1999 transit strike. Right: November 1999 rally showed ranks' determination to fight.

In the lead-up to the 2002 contract expiration, Mayor Bloomberg is pleading "poverty" as Wall Street continues its plunge. Particularly with the invoking of "national unity" following September 11, the government will once again hold the sword of the Taylor Law over the TWU. But this union has enormous potential power, if unified and mobilized in alliance with the rest of New York City labor.

Since Toussaint took power last year, many transit workers have told Workers Vanguard salesmen, "We'll see what Toussaint does when our contract with the MTA comes up in December." The handling of the private lines strike is a small taste of the kind of "leadership" the workers can expect from both Toussaint and the "old guard" wing of the bureaucracy. Tipping his hand to the bosses months in advance, Toussaint declared in Newsday (25 August), "We will do everything within our power to avoid" a strike.

What transit workers need is a *class-struggle* leadership that fights for the complete and unconditional independence of the union from the capitalist state and its politicians. Such a leadership must be forged based on the understanding that the interests of capital and labor are irreconcilably counterposed, and that the enormous social power of New York City's transit workers must be mobilized on behalf of all working people and the oppressed. This is integrally linked to the struggle to break the political chains forged by the trade-union tops to the capitalist Democratic Party and to build a workers party committed to the fight for a workers government. When the working people rule, transport and industry will be ripped out of the hands of the greedy capitalists and put in the service of society as a whole. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 16)

crackdown on any and all forms of protest is designed to intimidate all fighters for the oppressed and anyone who defies the ANC government.

Defying the threat of government repression, protesters against the WSSD voiced their intense hostility toward the Mbeki government. Some chanted, "Stop Thabo Mbeki's AIDS genocide!" Others demanded: "No privatisation! No evictions! No cut-offs! No removals! No repression!" As the *New York Times* (1 September) reported, "Some of the bitterest attacks" were directed at Mbeki, "who was criticized for not tending to the needs of the poor." Self-styled leftist groups like Keep Left! (aligned with the British Socialist Workers Party) and the Democratic Socialist Movement (aligned with Peter Taaffe's Socialist Party in Britain), which in the past were staunch supporters of the ANC government, have been compelled to adopt a more denunciatory attitude toward the increasingly unpopular Mbeki regime.

At a WSSD march organised by the Anti-Privatisation Forum, which includes the Democratic Socialist Movement and Keep Left!, banners proclaimed: "America Breeds Misery! Power to the People!" and "America Gives More Aid to Israel than All of Africa!" That America breeds misery is obviously true. But it is also important to recognize that the ANC government is a *junior partner* of American imperialism just as the former white-supremacist regime was. In fact, having a black bourgeois-nationalist regime at the helm in Pretoria has facilitated the expansion of Anglo American and the other white-owned South African capitalist monopolies throughout much of Africa.

We communists in Spartacist South Africa stand in fundamental opposition to various appeals to the ANC regime to help clean up the practices of global capitalism as represented by the World Trade Organisation, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. We oppose as well looking to the UN, an international den of imperialist thieves and their victims. Appeals to the capitalist masters to somehow become responsible and humane are reactionary because they foster deadly illusions that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and its "democratic" trappings can be made to act as an agent for social change in the interests of workers and the oppressed.

The South African working class and all of the black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers need revolutionary leadership that is independent of the bosses' parties to fight for a socialist future where the police-state repression of the ANC-led regime and its predecessors will be a dim and distant memory. ■

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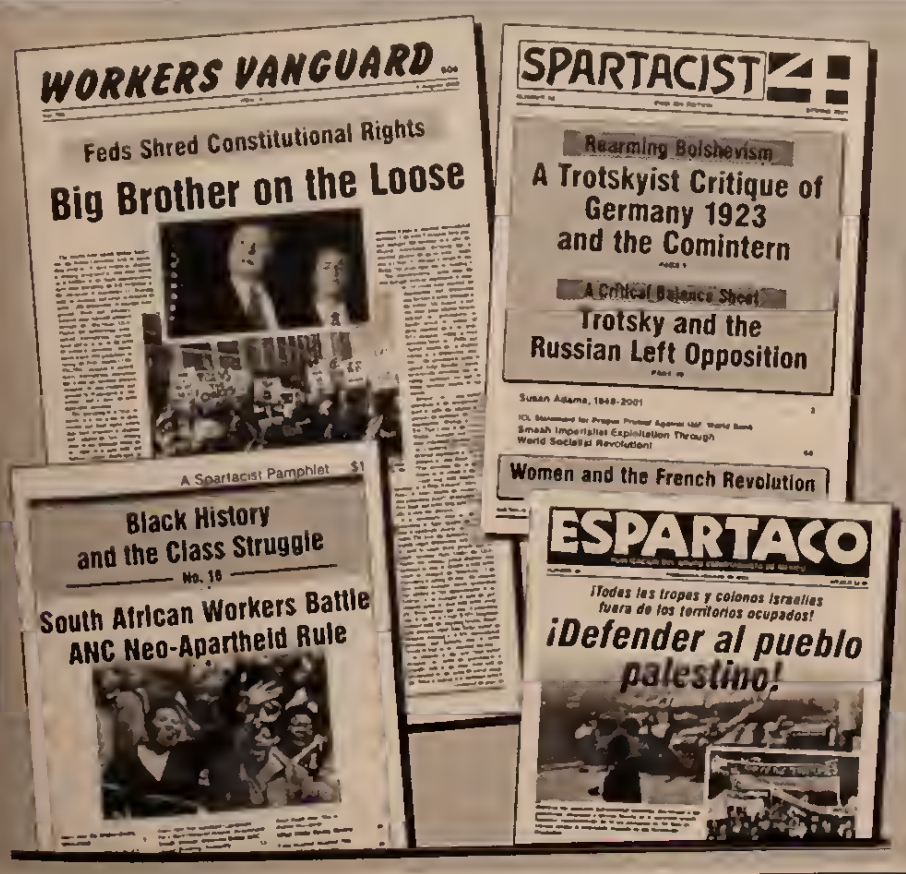

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Break with the Democrats—For Independent Labor Action!

Bush Steps Up Threats Against ILWU

Labor Must Defend West Coast Longshoremen Against Government Union-Busting!

OAKLAND, September 1—As the U.S. military machine gears up to invade Iraq under the pretext of fighting terrorism, the Navy has menacingly sent its own crane operators to San Diego to keep West Coast ports running in the event of a strike or lockout of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). In a 29 August statement, the ILWU revealed that "an attorney with the Administration has told the ILWU that Navy crane operators from its bases throughout the world have been sent to San Diego and are ready to move into the ports to lock out ILWU members on short notice." Today, with contract talks at an impasse, the union walked out of negotiations after having extended the contract for two months. The employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) is bracing for slowdowns, having already threatened to meet any slowdown with a lockout.

"The 'war on terrorism' is aimed straight at the heart of the working class," the Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League pointed out in the call for the February 9 united-front labor-centered demonstration in Oakland against the Bush administration's repressive "anti-terror" laws and in defense of immigrant rights. The call continued, "Opposition to the war on labor, blacks and immigrants at home means opposition to the wars of American capitalism abroad." This truth has been brought home by the government's growing threats against the ILWU.

Well before the contract expired on July 1, ILWU International president James Spinosa received a phone call from "Homeland Security" head Tom Ridge warning that a strike could "threaten national security." Since then, the Bush administration has talked about invoking a Taft-Hartley anti-strike injunction, dissolving the union's coastwide bargaining unit so that employers could use one port to scab on another during a strike, and calling out the military.

Charles Slay

More than 1,000 turned out for August 12 Oakland rally to protest government strikebreaking threat against the ILWU.

This outright government union-busting campaign is intended to intimidate the entire labor movement. Thousands of West Coast longshoremen and other unionists rallied from Seattle to Long Beach on August 12, demanding: "Bush, butt out!" As the president of the Alameda County Chapter of the Labor

continued on page 14

—South Africa—
Protests Hit "Development Summit"

IMC South Africa

AP

Johannesburg, August 31: Demonstrators outside UN "Development Summit" of imperialist exploiters and their neocolonial victims.

The following report was written for Workers Vanguard *by our comrades of Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League.*

* * *

In the shadows of the United Nation's World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), which ended on September 4, the South African government of Thabo Mbeki has effectively declared what demonstrators called a "low-intensity state of emergency" against the working class, poor and particularly the Landless Peoples Movement. As the summit opened in the posh suburb of Sandton, the state moved to silence opposition to yet another imperialist circus whose purpose was to peddle the lie that capitalist "development" is possible in the "global South."

The regime led by the African National Congress (ANC) is using racist apartheid-era measures to stamp out any protest deemed "illegal." In the weeks leading up to the WSSD, the South African government carried out a series of arrests, detentions and police raids aimed at intimidating opponents of government policy. These attacks coincide with a revamping of a draft "anti-terrorism" bill, which is an expansion of the old Internal Security Act of the former white-supremacist regime. The new measures of state repression go hand in hand with Mbeki & Co.'s aim of running point for world imperialism throughout black Africa. The bourgeois-nationalist ANC government, supported by the reformist South African Communist Party and the trade-union bureaucracy of COSATU, is seeking to create an "investor-friendly" environment for world capitalism.

On August 21, some 3,000 marchers gathered outside the offices of the provincial Gauteng government in Johannesburg, demanding an end to forced removals of squatters in "informal settlements." Dozens were arrested, mostly members of the Gauteng Landless Peoples Movement (LPM). One LPM member who was arrested told a *Spartacist South Africa* salesman: "We were beaten up, including a disabled woman and a woman who was two months' pregnant who suffered a miscarriage in prison. They went to the extent of refusing her visits from her family." She added: "This government, when they wanted votes, were very patient, telling us how to use the ballot papers and how to vote. After that, there was no one who came back to look at how we live." Ann Evereth, U.S. media adviser to the National Land Committee, arrived separately and was thrown into jail and threatened with deportation.

Spartacist South Africa comrades have demanded, "Hands off the Landless Peoples Movement! Drop all the charges!" We defend all WSSD protesters facing police repression and harassment from the ANC-led capitalist state. The

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 787 — 20 September 2002

Capitalism USA

Pink Slips and Pension Theft

O Hara/SF Chronicle

AP

George W. Bush, flanked by Republican Senator Trent Lott and Democratic Senator Tom Daschle, signs bill to bail out corporations and CEOs, while mass layoffs swell unemployment lines.

Lining up for their photo-ops, one bourgeois politician after another sought to commemorate the 9/11 anniversary by pushing flag-waving chauvinism and promoting "united we stand" patriotism. But behind all the unity talk lie the real *class* divisions that separate the working people in this country from their exploiters. The Bush administration and the U.S. imperialist ruling class seized on the September 11 attacks to launch an endless "war on terror" to further U.S. imperialism's reach over the globe. First in the cross-hairs was already devastated Afghanistan. Now, having failed to capture the leadership of Al Qaeda, the Bush team is setting its sights on Iraq as a target of opportunity, vowing to enact a "regime change" which will doubtless cause further devastation to the Iraqi people, who have lost over a million and a half of their countrymen through the United Nations-imposed sanctions.

At home, the U.S. rulers are waging war on immigrants and minorities, on civil rights and labor rights. Though carried out in the name of "fighting terrorism," the war on the domestic front is driven by the capitalists' need to squeeze ever more profit from the labor power of the working class, especially as the economy continues its downward turn. If the U.S. rulers have their way, the horror of the World Trade Center attack, the loss of thousands of lives, will soon be exceeded by the slower but more exacting terror of escalating economic privation, death by attrition and futures without hope.

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the U.S. bourgeoisie declared the advent of a "new world order" where communism was dead and the class struggle a relic. The economic boom of the 1990s—which was based on an increase in the rate of exploitation of the working class through the imposition of multi-tier wage schemes and massive speedup, a proliferation of non-union runaway shops, the slashing of medical, pension and other benefits—was declared proof positive of a "new economy" of unprecedented and permanent growth, opening up a new "golden age" of capitalist expansion and prosperity. During that period, the U.S.—with a weakened labor movement, the dismantling of social welfare programs and a high-flying stock market—was held up as a model to be emulated by the rest of the world. In short, the boom-bust business cycle, which has been inherent in capitalism from its inception, was declared to be done away with.

In reality, the global economic downturn exposes and explodes the mystifications surrounding "globalization." It underlines the Marxist understanding that inherent in the capitalist system is the tendency toward periodic economic crises which, in the words of the 1848 *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on trial." The fundamental laws of capitalism are being borne out once again.

The deepening global economic crisis is certain to exacerbate existing tensions between the U.S. and its imperialist rivals in West Europe and Japan. Already, this has manifested itself in the ongoing "debate" over invading Iraq, with everyone, with the exception of Tony Blair's Britain, opposing an American invasion, for now. Social Democratic German chancellor Gerhard Schröder has vowed that Germany will not foot the bill for any "adventure" in Iraq. During the 1991 Gulf War, Germany and the other U.S. allies paid over 80 percent of the cost, and there is deep concern among U.S. rulers that an invasion of Iraq largely financed by the U.S. could further worsen the American economy. And all are concerned about the potential for substantial increases in the price of oil, which would have a heavy impact on working people around the world.

War, poverty, economic crisis are all endemic to the capitalist system, which is based on the private ownership of the means of production—the factories, electrical power plans and grids, airlines, oil fields, mines, etc. It is a system where production is based on profits for a few wealthy capitalists, while the rest of the population is faced with increasing assaults on living standards or utter poverty. But within its mechanisms, capitalism also creates its own gravedigger: the working class, whose historic role is to smash the irrational capitalist system and replace it with a planned economy where production is based on the human needs of all, rather than profits for the few. The only answer to the anarchy and brutality of the capitalist system lies in the struggle for socialist revolutions internationally to sweep away the bourgeois ruling classes and their capitalist states and forge in their place

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Women and Revolution

Nigeria: Woman Sentenced to Death by Stoning

Save Amina Lawal!

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7 25274 81030 7 38

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Fighters Against Imperialism and Racism

Free the Ohio 7!

We print below a 7 September letter to Federal Bureau of Prisons director Kathleen Hawk protesting the medical torture of class-war prisoner Richard Williams by Lompoc, California prison officials. Williams—along with Jaan Lamaan, Raymond Luc Levasseur and Thomas Manning—was part of the leftist Ohio 7, who were convicted for their roles in a radical organization that took credit for bank "expropriations" and bombings in the late 1970s and early '80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism, such as military and corporate offices. They have spent nearly two decades in prison. As Marxists, we reject the strategy of individual terror but defend those like the Ohio 7 who committed no crime from the standpoint of the working class. Our principled defense of the Ohio 7, who should not have spent a single day in prison, stands in contrast to the stance of the "respectable" reformist left, which spurned them when the full brunt of government repression came down upon them.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently protests the severe repression being meted out to political prisoner Richard Williams, #10376-016. Since September 11, 2001, Mr. Williams has spent ten of the ensuing twelve months in brutal conditions of solitary confinement where he has been cut off from family and friends, not allowed access to literature and denied adequate medical care. After enduring five months in brutally cold conditions in solitary lockdown, Mr. Williams was sent back to the general prison population in Lompoc, California on February 11. Within days he suffered a heart attack during which he was "treated" by being shackled to his hospital bed and had guns trained on him, intimidating his doctors and nurses. Yet again on April 30 Richard Williams was sent back into the grotesque conditions of isolation where he languishes still.

It is crystal clear that Richard Williams is being subjected to this unrelenting cruelty because of his political beliefs. Mr. Williams was a leftist activist arrested and convicted in the mid '80s as a member of the radical Ohio 7. Having spectacularly failed in 1989 in re-convicting Mr. Williams, along with fellow anti-imperialists Ray and Pat Levasseur, on phony "seditious conspiracy" charges, the Federal government seems intent on destroying this courageous man. The treatment of Mr. Williams is part of an ongoing attack on civil liberties ratcheted up since last September 11—a qualitative diminution of the rights of all, especially workers and the oppressed.

The Partisan Defense Committee demands that Mr. Williams be immediately taken out of solitary confinement. We demand he be given prompt and adequate medical treatment for his ongoing heart condition. We demand he have access to any literature he desires and restrictions against visitors and communications with family and friends be lifted. In the eyes of the working class Richard Williams has committed no crime. We demand you stop brutalizing this political prisoner.

Protest Firing of Palestinian Professor!

The following protest letter was sent to the president of the University of South Florida on August 31.

The Partisan Defense Committee strongly protests your decision, in concert with the University of South Florida Trustees, to fire tenured computer science professor Sami Al-Arian. Dr. Al-Arian is the victim of a vile media-abetted campaign of threats and vilification ranging from the reactionary Fox News commentator Bill O'Reilly to the contemptible radio schlock-jock Bubba the Love Sponge.

Sami Al-Arian is targeted merely because he is an Islamic scholar and defender of the Palestinian people from marauding Zionist terror. We join with countless others, including the American Association of University Professors, in condemning your despicable efforts to deny this man his First Amendment rights and, indeed, his livelihood.

Your earlier attempt to justify the firing of Sami Al-Arian was based on spurious "campus security" concerns. Now you try to present to the Hillsborough Circuit Court in Florida so-called new evidence that Dr. Al-Arian "is using academic freedom as a shield to cover improper activities." This follows years of invasive scrutiny of Dr. Al-Arian's activities by various bourgeois state authorities who have found no grounds for any criminal action. From the onset this has been a political prosecution of a man for his views and advocacy on behalf of the besieged Palestinians.

AP

Sami Al-Arian

Your campaign against Dr. Al-Arian in league with state and federal authorities is part of a grotesque bipartisan witch-hunt particularly targeting immigrants, Muslims and Arab Americans. It has already led to the deportation of Dr. Al-Arian's brother-in-law and the detention of hundreds of others in the dungeons of America. Stop the persecution of Sami Al-Arian!

Australia: Drop Charges Against All Woomera Detainees and Protesters!

We reprint below an August 20 protest letter from the Partisan Defence Committee in Australia to the Australian Attorney General's office.

The 18 July seizure and reimprisonment of Afghan refugees, 12-year-old Montazar Bakhtiyari and 13-year-old Almadar Bakhtiyari, was an act of sheer racist brutality. On 28 June these two courageous youth escaped for the second time from the hell-hole Woomera detention camp where they were incarcerated with their mother Roqiah and younger sisters Nagina, Samina and Amina, aged ten, eight and four years respectively. The boys escaped along with 33 other mainly Afghan refugees at the time of a desperate 16-day hunger strike by most of the Woomera detainees. Earlier the hideous conditions at Woomera, including detention guards beating children and throwing them against razor wire fences, drove the Bakhtiyari family to such desperation that Roqiah and Almadar sewed their lips together and the boys attempted to slash their own wrists. Montazar and Almadar had sought asylum in the British consulate in Melbourne. The foreign secretary of Britain's Labour government, Jack Straw, personally intervened to ensure they were thrown back into the clutches of the Australian authorities. This highlights that capitalist governments of all stripes around the world are conducting a racist war on immigrants, as the spearhead of their attacks against the working class as a whole.

The day after their seizure by Australian Federal Police, the recaptured Bakhtiyari brothers were flown out of Melbourne back to Woomera just an hour before their distraught father, who lives in Sydney on a temporary visa, arrived to see them. While federal Liberal/National coalition and state Labor governments alike shove "family values" down the throats of the population, Roqiah and her children are forcibly separated from their husband and father. Now the government is vindictively threatening to revoke

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TROTSKY

LENIN

The October Revolution and Women's Emancipation

In smashing capitalist rule, the 1917 October Revolution marked a giant stride toward the liberation of women in backward Russia. Though mired in economic backwardness and poverty, the young Soviet workers state sought to take the first steps in removing the material foundations of women's oppression, which is rooted in the institution of the family. Although the Stalinist degeneration beginning in 1923-24 eventually undid many of the Bolsheviks' measures, the establishment of a planned, collectivized economy opened the road to women's emancipation in the USSR, most dramatically the Muslim East. Writing in 1926, historic Marxist leader Clara Zetkin recounted the moving comments of a young woman made at a Muslim Women's Club in Tiflis, Georgia, which we present below.

One of the speakers burst out: "How was our life before the revolution? Our fathers sold us like young lambs when we were hardly ten or twelve years old—sometimes even younger. Our husbands demanded our affection and love, even when they seemed to us revolting. When our husbands were in the mood for it, they beat us with clubs or whips. We had to serve them day and night like slaves. When they grew tired of us, they told us to go to hell. They rented us out as mistresses to their friends. They starved us when it suited their fancy. They took away our dearest daughters who were the joy of our eyes and the aid for our weak arms. They sold them just as they had bought us. No mullah came to our aid when we were in need. Where could we have found a judge who would have given us legal aid?

"But now, my dear sisters, how everything has changed! The revolution arrived like a mighty thunderstorm. It has smashed injustice and slavery. It has brought justice and freedom to the poor and oppressed. Our father can no longer take us when we are young and force us upon the bed of a strange husband. We are able to select our husband and he must never again become our master; rather he shall be our friend and comrade. We want to work and to fight next to him and help to construct a new society. A new life must begin for everybody. The Soviets have written a new law. It states that we are human beings just like men are and that we are free and have the same rights as they do. We, too, can select the people, both men and women, that we would like to be sent to the Soviets. And we, ourselves, can work in them. When we have grievances toward our husband, a neighbor or a boss, we take them to the People's Court. It will side with us if we are in the right. Nobody asks us what prophet we follow: Mohammet, Moses or Christ. The Soviets brought us salvation. Eternal gratitude to them!"

—Clara Zetkin, "In the Muslim Women's Club" (1926)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 787 **20 September 2002**

Mass Jailing of Blacks in Tulia

"War on Drugs" Texas Style

On 23 July 1999, 46 men and women were rounded up in early-morning raids in Tulia, a windswept West Texas town of 5,000 halfway between Luhbock and Amarillo. All but six of those dragged from their homes to the county courthouse, often half-dressed and wondering what they were being targeted for, were black. Framed up on phony drug charges by a racist, corrupt narcotics agent, 42 of those arrested were thrown into prison by overwhelmingly white juries for mammoth jail terms. Tulia epitomizes what the rulers' racist "war on drugs" can mean in the rural South.

The case has recently gained national coverage through the efforts of *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert, who has catalogued the egregious manufacturing of evidence, racist targeting of black people and harsh sentencing in recent columns. Herbert has also exposed how this "monstrous, racially motivated miscarriage of justice" wrought havoc in Tulia's small black community and how those who organized this breathtaking series of frame-ups were lauded for their efforts by the Texas state government, then run by George W. Bush.

The now-defunct local newspaper, the *Tulia Sentinel*, crowed, "Tulia's Streets Cleared of Garbage" after the raids and praised the cops for sweeping up Tulia's "scumbags." Reverend William Guenther, the jury foreman in one of the first trials, which handed down a 25-year sentence, proclaimed, "The whole idea behind the sentence was to send a message to drug dealers: We don't want you in this community." The defendants, overwhelmingly poor, had to rely on underpaid and overworked public defenders in the face of racist juries and a D.A. out for blood. The charges and arrests, though, had nothing to do with drugs and everything to do with terrorizing the town's black population.

Tulia's black community of 350 people was devastated as over 10 percent of the black populace and half the adult black men were swept into prison. House after house stands empty, and virtually every black family in town has been affected as friends and family members were caught up in the dragnet. Those whites who were arrested either had close connections to Tulia's black population or lived in the ramshackle part of town, still often called "N----rtown" by racist whites.

The narcotics agent almost singlehandedly responsible for the arrests, Tom Coleman, is a real piece of work. Coleman is a stone racist noted for his frequent use of racial epithets against black people. Even Coleman's former boss, Sheriff Ken Burke of nearby Cochran County, informed the Texas Commission on Law Enforcement that "Mr. Coleman should not be in law enforcement if he's going to do people the way he did this town" (London *Independent*, 20 August). In the midst of Coleman's "investigation," Cochran County brought him up on misdemeanor charges of theft and abuse of his position. Swisher County sheriff Larry Stewart, Coleman's boss in Tulia, allowed Coleman to put his "investigation" on hold while he resolved the charges.

Coleman's "investigation," had it not been so devastating, would be almost comical. He wrote down "reports" of "drug deals" on his body, threw away many of his records and built his case on uncorroborated, unsubstantiated testimony. Everyone who knew Coleman well knew that he was a liar and a crook, but the word of a white cop was sufficient to railroad the Tulia defendants into prison.

In spite of polygraph tests corroborating the innocence of those arrested and the obvious unreliability of Coleman as a witness, only four cases were thrown out, generally over egregious misidentification by Coleman, whose physical descriptions of several defendants were wildly inaccurate. In most cases, though, a combination of inadequate legal representation and relentless prosecution led to sentences breathtaking in their severity. "What happened in the courtroom," says Freddie Brookins Sr. of Tulia's NAACP chapter, which has been fighting the convictions, "was really a kangaroo court. They run 'em through like cattle and put a number on 'em. They just stuck 'em all in prison." For his role in this monstrous frame-up, Coleman was named the Texas "Lawman of the Year"! Fifteen of those arrested remain behind bars despite overwhelming evidence of their innocence.

And who were these "drug dealers"? Overwhelmingly, they were poor, local black people, most of whom had no criminal records or anything to do with the drug trade. Police found no traces of illicit drugs in the houses of those arrested, no weapons and no money. There were no fingerprints on the drugs the cops claim to have "seized." Joe Moore, a 57-year-old black pig farmer, currently serving a ***99-year sentence***, was identified as the "kingpin" of the ostensible cocaine ring despite his obvious poverty and even though the charges against him involved only 3.5 grams of powder cocaine. Kizzie White, a 24-year-old mother of two with no criminal record, got 25 years, while her husband, a white man named William "Cash" Love, received a sentence of ***434 years*** in prison.

Liberal *Times* columnist Herbert has placed his hopes in a federal investigation. He states that "federal investigators who are both honest and diligent will find plenty of evidence of official wrongdoing waiting for them in Tulia" (*New York Times*, 22 August). While Tulia may be an extreme example of the degree to which the war on drugs is aimed at black people, it is not an aberration or an isolated miscarriage of justice. The war on drugs is a ***racist war against black people!*** In many inner-city ghettos, one in three black men is entangled in the criminal "justice" system, often due to minor drug charges like those the Tulia defendants faced. Over half of the two million people in America's prisons, most of whom are black and minority, are there on the basis of drug-related convictions.

West Texas is not New York, Philadelphia or Chicago, however. Tulia's black population is isolated in the arid plains of a remote region of a Southern state justifiably infamous for its heavy-handed approach to "justice." While the "war on drugs" is used throughout the U.S. to terrorize black people and other minorities, in the rural South it has been used to decimate entire communities, and that's exactly what happened in Tulia. The authorities manufactured a drug ring out of whole cloth and then used it, in effect, to target the entirety of the town's black population. Perhaps 80 years ago a racist mob might have been the instrumentality, as when a deputized white mob burned the black Greenwood section of Tulsa to the ground in 1921. Now all you need is a zealous D.A. and a creative narc. "It was a mass lynching that day," Roy Credico of the William Moses Kunstler Fund for Racial Justice asserts. "It's like being accused of raping someone in Indiana in the 1930s. You didn't do it, but it doesn't matter because a bunch of Klansmen on the jury are going to string you up anyway."

Such blatant disregard for the rights of the accused is not unique to Tulia. A former narcotics agent in Chambers County, Texas summed up a typical drug bust as follows:

> "It's probably better known as a free-for-all. You get a bunch of warrants, search and arrest, get 'em all ready to go, get 30 or 40 officers from different jurisdictions, anybody who wants to come along can play. During the course of this, the wrong doors get kicked.... A whole lot of illegal searches and seizures go on."
>
> — *Texas Observer*, 26 October 2001

In the United States, where the special oppression of black people is integral to capitalist class rule and to the exploitation of the entire working class, drug laws are used to repress and herd a generation of black youth into jail. Tulia grotesquely reveals the racist injustice in which drugs are used as a *pretext* for waging war against the black population as a whole. We Marxists call for the decriminalization of drugs. Those addicted to drugs should have free access to quality medical care and counseling.

Herbert favorably quotes New York Democratic Senator Charles Schumer as saying that Tulia looks like "racial profiling, arresting and prosecuting with trumped-up evidence." Yet Schumer has long supported both the racist death penalty—a direct legacy of chattel slavery in the U.S.—and the very "war on drugs" that spawns such outrages as Tulia. The Democrats are just as responsible for the racist assault on black people under the auspices of the "war on drugs" as the Republicans. Indeed, it was Democratic president Bill Clinton who in 1996 ordered the Department of Housing and Urban Development to strictly enforce the "one strike you're out law" in public housing, which mandated the eviction of any public housing tenant if that person—or even a guest of the tenant—is caught using drugs anywhere. And black Democrats like Jesse Jackson played a prominent role in promoting the racist rulers' anti-drug crackdown in the ghettos.

The "war on drugs" is one expression of an overall ratcheting-up of repression against working people and the oppressed. But black people, who form a significant portion of the American working class, are not helpless in the face of this onslaught. The working class, the only class with the social power and objective interest to take down the capitalist system, can and indeed must take up the fight against the racist "war on drugs" as part of a fight for the rights of all the oppressed. A political struggle against both the Democrats and their hangers-on in the trade-union bureaucracy is necessary to bring the social power of the working class to bear. Key to this struggle is forging a revolutionary workers party that will fight for an egalitarian socialist future, from the South Bronx to the southern plains.■

Amarillo Globe-News

Bob Ramsey

Demonstration at Austin state capitol (above) and candlelight vigil in Tulia, Texas to protest the racist roundup.

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Batasuna Party Banned in Spain

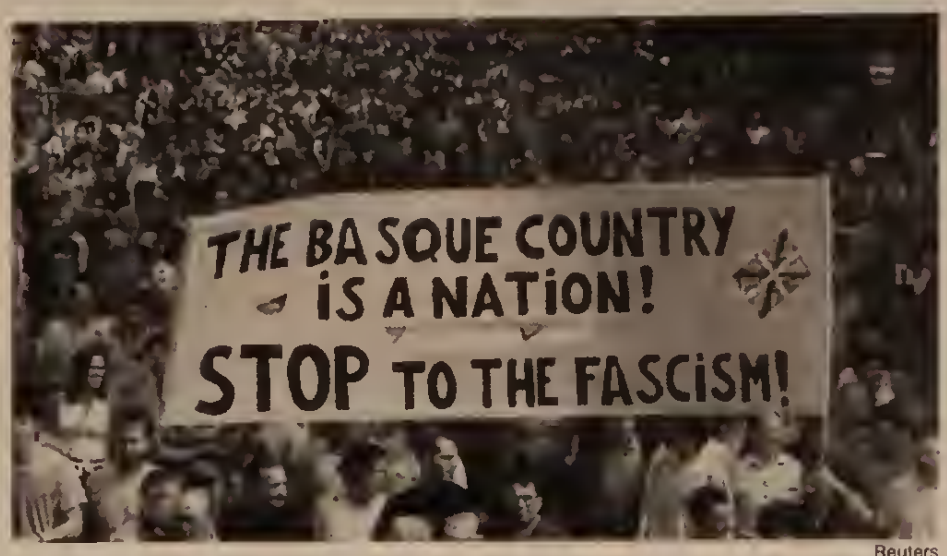
Down With Repression of Basque Nationalists!

The following was written by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the Internationol Communist League.

PARIS, September 16—The Spanish government has seized on the post-September 11 "war on terrorism" to attempt to finish off the Basque nationalists. On August 26, Spanish judge Baltasar Garzón ordered a three-year suspension of Batasuna, an electoral political party which gets over 10 percent of the votes in the Spanish Basque country, where it has offices as well as social clubs/pubs and elected officials in most cities. The same day the Spanish parliament overwhelmingly passed a motion to require that the Supreme Court ban Batasuna; with the recent "anti-terrorist" legislation passed in Spain, this means a complete and definitive illegalization of Batasuna, the first ban of a political organization since the end of the Franco dictatorship in 1975 and a qualitative step toward banning any organization advocating Basque independence.

The same night the local police, the hated *ertzaintza*, started raiding and closing Batasuna's public offices in dozens of Basque cities. On orders from Garzón (who has become a darling of the fake left with his inquiries into former Chilean dictator Pinochet), the state had already seized Batasuna's bank accounts, trying to squeeze 24 million euros from it. This is allegedly to pay for damage caused in street fighting during police attacks against youth in the Basque country. There have been protests on both sides of the Spanish/French border against the ban. On September 7 and 8 thousands of people defied the Spanish ban on pro-Batasuna demonstrations, taking to the streets in Bilbao and San Sebastián. And two days ago, 50,000 protested in Bilbao despite the repression. It is the urgent task of the proletariat, particularly in Spain and France, to mobilize against this sinister ban, which not only targets radical Basque nationalists but also sets the stage for repression of any political dissent by workers or youth. ***Down with the ban on Batosuno! Freedom now for the hundreds of Bosque notionalists, some of whom hove been in prison for mony years in Spain and Fronce!***

The obstacle to such a mobilization lies with the social-democratie labor traitors: in Spain, the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) has enthusiastically voted for the ban, while the ex-Stalinists from Izquierda Unida (United Left) abstained.



Reuters

San Sebastián: Rally protests ban of Basque nationalist Batasuna party and demands release of Basque political prisoners, September 1.

In France, the previous government led by the Socialist Party (PS) and Communist Party (PCF) routinely carried out arrests and deportations of Basque nationalists to Spain. For example, on 15 September 2000 a combined operation of the French and Spanish police on French soil ended up in the arrest of Ignacio Gracia Arregui, an alleged leader of the Basque separatist ETA (see "Free Imprisoned Basque Nationalists!" *WV* No. 744, 20 October 2000). In the '80s, under Socialist president Mitterrand, the French police collaborated with the PSOE government and its death squads of the Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación (GAL), which even operated in France. Most recently, two ETA leaders, Juan Antonio Olarra Guribi and Ainhoa Mugica, were arrested today near Bordeaux in France in a joint operation by French and Spanish police. We have steadfastly denounced these arrests, murders and deportations as well as the multiple attacks in France against minority languages. As proletarian internationalists, we defend the right of self-determination of the Basque people, south and north of the Pyrenees (and if the sacred borders of the "united and indivisible French republic" should be altered, so be it!).

The immediate pretext for the massive increase of state repression against Basque nationalists in Spain was a homb attack on August 4 in Santa Paola, near Alicante, against Guardia Civil (military police) barracks, where two people were killed, including a 4-year-old girl. The government and bourgeois media promptly blamed the ETA for this attack. When Batasuna refused to clearly condemn the attack, the government moved to ban the party. The ETA has often targeted cops, judges, capitalists or bourgeois ideologues. While defending the ETA against the current wave of state repression, Marxists oppose the desperate petty-bourgeois strategy of individual terrorism as an obstacle to proletarian, internationalist class struggle: the elimination of individual oppressors does not address the fundamental issue of getting rid of the capitalist system itself, which requires collective struggle by the working masses. Moreover, when a military target is hit, other people can get killed too, as in Santa Paola. The awful death of the little girl was a godsend for the Spanish state to whip up "national unity," including among workers, behind anti-Basque Spanish chauvinism.

The Spanish state uses anti-Basque chauvinism as well as anti-immigrant racism to divide and weaken the working class. Two years ago, the government launched the El Ejido pogroms against Moroccan agricultural workers. In recent years, hundreds of Maghrebins (North Africans) have drowned trying to cross the Straits of Gibraltar into Fortress Europe. Now the government is trying to set Maghrebin immigrants against East European immigrants. As we declared in our recent ICL statement (see *WV* No. 784, 12 July): "Capitalist Europe's war on immigrants is a war on all workers—Workers of the world, unite! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Stop the deportations!"

Since the entirely criminal World Trade Center attack a year ago the "war against terrorism" has been a code word all over the world, not only for a far greater U.S.-led terrorist slaughter in Afghanistan, but also for a drastic escalation of police terror at home, which particularly targets immigrants. In France, we have opposed the Vigipirate police campaign from the moment the former PS/PCF government reinstated it. On August 25, on the very eve of the han on Batasuna, the new right-wing government deported to Italy Paolo Persichetti, a former Italian radical from the UCC (Union of Fighting Communists). Up to 150 Italian leftists who took refuge in France now fear their deportation to Italy and its laws against alleged terrorists. ***Freedom for Persichetti! No deportations!***

The Chirac government intends to quickly incorporate into French legislation the new, draconian European Union measures which potentially criminalize any political activity. According to these guidelines, strikers seizing transit installations or cutting the supply of electricity could be charged with "terrorism," as well as anyone "encouraging or supporting a terrorist group." The Spanish government wants to add Batasuna to the European list of terrorist organizations, which would automatically mean its banning in France, causing unease to the French government which fears the increasing spillover of agitation over the Basque question to France.

The Basque people's right to self-determination, i.e., the right to secede, is a key issue in both Spain and France. We demand: ***Down with the bon on Botasuno! Defend the right of independence of the Bosque people, south and north! For Trotskyist parties in Spain ond France, sections of o reforged Fourth Internotionol!*** ■

Basque region spans border between Spain and France. ICL defends right of self-determination for the Basque people.

WV Maps

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Nigeria: Woman Sentenced to Death by Stoning

On August 19, an Islamic high court in Nigeria's northern Katsina state rejected an appeal by Amina Lawal, a 30-year-old single mother, and upheld her sentence of death by stoning for having sex outside marriage. Lawal was first sentenced in March by a lower Islamic court. She is scheduled to be executed in January 2004, as soon as she finishes breast-feeding her baby. *The workers movement throughout the world must mobilize in protest action to stop this hideous execution!*

Amina Lawal was not the first woman to incur the wrath of Islamic fundamentalists in Nigeria. Safiya Hussaini, a divorced mother, was sentenced to die by stoning last year. An appeals court overturned her sentence this past March. A third woman's case is on hold until she is healthy enough to appear in court.

Since *sharia*, the Islamic set of social and penal codes, was introduced in a dozen of the predominantly Muslim northern states of Nigeria two years ago, women have been forced to wear the veil and mixed schools have been turned into single-sex establishments, if girls are schooled at all. A teenage girl was given 100 lashes for having premarital sex. Women are banned from riding in the same buses or taxis as men. The sale of alcohol is banned and men caught drinking have been caned in public. A vigilante force was established to enforce the new codes.

The implementation of *sharia* in the northern states is a lethal addition to an already worsening situation for women in Nigeria. Abortion is illegal in the country. The bride price is prevalent in both Christian and Muslim communities. The horrific and dangerous practice of female genital mutilation, performed on young girls to "curb their sexuality" and ensure chastity, is rampant across ethnic and religious groups, with millions of Nigerian women subjected to this barbarism. Nigeria is one of the few sub-Saharan countries that have no laws prohibiting the practice.

Largely illiterate, the chattel of their fathers and husbands, women in Nigeria are forced into marriages, overworked, malnourished and, in times of the ethnic bloodlettings that constantly plague the country, subjected to rape and killing. Polygamy, based on the subordination of women, is widespread. With little control over their reproductive lives, women are under enormous social and economic pressures: infertility is a stigma and male children are the only potential support in old age. The exponential spread of AIDS in the country, with over four million people infected with the HIV virus, and the attendant ostracism and stigmatization are used to reinforce backward anti-woman ideologies. Because it is a sexually transmitted disease, AIDS is used to intensify the repressive taboos, guilt and shame over sex that subjugate women.

On September 9, the major of Rome, Italy conferred "honorary citizenship" on Satiya Hussaini, a Nigerian woman whose death sentence was reversed earlier this year. As Oscar Wilde put it, "Hypocrisy is the homage vice pays to virtue." Indeed, barbaric practices oppressive to women are not confined to Nigeria or the Islamic world. In all societies based on private property, various forms of oppression have been meted out by all religions to buttress women's subjugation. In medieval Europe, women were burned at the stake for purported witchcraft and forced to wear the chastity belt. The "adulteresses" of 17th-century New England were forced to patch the scarlet letter to their breasts. Foot binding was prevalent in pre-revolutionary China. In Ireland, unmarried pregnant women were declared mad and forced to slave in convents for decades. To this day, *suttee* (widow-burning) is rampant in India.

Even the most basic needs of the vast mass of women in Nigeria—an end to seclusion and the veil; an end to forced marriages, polygamy and the bride price; freedom from poverty and legal subjugation; the right to free quality education and decent health care, including the right to abortion and contraceptives—demand an attack on the foundations of

Save Amina Lawal!

AFP

In all these class societies, the central source of women's oppression is the institution of the family, a vehicle through which property is transmitted from one generation to the next and the mechanism for raising new generations of workers. In *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, written in the late 19th century, Friedrich Engels explained that the monogamous patrilineal family arose "to make the man supreme in the family, and to propagate, as the future heirs to his wealth, children indisputably his own." The family is used to regiment society to the powers that be, instilling subservience for authority and reinforcing religious obscurantism.

The struggle for the full liberation of women is tied to the struggle to overthrow capitalism. But to unleash the tremendous revolutionary potential of the fight for women's liberation requires the leadership of a genuinely communist party armed with the broad vision of a social order of equality and freedom and drawing in women as part of its leadership. the imperialist-dominated capitalist social order and pose nothing less than socialist revolution. Ultimately, overcoming the hideous impoverishment and cultural backwardness of sub-Saharan Africa requires an internationally planned socialist economy based on proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe and Japan. *For women's liberation through socialist revolution!*

Imperialist Hypocrisy over Women's Rights

The implementation of *sharia* in northern Nigeria triggered a violent religious and ethnic conflagration between the majority Muslim Hausa and the minority Christian Ibo tribes. As thousands were killed on both sides and countless churches, mosques and houses were destroyed, hundreds of thousands of Ibo fled to the east, where they are the ethnic majority. A similar exodus of Hausa headed north, fleeing the revenge killings. The ethnic killings recalled the events leading up to the Biafra war in the late 1960s. At that time, following massacres of the Ibo in the north, that ethnic group tried to secede from the rest of the country. The war that followed, with close to two million killed, was one of the most brutal conflicts in Africa's post-independence history.

President Olusegun Obasanjo, a military ruler during the '70s, was brought back to power in 1999 with the backing of the military and the support of the northern elites. He openly supported the introduction of *sharia* in the north, saying that "sharia is not a new thing and it's not a thing to be afraid of...the federal government would not dispute the rights of states to use it" (London *Guardian*, 20 August).

An outcry of protests filled the imperialist press following the sentencing of Amina Lawal. The European Union, the U.S. State Department and the Canadian government all joined in condemning the "gross violation of human rights." Nothing could be more cynical coming from the imperialist powers, who in their own countries promote attacks on women's rights, most graphically shown by the attacks on abortion rights and the axing of welfare in the U.S. On September 9, Regina Norman Danson, a Ghanaian woman seeking asylum in the U.S. to escape genital mutilation in her country, was arrested and now faces loss of her passport and deportation on the bogus claim that she fabricated her story.

The imperialists have never had the least concern for women in the countries they sought to dominate and exploit. For centuries, these powers enslaved black Africans and plundered the continent. Most recently, it was these powers that "liberated" Kabul in Afghanistan, installing the regime of the Northern Alliance cutthroats, which has kept all the barbaric *sharia* laws of the Taliban, only slightly "modified." A leading Afghan judge declared that those convicted of "adultery" would still be stoned to death...but with smaller stones.

For Permanent Revolution!

Nigeria, with over 300 ethnic groups cobbled together into an amalgam of a nation, is a creation of British colonialists following the carve-up of the continent at the conference of Berlin in 1884. The main ethnic groups are the Hausa, the Ibo and the Yoruba, who form about 70 percent of the population and lord it over the hundreds of other smaller ethnic groupings. The Hausa, who dominate the north, are mostly Muslims; the Ibo in the east are mostly Christian; the Yoruba in the southwest are divided between Muslims and Christians. Kept divided and

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AP

Nigerian women shut down ChevronTexaco oil facilities in July, protesting desperate living conditions and demanding employment for their families.

Venezuela

CIA Targets Chávez

The clash between backers and foes of Venezuelan nationalist strongman Hugo Chávez has reached a fever pitch that recalls the atmosphere leading up to last April's short-lived coup. That military putsch was carried out with the blessing of the U.S. imperialists, who despise Chávez for his populist posture and, above all, his sale of oil and other acts of support to Castro's Cuba. This summer, as they did before the April coup, hundreds of thousands of middle- and upper-class anti-Chávez demonstrators filled the streets of Caracas calling for the president's ouster, while his supporters from the city's slums lined the sidewalks jeering at the marchers. Opposition politicians are openly calling for another military coup or even for Chávez's death.

The April 12 coup had Washington's paw prints all over it. In the months leading up to the coup, U.S. officials repeatedly met with Venezuelan business and military leaders who opposed Chávez and later played prominent roles in the military takeover. The budget earmarked for Venezuelan opposition groups by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), a CIA front, was quadrupled to more than $877,000. According to the London *Guardian* (29 April), U.S. navy ships "helped with communications jamming support to the Venezuelan military." The day of the coup, the head of the International Republican Institute, the Republican Party's conduit for international political subversion, proclaimed, "The Venezuelan people rose up to defend democracy in their country." But as the coup quickly unraveled, within two days Washington was furiously backpedaling.

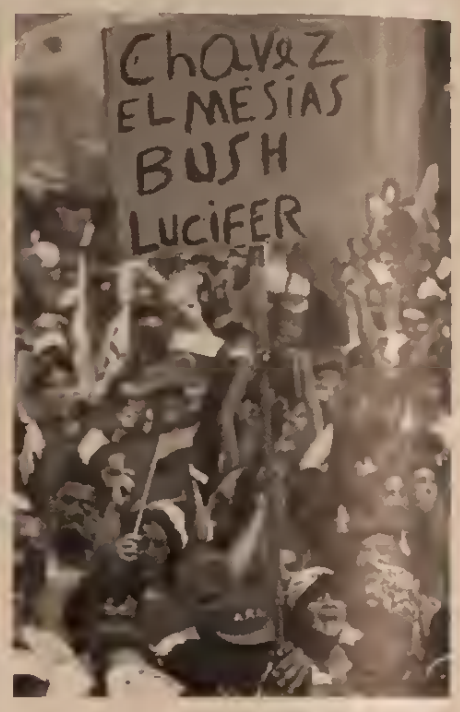
On the ground, the coup was carried out by anti-Chávez businessmen and military officers in an unholy alliance with

Reuters

Chávez welcomes Fidel Castro to Venezuela, August 2001. Chávez's dealings with Cuba have incensed U.S. imperialists.

the notoriously pro-imperialist leadership of the corporatist CTV trade-union federation. The CTV oil union tops and the oil bosses had been staging joint shutdowns and protests for months. After weeks of confrontations triggered by Chávez's decision to replace executives of the state-owned oil company, on April 9 the CTV and the bosses' National Chamber of Commerce (Fedecámaras) jointly called a general strike. When gunmen fired on a mass anti-Chávez demonstration, the military high command moved in to arrest Chávez and install Fedecámaras head Pedro Carmona in the Miraflores presidential palace.

But thousands of Chávez's supporters soon poured out of the wretched slums around Caracas, blockading roads, seizing television stations and surrounding the Miraflores palace. Military officers began shifting their support back to Chávez. According to the London *Guardian* (13 May), hundreds of pro-Chávez troops were hidden in the cellar of Miraflores. Once Carmona was inside, the commander phoned him "to tell him that, with troops virtually under his chair, he was as much a hostage as Mr Chavez." The new president resigned less than 48 hours after taking office.



AP photos

Venezuelan National Guard tear-gasses anti-Chávez protesters on April 11 in Caracas. Right: Chávez supporters demonstrate on May Day. Sign reads "Chávez Is the Messiah, Bush Is Lucifer."

The popular outpouring that helped to bring Chávez back to power was fueled by outrage at the venal Venezuelan ruling class and their imperialist masters in Washington. Over the last century, the enormous income from oil, the country's principal export, has simply fattened the wallets of the imperialists and their junior partners in Venezuela. Thirty years ago, per capita income in Venezuela was higher than in Japan. Today, 68 percent of the population lives below the official poverty line. Nearly half the workforce eke out a living on the margins of the economy as street vendors, gypsy cab drivers and day laborers. This desperately poor layer, seeing in Chávez's populist rhetoric some hope for a decent life, is the base of his "Bolivarian Movement." They have been used by Chávez as a battering ram against the unions, whose sellout leadership, tied to the capitalists and U.S. imperialism, looks like anything but a champion of the country's dispossessed.

As in virtually all interventions by U.S. imperialism in Latin America, the wretched bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO, loyal servitors of their capitalist masters, were in the baggage train. The AFL-CIO's international arm, the American Center for International Labor Solidarity, served as a conduit for NED funds, channeling $154,377 to the Venezuelan CTV. Two months before the coup, the AFL-CIO sponsored a U.S. tour by CTV tops, paid for by the NED. The CTV bureaucrats who participated in a closed forum in Washington reportedly "noted that they were here to discuss the chances for a coup" (*Labor Notes*, May 2002).

The "AFL-CIA" labor traitors were also involved in the 1964 overthrow of the nationalist Goulart regime in Brazil, the 1965 invasion of Santo Domingo by U.S. Marines and the 1983 invasion of Grenada, among other CIA operations. For decades, the AFL-CIO intervened in Latin America through its "American Institute for Free Labor Development" (AIFLD), a front for anti-labor, CIA-sponsored operations founded in 1962 as an adjunct of the Alliance for Progress, President Kennedy's response to the 1959 Cuban Revolution. One of the AIFLD's specialties was organizing strikes to help destabilize regimes that Washington opposed. Its most successful operation was the 1973 truckers "strike" in Chile, which was instrumental in bringing down the Chilean Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende, paving the way for a bloodbath of tens of thousands of workers and leftists under the Pinochet dictatorship.

The U.S. officials who worked with the Venezuelan coup plotters were all veterans of Reagan-era covert operations against leftist guerrillas in Nicaragua. Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs Otto Reich, who secretly raised money for the CIA's Nicaraguan contras in the 1980s and was once U.S. ambassador to Venezuela, met with a number of anti-Chávez figures, including CTV head Carlos Ortega, in the months leading up to the coup. Meanwhile, leading Democrats, while chiding Bush for openly applauding the coup, covered for the administration by claiming that there was "no evidence" that U.S. officials were actively involved. Democratic senator Christopher Dodd, chairman of the Western Hemisphere subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, commissioned a report that concluded that actions by U.S. officials "were consistent with U.S. policy."

For over a century, U.S. policy in Latin America has consisted of a bloody trail of military interventions, coups and death squads. Under Democrats and Republicans alike, the U.S. imperialists have treated Latin America as their god-given empire to be lorded over and pillaged at will. Today, in the name of the "war on drugs," Bush has sharply escalated Clinton's policy of U.S. military involvement in the Colombian government's dirty war against guerrilla insurgents. Above all, for more than four decades the two parties of American capitalism have sought to roll back the gains of the Cuban Revolution, including through invasion, airplane hijackings, assassinations and other acts of terror, and economic sanctions aimed at starving the population. Down with the embargo! Defend Cuba against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution! U.S. hands off Latin America!

Chávez: Populist Rhetoric, Petty Changes

Chávez regained the presidency following the short-lived coup chastened by the prospect of losing power and calling for "reconciliation" with the opposition. He withdrew his appointees at the head of the state oil company and named the secretary general of OPEC to run the company. A leader of the coup, General Lucas Romero Rincón, was named to head the armed forces. Chávez toned down criticism of "Plan Colombia," Washington's military drive against rebels in that country. He expressed penitence over his earlier diatribes against the Catholic hierarchy. Oil shipments to Cuba were abruptly cut off (they were restored earlier this month). Chávez supporters in the National Assembly promised to "adjust" laws limiting land holdings, restricting foreign investment and increasing royalties paid by foreign oil companies.

But despite his concessions to the U.S. imperialists, Chávez, as demonstrated by the ongoing protests against him, still faces the prospect of an overthrow. Essentially undamaged by the reversal of the April coup, the Venezuelan bourgeoisie maintains its confidence in its ability to oust Chávez.

The measures reversed by Chávez after the coup had been touted as the centerpiece of his "Bolivarian Revolution." Chávez is a bourgeois populist demagogue who came to power four years ago cynically promising to raise living standards for the poor, increase social benefits and distribute land to the peasants. The Venezuelan masses were fed up with the traditional bourgeois parties, Democratic Action and the pro-Catholic COPEI, which promised pie in the sky when oil prices went up and came down with the naked fist of repression when prices fell. In 1989, hundreds of people were killed in the *Caracazo*, when the populace of Caracas, enraged by the government's IMF-imposed austerity program, stormed into the streets. Three years later, Chávez came to prominence by leading a failed coup against that same government.

Chávez won the adoration of many of the country's poor through his cultivated image of a baseball-loving man of the people and, in a country of glaring racist discrimination, his open pride in his indigenous origins. He played to his base with irreverence toward the worthies of the nation, calling the rich the "squalid ones" and referring to Catholic bishops as "devils in vestments." He particularly infuriated the church by failing to include an unequivocal ban on abortion in the new constitution. (The church responded by declaring that the floods in 1999 that killed 10,000 people were "the wrath of god" in response to Chávez's impudence.) Chávez also gained popularity with his gestures of opposition to U.S. imperialism, such as his support to the FARC guerrillas in Colombia, his visit to Saddam Hussein's Iraq and his denunciation of the U.S. bombing of Afghanistan.

The Clinton administration was more or less willing to live with this thorn in their side as long as the oil continued to

flow. But even before Bush entered the White House, his aides heralded a harder line toward Chávez. The Bush administration is filled with veterans of U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary terror in Central America in the 1980s, including Elliot Abrams, who presided over the CIA's contra war in Nicaragua, and current United Nations ambassador John Negroponte, who oversaw savage repression in Honduras. Counterrevolutionary Cuban *gusanos* (worms), including Reich, hold eight of the top twelve positions in the Latin America sections of the State Department and the Pentagon. The London *Guardian* (8 February) reported that Reich helped secure the release of Orlando Bosch, who bombed a Cuban airliner in Caracas, adding: "Amazingly, Bosch was granted a pardon by George Bush senior in 1990 and is now in Florida, apparently untroubled by the current president's commitment to rooting out terrorism in all its forms."

Upon coming to power, Chávez tried to bring Venezuela's powerful oil workers union to heel. He assumed office declaring that the CTV "must be demolished." But a three-day strike by oil workers in October 2000 won a pay raise that Chávez had previously sworn never to accept. Two months later, a union-busting referendum was called by Chávez to place the CTV under his thumb. But the CTV called for a boycott and only 25 percent of eligible voters participated. When *chavista* thugs in some localities sought to take over union locals, they were driven out by CTV members.

The role of populists like Chávez is to protect the capitalist order by deflecting the just rage of the oppressed masses. While spouting empty rhetoric against the rich, Chávez has deregulated the banking system, privatized the Caracas electrical system and scrupulously respected the agreements with the IMF negotiated by his predecessor. Chávez's proclamation of an "agrarian revolution" drove the large landowners into a frenzy and raised enormous expectations in a country where a scant 3 percent of farmers own 70 percent of the arable land. But the big estates remain intact, and peasant leaders are being gunned down by the landowners' hired killers at the rate of a dozen per year.

For Workers Revolution in Venezuela!

Over the past decade, the dominant model for imperialist exploitation in the Third World has been IMF-dictated "free market" neoliberalism and privatization of state industry. The IMF's ability to dictate draconian economic austerity is in large part based on the absence of the Soviet Union as a counterweight to the imperialists. At the same time, the current economic crisis in Latin America, from

AP

U.S. soldier directs Colombian troops in military exercise south of Bogota, part of "anti-drug" war of terror against peasants and workers.

Argentina to Mexico, is producing a broader shift in the political-ideological climate away from neoliberalism back toward the nationalist populism espoused by Chávez and identified most closely with Perón's Argentina in the 1940s and '50s, where wide sectors of industry were nationalized. While we defend nationalizations carried out against imperialism, these in no sense free those industries from capitalist domination.

The nationalization of Venezuela's oil industry is a case in point. A decade after oil was discovered beneath Lake Maracaibo in 1917, Venezuela had become the world's leading exporter of oil. But the beneficiaries of that fabulous wealth were Royal Dutch Shell and Standard Oil. In 1976, the oil industry was nationalized. But the flow of profits to the imperialist corporations was guaranteed through a system of royalties, technology purchases and consulting fees. Petróleos de Venezuela became a state within the state, its policies set largely by the imperialist corporations which bought its output and sold it its capital goods. The autonomous units that made up the new state corporation were the old imperialist subsidiaries under new names (Standard Oil became Lagoven, Mobil was Llanoven, etc.). Even management was left intact.

More generally, as Leon Trotsky pointed out in regard to Mexico's oil expropriation in the late 1930s, such bourgeois nationalizations are eminently reversible under the pressure of imperialism: "Only lamentable utopians can represent the future of Mexico, as well as any other colonial or semicolonial country, as one of a constant accumulation of reforms and conquests until complete and definite emancipation has arrived" ("Ignorance Is Not a Revolutionary Instrument," January 1939).

At bottom, populism and economic neoliberalism are simply alternative policies of capitalist rule, often pursued at different times by one and the same person. In Brazil, Luiz Inacio da Silva of the Workers Party (WP), the front-runner in the campaign for next month's presidential elections, put aside his populist rhetoric this summer to embrace a $30 billion IMF bailout package, promising, if elected, to respect the austerity measures that were part of the deal. At the same time, the U.S. is certainly unhappy at the prospect of "Lula," as he is known, winning the Brazilian election. Already, major firms closely associated with the Bush administration, like Morgan Stanley Dean Witter and Merrill Lynch, downgraded Brazil's investment rating because of Lula's potential victory, sending the Brazilian stock market tumbling and destroying millions in local investments.

Following the collapse of the April coup in Venezuela, the *Wall Street Journal* (15 April) editorialized:

> "The turmoil is also a reminder of Latin America's dangerous deterioration. Most U.S. media haven't noticed, but half of that continent is in political or economic trouble, or both, following a decade of U.S. mistakes and neglect. Maybe the Chavez fiasco will alert American elites...to stop indulging Cold War grudges and start addressing current problems in the region."

This mouthpiece of American finance capital is concerned that years of accumulated social tinder could explode and set all of Latin America aflame. The ongoing collapse of Argentina has triggered crises from Uruguay to Brazil and beyond. In Bolivia, a populist candidate openly hostile to U.S. imperialism nearly finished first in the recent presidential election. In Colombia, the installation of the right-wing Uribe regime and escalating U.S. military intervention could transform the longstanding, low-level guerrilla insurgency into a full-scale civil war.

Crucial to breaking the unending cycle of bourgeois-nationalist demagogues and neoliberal imperialist puppets is the mobilization of the working masses throughout Latin America independently of and against all manner of bourgeois forces, populist or otherwise. Venezuela's own history demonstrates that the bourgeoisie, irrevocably tied by a thousand threads to its imperialist masters and fearful of and hostile to the proletariat, will not and cannot bring any real solution to the desperate situation of its working people.

It is only the working class, putting itself at the head of the struggle for justice and freedom for the country's masses of poor and oppressed people, that has the social power to end the rule of the foreign imperialists and their local lackeys. A successful workers revolution that brings the proletariat to power will expropriate the local and imperialist bourgeoisies, give land to the peasants and cancel the country's foreign debt. The U.S. and other imperialist powers would certainly move to crush such a revolutionary regime. Key to the survival of a workers revolution in Venezuela is its international extension to the rest of Latin America and into the imperialist United States itself.

The burning need in Venezuela and throughout Latin America is the forging of authentic Leninist-Trotskyist parties. Such parties would call for the full independence of the trade unions from the bourgeois state. They would act, in Lenin's words, as the "tribune of the people," rallying all those suffering under the capitalist yoke to the cause of the proletariat. They would emblazon on their banners the fight for women's liberation, combatting *machismo* and backward Catholic attitudes and raising demands for the full integration of women into the workforce at equal pay. They would fight for free abortion on demand as part of the struggle for free, quality health care for all, and for full democratic rights for homosexuals.

To liberate themselves from Wall Street debt peonage, the workers of Latin America must be won to the principles and program of proletarian internationalism, embodied in the fight to reforge a Trotskyist Fourth International. As the Fourth International stated at its founding in 1938 in "Theses on the World Role of American Imperialism":

> "None of the countries of Latin America or the Pacific which are now under the domination of American imperialism to one degree or another is able either to attain complete freedom from foreign oppression or to retain such freedom for any length of time if it confines its struggle to the efforts of its own self. Only a union of the Latin American peoples, striving towards the goal of a united socialist America and allied in the struggle with the revolutionary proletariat of the United States, would present a force strong enough to contend successfully with North American imperialism." ■

IG on Venezuela

Opportunism Makes Strange Bedfellows

One of the positions most passionately defended by the cynical centrists of the Internationalist Group (IG) is their assertion that the CTM unions in Mexico, because they are linked to the bourgeois Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), "are not workers' unions any more than are the company unions (*sindicatos blancos*) sponsored by the right-wing PAN (National Action Party); rather, they are apparatuses for bourgeois control of the workers" (*Internationalist*, Summer 2001). The CTM, proclaims the IG, is an agency for "police control over the workers" (*El Internacionalista*, March 2000). The IG has fiercely denounced us for stating that the CTM unions, despite being corporatist, i.e., unions that are organically tied to the bosses' parties and/or their state, are also "forced to mobilize their base every once in a while" (*WV* No. 748, 15 December 2000).

If, as the IG insists, the corporatist CTM "represents the *class enemy*" (*El Internacionalista/Edicion México*, May 2001), what does that make the Venezuelan CTV union federation? The CTV has been tied from its inception to the bourgeois Democratic Action (AD) party, which ruled Venezuela for much of the last six decades. And as its central role in the U.S.-orchestrated coup attempt against the Chávez regime last April showed, the CTV bureaucracy has also acted as a direct agency of Yankee imperialism. But in a lengthy article on the CTV dated November 2000, the IG did not have a word about the Venezuelan unions being "corporatist straitjackets," "police" agencies or the "class enemy." Curious indeed. Being on the CIA's take is apparently only a venial sin in the IG's opportunist catechism, whereas support for the nationalist PRI is a mortal one.

The IG's statement, posted on its Web site only in Spanish, came a month before Chávez rammed through a referendum allowing him to "renovate" the CTV leadership through government-supervised elections. Under the headline "Against Chávez, the Stock Market and the IMF—Venezuela: Mobilize Workers Power to Defeat the Anti-Union Referendum!" the IG declared: "Despite their sellout leaderships, the unions are *workers* organizations, and it is urgent to defend them against the capitalist state that seeks to subdue them in order to destroy any outbreak of proletarian independence." It was indeed the duty of leftists to oppose Chávez's reactionary referendum and defend the CTV unions against government attack and intervention—just like we, unlike the IG, defend the CTM against the Mexican state.

The IG asserted that "the government wants to punish the unions" following a victorious strike over wage demands by the powerful CTV oil workers union that October. It criticized the CTV bureaucrats for calling for "international sanctions" against the Chávez regime, counterposing typically bombastic calls to "paralyze the oilfields," "blockade the Stock Exchange," etc., etc. The IG painted a picture of Chávez as a stooge of the Caracas stock exchange and the imperialists, attacking the unions with a corrupt labor bureaucracy forced to oppose him. But as the range of bourgeois and imperialist opposition to the referendum demonstrated, the picture was hardly as clear cut.

An article in the *New York Times* (5 December 2000) after the referendum reported, "Opposition parties and local labor, business, and human rights groups

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Young Spartacus

Florida Adoption Laws Pillory Women, Gays

Government Out of the Bedroom!

WV Photo

Spartacist/SYC contingent at 1992 abortion rights protest in San Francisco.

Updating the story of *The Scarlet Letter* with a Southern gothic twist, a Florida law enacted last October requires unmarried mothers offering their children for adoption to take out advertisements detailing their sexual histories. Not only must these women, many of whom are young and impoverished, pay to run these ads in newspapers in each city or county where conception might have taken place for four weeks running, they must reveal their names and physical descriptions—including race, their child's name, and the names and descriptions of any men they might have had sex with in the year before the child's birth. Behind this adoption law which stigmatizes and humiliates women is a reactionary "family values" moralism. The state has no business scrutinizing women's sex lives! We say: Government out of the bedroom!

Seeking to overturn this barbaric law, an adoption lawyer last year filed suit on behalf of six women, including two victims of rape. The judge made an exception for rape victims but ruled that the other women had no right to privacy unless they could prove that there were other, "less intrusive" means for the state to determine their children's paternity. And that's what it's all about. Ostensibly enacted to "protect the rights of fathers" who might object to such adoptions (although none to date have come forward), what this law is really about is victimizing women who violate bourgeois and religious morality that mandates marriage, reinforcing the stigma of "illegitimacy" for children born out of wedlock, and fingering "deadbeat dads" so the state can garnish their wages for child support. In addition, in the Deep South many women are rightly worried that as a result of this law they will be targeted by white racists if they admit to having sex with black men.

Adoption law has long been a club in the hands of the religious right as it seeks to enforce the sanctity of the bourgeois family at the expense of poor and unwanted children, which is every bit the case in the state of Florida. In 1977, after the Miami city council passed a law prohibiting discrimination based on sexual preference—a simple democratic right—religious fundamentalists, led by smarmy has-been beauty queen and citrus industry shill Anita Bryant, mounted a vicious hate campaign which succeeded in repealing the ordinance later that year.

On the heels of this right-wing victory, the governor of Florida signed outrageous legislation outlawing any child's adoption by homosexual parents. A prominent backer of Bryant's anti-gay crusade and one of the main sponsors of this adoption law, former state Senator Curtis Peterson, said at the time that it sent a message to homosexuals that "we are tired of you and wish you would go back into the closet." On September 10, voters in Florida's Dade County barely defeated a proposal to repeal a section of the county's "human rights" ordinance banning discrimination against homosexuals in employment and housing.

Although at least three court cases have challenged the ban on adoption by gays, Florida's judicial system has steadfastly upheld it. The most recent suit, filed by the American Civil Liberties Union in 1997, will be heard by the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals this winter, the first time the law has been challenged in federal court. Former daytime talk-show host Rosie O'Donnell has been publicizing the case of one couple, both pediatric nurses, who are foster parents to five children classified as HIV-positive and therefore "unadoptable" by the state of Florida. Now that one of the children has tested negative, he has been reclassified "adoptable," but the only parents he's ever known are barred from adopting him.

Although Florida and the Southern "Bible Belt" are particularly notorious for state-sponsored anti-gay and anti-woman bigotry, such laws are not restricted to south of the Mason-Dixon line. New Hampshire, for example, also explicitly prohibits gay adoption. Elsewhere, the issue of gay marriage has reactionaries up in arms from Hawaii to Massachusetts. As Marxists, we stand in opposition to all forms of persecution and discrimination against gays, lesbians and all others whose sexual identity does not conform to the norms of bourgeois society. We demand the immediate repeal of all anti-homosexual laws and all legislation outlawing so-called "crimes against nature" (such as "sodomy"). We stand for the democratic right of privacy and oppose all legislation or other state action which intrudes on private affairs between consenting parties. Those who defend democratic rights must adamantly champion the rights of the more vulnerable social groups, which will be targets in today's climate of increasing state repression.

Closely intertwined with anti-homosexual bigotry, which incites savage anti-gay attacks like the 1998 murder of Matthew Shepard in Wyoming, is the anti-abortion backlash. Spearheading this backlash are the Catholic church and various "right to life" outfits, often closely linked with fascistic elements, such as those behind the sinister "Nuremberg files" Web site targeting abortion providers for assassination. There is a history of violent anti-abortion terrorism in Florida, from the murder of abortion providers to the bombing of clinics by right-wing religious fundamentalists linked to the Ku Klux Klan. As for the state government, it offers "Choose Life" license plates and uses the proceeds to fund anti-abortion "counseling centers." The new adoption law nakedly exposes the claim by these anti-abortion forces to support adoption of unwanted children.

Women's rights, like homosexuality, is seen as a challenge to the bourgeois family and the ideological and moral structures that enshrine it. For revolutionists, women's liberation and the defense of democratic rights for homosexuals are inextricably linked to the goal of replacing the family as an economic and legal unit in a socialist society. For so long as the family remains the key institution for the oppression of women in class society, "family values" based on religion, chastity and "morality" will constitute a conservatizing ideology used to regiment the population and prop up bourgeois "law and order."

In Iowa, these forces of "law and order" are attacking women's right to control their own medical records, as a district court judge has ordered all hospitals and clinics in the Storm Lake area to turn over the names of women whose pregnancy tests were positive between August 2001 and May 2002. This state attempt to snoop into the private lives of hundreds of women, supposedly in search of the mother of a dead baby found in a dump, has been opposed by the operators of the local Planned Parenthood clinic, who have appealed the case to the state Supreme Court. Already the number of pregnancy tests performed at the clinic is down 70 percent. Down with the government sex snoops!

Such invasions of privacy are becoming more and more frequent, as the anti-abortion Bush White House builds on the policies of the previous Democratic administration, emboldening right-wing forces nationwide. From the campaign to replace sex education with "abstinence only" preaching to the pushing of mandatory marriage and enforcing of reactionary "statutory rape" laws, women's rights and the rights of youth are in the cross hairs of an interventionist capitalist state. The Spartacus Youth Clubs call for free abortion on demand, free 24-hour childcare, free quality health care, jobs for all, open admissions to the universities with no tuition and a living stipend. But the full liberation of women cannot be achieved under capitalism. Only victorious proletarian revolution can break the chains of economic compulsion which underlie the bourgeois family, allowing the allocation of resources according to human need and not Wall Street profits. ■

McCracken/Pensacola News-Journal

Pensacola, Florida abortion clinic bombing, December 1984. SYC defends abortion clinics against right-wing terrorist attacks.

Iraq...

(continued from page 16)

people. This is part of our opposition to the "national unity" campaign and anti-immigrant witchhunts of the bosses and our fight to organize and build a workers party under whose leadership the working class can seize state power and expropriate the bourgeoisie. ***Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!***

In contrast, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) enthuses over building "the broadest possible anti-war movement," which in the end is tailored to liberal, pro-imperialist sentiments. Exactly who the ISO wants in its "antiwar movement" was made clear at the first meeting of the ISO-led Columbia Anti-War Coalition (CAWC) last Monday. After the SYC put forward its proposal for a united-front protest against war in Iraq, opposition surfaced from students worried about alienating youth with "confrontational" slogans. In fact, at the meeting the ISO agreed to make opposing war in Iraq the sole basis for participation in CAWC so as to leave the door open to those who generally support the "war on terror." Though ISOers voiced formal agreement with our protest demands and CAWC adopted "points of unity" that were variants of these demands, two-thirds voted against endorsing the demonstration.

For the ISO, keeping pro-imperialist liberals on board its coalition came before principled opposition to the U.S. government's "war on terror," of which war in Iraq is a part. The ISO went so far in appeasing its coalition partners as to claim it was "too early" for protests. If now is not the time for protest, then when? Once Iraq has been reduced to a mass graveyard?

Young Spartacus

SYC impromptu speakout against military recruiters present at Columbia University student activities day, September 6.

Guided more by anti-communism than anti-imperialism, the ISO also refused to join our protest at the activities fair against the ROTC military recruiters, who were well within view of the ISO literature table.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the ISO likewise eagerly joined with pro-imperialist liberals in antiwar coalitions. Falling in line with the U.S. government's war aim of ousting the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, the ISO tore up its paper opposition to sanctions to endorse demonstrations calling for the imperialists to impose sanctions as a "peaceful" alternative to bombing. Today, the ISO cries over the 1.5 million victims of the UN-sponsored starvation blockade, but it got what the coalition demo it endorsed asked for at the time, to deadly effect.

This is the ISO's "antiwar" strategy—to spread illusions that the "excesses" of capitalism can be alleviated through mass pressure on supposedly progressive capitalist forces, namely the Democratic Party. In a posting on its Web site, the ISO looks kindly upon Al Gore, who we are told "wrote an op ed piece in the August 4 *New York Times* that made a sharp turn toward class struggle rhetoric," and holds out the possibility of building the "movement" through "a break to the left in mainstream politics." The Democratic Party is a party of racism and war! Most of the Iraqi victims of the embargo died under the watch of the Democrat Clinton (and Gore), about which Clinton's UN ambassador Madeleine Albright reckoned: "We think the price is worth it." In addition, near-daily U.S. bombing in the last two years of the Clinton administration killed hundreds of Iraqi civilians. Today, the Democrats fulsomely support extending the "war on terror," whether to Iraq or elsewhere. ***The main enemy is the capitalist class at home! Down with the two imperialist war parties!***

The ISO's faith in the existence of a progressive wing of the bourgeoisie led it to howl with the imperialist wolves in the 1980s against the intervention of the Soviet Red Army into Afghanistan during the civil war between Islamic fundamentalists and forces favoring democratic reforms. The ISO cast its lot with the U.S.-backed, women-hating *mujahedin* cutthroats, whom it called "freedom fighters." We hailed the Red Army, which represented the only hope for emancipation of the hideously oppressed women of Afghanistan. Generally, the ISO supported every imperialist-sponsored cause, no matter how reactionary, against the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state, where capitalism was overthrown. Opposition to imperialism requires defense of those gains the international working class has won. We Trotskyists unconditionally militarily defended the Soviet Union—as we defend the remaining deformed workers states of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam today—against the imperialists and capitalist restoration. Simultaneously, we fight for workers political revolution to oust the sellout Stalinist bureaucrats and bring workers to power internationally.

The SYC seeks to win radical youth to the perspective that only workers revolution can break the stranglehold of the imperialist system around the globe. We stand on the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, which successfully led the working class to power in Russia amid the carnage of interimperialist war. Oppose the U.S. imperialist war drive and rally in solidarity with the people of Iraq—***Join us in protest this Wednesday!*** ■

Mumia...

(continued from page 16)

Rachel Wolkenstein (reprinted in the September 2001 Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!"), the new papers detail how "for nine whole years, attorney Weinglass and attorney Williams did more than any prosecutor could ever do to send Petitioner Jamal to his death. They strangled at birth the evidence which shows that he did not kill Police Officer Faulkner and, in the process, jettisoned numerous other decisive claims for relief." Wolkenstein, who is counsel for the PDC, resigned from the legal team in 1999 precisely over the suppression of the Beverly confession. As she explained in her affidavit, Weinglass' refusal to proceed with Beverly's confession and other evidence "was also my final realization that Attorney Weinglass would not carry out the defense demanded by our innocent client."

That Weinglass and Williams played the role of prosecutor was set forth for the world to see in the publication last year of Williams' false "inside account" of Jamal's case, *Executing Justice*, published shortly before Beverly's confession was submitted to court. Jamal's latest papers point out, "Williams falsely and malevolently suggests in his introduction to *Executing Justice*, subtitled 'The Problem of Ambiguity,' that Petitioner Jamal is guilty. This ***ambiguity***, which is the central theme of *Executing Justice*, is something which attorneys Weinglass and Williams implanted into Petitioner Jamal's case by suppressing" evidence that someone else shot officer Faulkner. Williams' declaration that Beverly's confession was "lunacy" was the core argument used by prosecutors in fighting to keep this conclusive evidence of Mumia's innocence out of court.

In a letter to Jamal last year, Weinglass acknowledged that Williams' book was to be a "pre-emptive strike" against use of the Beverly confession, should it later emerge. Jamal's new legal papers summarize, "Among the unsavory motives that Messrs. Weinglass and Williams had in publishing the book was that of ruthlessly covering up the manner in which their own cowardice and mishandling of Petitioner's case over the previous nine years, capped off by their suppression of Arnold Beverly's confession and the evidence which corroborated it, had undermined and sabotaged Petitioner's defense at the very same time that they had built their careers on cynically and hypocritically posing to the world as his courageous and self-sacrificing *radical* lawyers, fighting a heroic battle against 'the system'."

Their radical veneer notwithstanding, Weinglass and Williams' outlook is premised on absolute faith in the inherent justice of the capitalist courts. But as Jamal's new papers point out, his treatment by the courts is reminiscent of the infamous Supreme Court decision in the case of fugitive slave Dred Scott in 1857.

In turning down Jamal's PCRA application last year, Judge Dembe dismissed the sworn account of court stenographer Terri Maurer-Carter of a conversation she overheard in the courthouse where Mumia was tried: "Judge Sabo was discussing the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. In the course of that conversation, I heard Judge Sabo say: 'Yeah, and I'm going to help them fry the n----r'." According to Dembe, such a blatant statement of racist bias was insignificant—since Jamal had a jury trial, he had no right to an impartial judge!

As Jamal's legal papers state:

> "Judge Sabo's vile racist comment... meant that, in Judge Sabo's courtroom, Mr. Jamal, like Dred Scott before him, was not a citizen with rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution, but rather an inferior being with 'no rights which the white man was bound to respect'."

Mumia's attorneys also pointed out that "in ruling that Mumia Abu-Jamal had no right to an impartial judge, Judge Dembe implicitly ruled that Petitioner Jamal had no right to a fair tribunal. But since being tried before an ***unfair tribunal*** is no different from being 'tried' by a lynch mob, the 'right' to be tried before an *unfair* tribunal is no right at all."

Among those on the Pennsylvania Supreme Court is former D.A. Ronald Castille. Castille was District Attorney at the time when his subordinate Jack McMahon made an infamous videotape instructing members of the D.A.'s office on how to exclude blacks from juries. The video bears not only Castille's name but also the logo of DATV Productions, the video production department of the Philadelphia D.A.'s office. A critical issue in every one of Mumia's appeals has been the unconstitutional exclusion of black men and women as jurors. Castille was the D.A. opposing Jamal's first appeal, and was later one of the members of the Supreme Court who turned down Jamal's appeal of Sabo's denial of his PCRA in 1997. A number of defendants have had their convictions overturned on the basis of this racist jury-rigging—but not Mumia. Jamal's attorneys demonstrate how as a Supreme Court justice Castille has blocked every effort by Jamal to determine his role in the production of the McMahon video.

In turning down Jamal's appeal, Dembe sneered, "It is hornbook [text] law that witnesses...who mysteriously appear long after trial are regarded with suspicion by the courts." In the past three years, dozens of death row inmates have been spared execution by evidence of their innocence only discovered years later. After serving 13 years of his life sentence on a false murder conviction, Lamont Branch was finally released from a New York prison last week, six months after his brother Lorenzo confessed to the murder.

Jamal's legal filing illustrates that for a defiant and outspoken opponent of this racist system like Jamal, there is no justice in the capitalist courts. As the introduction to the PDC pamphlet "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!" explained: "The long hidden and suppressed evidence of Mumia's innocence is the truth. But in this capitalist system of injustice, the truth is insufficient to secure Jamal's freedom. What we need is not just more truth but more social power. It is elementary that if labor's power is to be brought to bear in a mighty blow on Jamal's behalf, it must be mobilized independently of the very forces of the capitalist state that have worked for years to frame up and kill this innocent man." ***Mobilize now to free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!*** ■

New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up: Declarations and affidavits of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Arnold R. Beverly, Rachel Wolkenstein and others prove that death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man.

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Capitalism...

(continued from page 1)

workers governments where those whu labor rule.

Corporate Scams and Swindles

> "There's a handful of C.E.O.'s that have done more to hurt our economy than Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda combined."
>
> —David D'Alessandro, chief executive officer (CEO) of John Hancock Financial Services

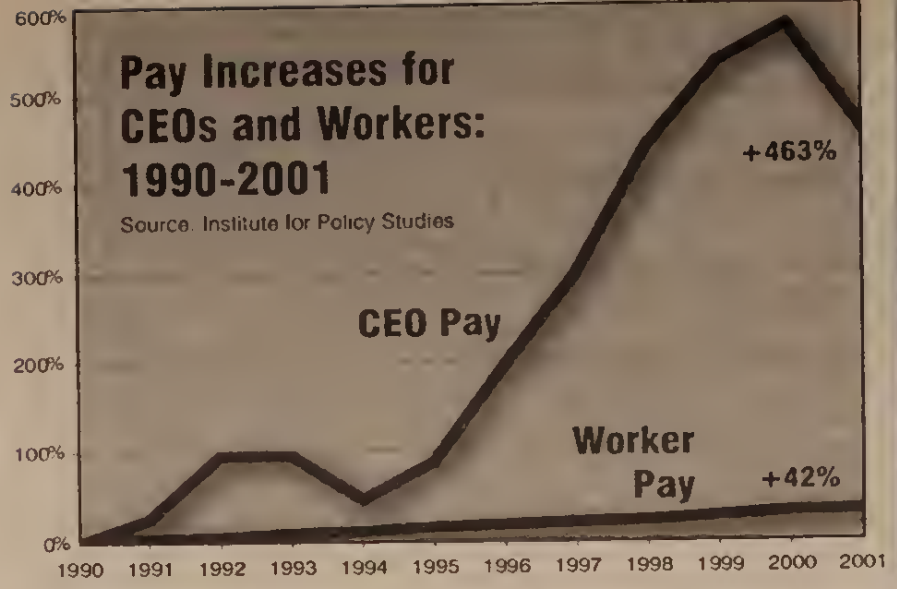
Every few days a high-level corporate executive or Wall Street financier bemoans that the unrestrained greed of sume of his collcagues has undermined public confidence, not least that of foreign investurs, in American capitalism. "I find myself feeling emharrassed and ashamed by what I see in corporate America," Andrew Grove, chairman of the big computer chip maker Intel, confesses to us. Grove's embarrassment and shame are no doubt aggravated by the fact that Intel stock is now selling for $19 a share compared tu a high of $40 a share last year. But he is definitely not embarrassed that Intel has recently laid off 4,000 employees in an effort to bolster its profits and stuck price.

Around the world, foreign leaders and bourgeois spokesmen indulge in moralizing lectures about America's "crony capitalism" and rampant corporate fraud. The London *Financial Times* (28 June) cumplains that European investors in the U.S. feel like "they were suckers in a game rigged in favour of insiders." Vladimir Putin, political capo of post-Soviet Russia's gangster capitalists, chides U.S. business leaders for their lack of social responsibility. One almost expects Saddam Hussein to denounce the corporate swindlers of America's investing public.

The current focus on those corporate executives who have violated the laws and the accepted business practices of American capitalism should not obscure the fundamental criminality of capitalism ***as a system***. It is a system based on the exploitation of the working class by the owners of the means of production. This is especially obvious in the U.S. today, when corporate CEOs make ***more than 400 times*** the wages of the blue-collar workers they employ.

While some of these executives also swindle their stockholders, they are basically paid to increase actual corporate profits at the expense of their workers: holding down or cutting back wages and benefits, speeding up production, preventing unionization. A CEO who fiddles the books to show $250 million more in profits than the firm actually earned is today vilified. But one who increases actual profits by $250 million by wage cuts or layoffs is praised and rewarded on Wall Street.

While stock prices have recovered somewhat from the panic-selling in July in the immediate aftermath of the WorldCom scandal, the market valuation of corporate America has ***fallen almost 40 percent*** from the stratospheric heights of a few years ago. Wall Street spokesmen, from Bush on downward, contend that a few bad apples, like the men who ran Enron and WorldCom, have soured investor confidence. The fundamentals of the American economy, they say, are sound.



Hosefros/NY Times

CEOs like Enron chairman and Bush crony Kenneth Lay make grab for unprecedented gains off backs of working people.

However, the stock market slide began two and a half years ago and so was not caused by the recent wave of corporate scandals beginning with Enron last fall. The Wall Street bull market of the mid-late 1990s was driven hy a speculative mania defying all rational economic calculation and expectations. It really didn't matter whether the prufits reported on corporate financial statements were real or artificially inflated. Stocks were wildly overpriced in either case, both by historical standards and in comparison with the earnings of other, far safer financial assets (e.g., U.S. Treasury bills).

In the past, a stock market crash and prolonged bear market battered the working class through its secondary effects on the economy. The collapse of business investment in new plant and equipment resulted in mass layoffs and unemployment. Corporate managers moved to recoup profit margins by cutting wages and benefits. And this is also happening now. For example, the nation's second-largest airline, United, which has long advertised itself as "employee owned" because its workers were encouraged to buy stock through the Employee Stock Options Program, is threatening bankruptcy unless its workers accept pay cuts as well as layoffs.

With some 60 percent of the American working population having invested in IRAs or similar retirement plans, tens of millions of working-class families have seen the value of their retirement funds and other savings (e.g., for their children's education) cut hy a third or half by the plunging Dow Jones Industrial Average and Standard & Poor's 500 index. Employees of large corporations used to have guaranteed, fixed-benefit pensions funded and administered by the corporation, sometimes in conjunction with the union. But beginning in the early 1980s, changes in government tax laws and corporate policy forced working people to finance their own old-age pension fund through 401(k) plans and IRAs. In doing so, the capitalist class saved hundreds of billions of dollars by cutting the size of pension compensation. In funded plans, the employers take the losses in an economic downturn; with 401(k)s and IRAs, it is the workers who take the losses, as they're now doing.

As working people were forced to try to accumulate the funds to support themselves in old age, corporate America launched a massive advertising campaign to convince them that stocks were the best available long-term financial asset. "We're bullish on America," proclaimed Merrill Lynch, the giant Wall Street investment bank/brokerage house now deeply implicated in the Enron swindle. Merrill analysts in e-mails to une another described the stock of some Internet companies as "crap" and "a piece of shit" while touting the merits of these companies to the firm's clients. In 1997, the prominent liberal economist Charles P. Kindleberger, author of a standard history of financial crises, described the Wall Street boom as a "mutual funds mania bubble, instigated in part by changes in pension laws."

While the stock market bubble has now burst, spectacularly so, there's still a bubble in the housing market fueled by very low interest rates and an acute housing shortage. And when that bubble bursts, the impact will be very big. Not only will a lot of people lose their homes, but many banks and other financial institutions holding real estate loans could go belly up.

The Wall Street bull market of the '90s also attracted hundreds of billions of dollars of speculative capital from around the world. The Japanese economy was mired in a decade-long recession following the bursting of its own stock market/real estate hubble in the late 1980s. Growth in the economies of West Europe, saddled with relatively high labor costs, was sluggish. The United States looked to be the only economically dynamic, major region in the advanced capitalist world. Not only was there massive foreign investment in American corporate securities, but European industrialists also greatly expanded their manufacturing operations in the U.S., especially in the non-union South.

For years, foreign investors have financed this country's large balance-of-trade deficits and more recently the rapidly growing federal government budget deficit as well. Forty percent of outstanding U.S. Treasury bonds are in the hands of European, Japanese and other foreign finance capitalists.

From the standpoint of London, Frankfurt and Tokyo financiers, these days the United States is no longer the best place to put their money. Direct foreign investment peaked at $300 billion in 2000 and then fell by more than half to $125 billion last year. When the wave of corporate scandals culminated with WorldCom earlier this summer, the *Wall Street Journal* (28 June) ran an article headlined: "Funds Flow Back to Europe as Mistrust in Wall Street Mounts with Each Day." The *Journal* quoted Wolfram Gerdes, chief investment officer of the Frankfurt-based Allianz Dresdner Asset Management: "It's almost a joint move of people being appalled by what they're seeing in the U.S."

Since the beginning of the year, the exchange value of the dollar has fallen sharply against the euro for the first time since the European Union's currency was launched a few years ago. The dollar has likewise fallen against the Japanese yen. A *New York Times* (28 June) editonal pointed to this worrisome trend and laid out a worst-case scenario: "Capital flight is a danger we usually associate with countries like Argentina, but a few more WorldComs and the comparison may seem apt."

Since the Soviet Union was destroyed by capitalist counterrevulution in 1991-92, the United States has heen the supraduminant power in the world. Consequently, the stock market crash, falling dollar and looming double-dip recession have a major effect on all aspects of global politics. For example, the European imperialist ruling classes are even less likely to support an American war against Iraq now that they're losing hundreds of billions of dollars on their investments in the U.S.

When the WorldCom debucle jolted Wall Street a few months ago, the *New York Times* (30 June) ran a headline with the rhetorical question: "Could Capitalists Actually Bring Down Capitalism?" The answer is no. American capitalism has survived corporate scandals, stock market crashes and prolonged economic slumps. The only social force that can destroy this destructive system, which is driven by greed and profits and not by the needs and interests of humanity, is the multiracial working class supported by the oppressed and impoverished black and Latino masses. To realize this, the proletariat must be transformed from a class in itself—the ohject of capitalist exploitation—to a class for itself—conscious of its purpose as the agency for the eradication of the capitalist order. It must be educated and led by a Marxist workers party committed to the establishment of workers rule.

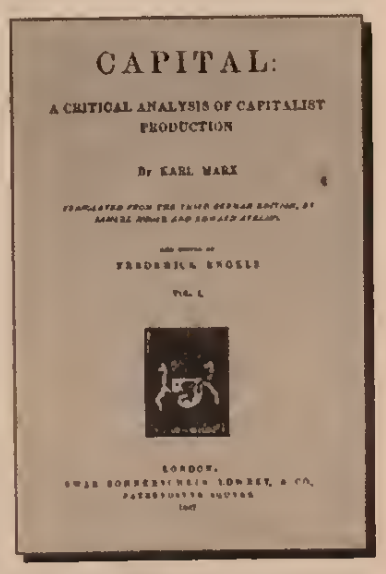
Stock Options and Other Financial Scams

Two decades ago, corporate CEOs earned on average 40 times more than production workers. Today, they make more than 400 times more. The main difference has been the widespread use of stock options, which now accuunt for almost 60 percent of executive compensation. Options provide both a direct, personal incentive to maximize stock prices by fair means or foul and a major foul means of doing so.

An executive is given the option to buy a block of stock in the future at the price it was trading for when the option was granted. If the price of the stock stays the same or goes down, the option is not exercised and no money is lost. If the price goes up, the executive buys it at the earlier lower price, sells it at the current higher price and pockets the difference. It's a one-way bet where you can only win.

How then does the use of stock options artificially inflate reported corporate profits? If a CEO is given an additional $500 million in salary, this is recorded as an operating expense and is therefore deducted from revenue in calculating profits. But if the same CEO makes an additional $500 million by exercising his stock option, this does not show up on the corporation's books at all. The argu-

Beard



Boom-bust cycles outlined by Karl Marx in his seminal work, *Capital*, demonstrate fundamental irrationality of capitalist system of production.

ment is that while executives' salaries and bonuses are paid out of the company's treasury, the money received from the exercise of stock options comes from outside the company, from the investors who repurchase the stock from its executives.

Well-known business spokesman Warren Buffett, who fancies himself the conscience of Wall Street, has long campaigned for treating stock options as a corporate expense just like salaries and bonuses: "When a company gives something of value to its employees in return for their services, it is clearly a compensation expense. And if expenses don't belong in the earnings statement where in the world do they belong?" (*New York Times*, 24 July). A recent academic study headed by a retired J. P. Morgan vice president estimates that corporate profits have been overstated by at least 20 percent because of the failure to list stock options as expenses and other accounting manipulations. AT&T, for example, would go from showing a slim profit to registering a substantial loss if its exercised stock options were shown as an expense on its books.

There is one important federal government agency which has not gone along with the stock-option scam: the Internal Revenue Service, which has demanded and gotten its cut. Corporate executives and other employees have to report income from exercised stock options on their IRS tax returns. The U.S. government thus literally keeps two sets of books on the level of corporate profits, one based on corporate financial statements, the other on the tax returns of corporate executives. Using tax returns and other data, the government's Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) recently published a comprehensive *revision* of U.S. economic statistics for the mid-late 1990s. According to this new report, ***corporate profits actually peaked in 1997***, not in 2000 as previously indicated in both government statistics and the business press.

WV Photo

Chicago: Hotel workers, members of HERE union, demonstrate against attacks on wages and health benefits, August 23.

Mike Keefe/Denver Post

Summarizing the BEA analysis, *Business Week* (12 August) commented: "That means the stock market was even more irrationally exuberant in 1999 and 2000 than anyone realized, skyrocketing in value even as profits tailed off." *Business Week* further pointed out: "The recession in New Economy profits helps explain why there was so much accounting chicanery during the boom years. Companies were under pressure to show earnings growth, even while their real profits were declining."

So corporate America fraudulently inflated revenues and earnings and/or disguised its level of debt. The Enron management set up supposedly "independent" partnerships which borrowed tens of millions that did not show up on the company's books. Enron was followed by a succession of exposés of fraudulent accounting involving big companies, though of somewhat lesser magnitude—Global Crossing, Dynegy, Tyco International, Adelphia Communications.

Then in late June the telecommunications giant WorldCom, the nation's second-largest long-distance carrier, announced an upward revision of almost $4 billion in expenses for last year and the first quarter of this year. A previously reported profit of $1.5 billion for 2001 was instantaneously transformed into a substantial loss. What was involved here was a fraud so stupidly obvious it could have been caught by a business school undergraduate in Accounting 101. The WorldCom management had "reclassified" ordinary operating expenses for the maintenance of its phone cables as a capital outlay for new equipment to be depreciated over several years, and thus reduced their expenses on paper. One commentator quipped that even a seven-year-old knows the difference between painting the family house and buying a new house.

In one sense, the furor over Enron and WorldCom has masked the real, underlying dynamic of yesterday's Wall Street bull market. Even though Enron cooked its books, the books it cooked still showed a poor return on investment. The London *Economist* (18 May) noted that Enron's "operating return on capital and its return on equity [stock holdings] declined sharply during 1996-2000, falling below the economic cost of capital. In other words, the publicly available data showed the company was operating at a loss."

The long-accepted basic measure of corporate stock valuation is its price-earnings ratio (P/E)—the ratio of the price of a share to corporate profits per share. For well over a century, the average P/E of corporate stocks in the U.S. was concentrated in the 10 to 20 range. At the height of the 1920s boom, just before the crash of October 1929 which triggered the Great Depression, the P/E reached the then-historic high of 32.

When the bull market peaked in early 2000, the P/E was 39. Consider someone who in 1998 bought $1,000 worth of stock at a P/E of 30. The annual return in terms of corporate profits would be $33. Yet for the same $1,000 he could have purchased a one-year certificate of deposit from a bank, insured by the federal government against default, with a guaranteed return in interest of $50 or more. Why then were ever more American families investing an ever greater portion of their retirement funds and other savings in corporate shares? Because they were led to believe the stock prices would continue to rise at the exceptional rates of the previous few years.

Yale University economist Robert Shiller aptly described the stock market boom as a "naturally occurring Ponzi scheme." This famous financial swindle was named for one Charles Ponzi, who operated it in Boston in the 1920s. It basically works like this. The initial round of investors can resell their stocks at a higher price from the money provided by a larger second round of investors. They, in turn, can resell the stock at a higher price from the money provided by a still larger third round. The scheme continues to spiral outward and upward until the supply of gullible investors runs out and then the stock collapses. On a gigantic scale involving trillions of dollars, millions of investors and thousands of companies, that is basically what happened in U.S. financial markets over the past decade.

The Boom-Bust Cycle of Capitalism

The collapse of the Wall Street bull market represents at the financial level, exaggerated by speculative expectations and illusions, the fundamental laws of the capitalist economic system analyzed a century and a half ago by Karl Marx. In particular, the tendency of the rate of profit to fall periodically blocks and reverses the expansion of production. Marx explained in Volume III of *Capital*:

> "The expansion or contraction of production are determined by the appropriation of unpaid labor and the proportion of this unpaid labor to materialized labor in general, or, to speak the language of the capitalists, by profit and the proportion of this profit to the employed capital, thus by a definite rate of profit, rather than the relation of production to social requirements, i.e., to the requirements of socially developed human beings."

Capitalists invest in expanding productive capacity on the assumption that the additional output, whether automobiles or Internet services, can be sold at the existing rate of profit, or at a higher rate if they're investing in cost-cutting technology. If, as is usually the case, capital construction is financed by new bond issues or bank loans, corporate management expects a rate of profit more than adequate to meet the future debt service. However, during periods of expansion the average rate of profit tends to fall. Even if productivity rises and wages don't, increased profit per worker does not offset increased capital investment per worker.

The causal relationship between capital accumulation and a falling rate of profit is especially clear in the telecommunications sector where, not coincidentally, the recent big corporate scandals—WorldCom, Global Crossing—have been concentrated. In the early 1990s, the rapid growth of Internet and also cellular phone traffic strained existing facilities. Profits in the industry were well above average, with a rate of return on capital of 15 percent or more. Capital flowed in to finance a massive expansion of fiber-optic cable networks and other facilities. The result: a sharp fall in the rate of profit to 8.5 percent by the end of the decade, leading to what the London *Economist* (20 July) calls "The Great Telecoms Crash": "Too many firms got caught up in Internet mania, assumed astronomic rates of traffic growth and, egged on by bullish investors, started building networks to carry that traffic."

Telecommunications represents an extreme case of what happened throughout the U.S. economy during the 1990s boom. As the economy moved into recession a year ago last spring, *Business Week* (9 April 2001) explained why, naturally from the standpoint of capitalists, not the working class:

> "After years of frantically investing to build up the human and physical capacity to keep up with soaring growth, the U.S. economy is struggling with overcapacity as far as the eye can see. From Intel's half-finished building in Austin, to the multitudes of identical retail stores that seem to dot every other corner, to the gaping, empty billboards that loom over New York's Times Square, every sector is struggling with the hangover caused by too many years of too much investment."

Obviously, for working people there cannot possibly be *too many* job opportunities and goods and services available. What business executives and their ideological spokesmen mean by "overcapacity" is that the U.S. has the actual capacity to produce far more goods and services than can be sold at *a satisfactory rate of profit*. As Marx explained:

> "There are not too many necessities of life produced, in proportion to the existing population. Quite the reverse. Too little is produced to decently and humanely satisfy the wants of the great mass....
>
> "Too many commodities are produced to permit of a realization and conversion into new capital of the value and surplus value contained in them under the conditions of distribution and consumption *peculiar to capitalist production*, i.e., too many to permit the consummation of this process without constantly recurring explosions." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Capital*, Volume III

According to the latest government statistics (which could be revised downward), the U.S. economy was in recession most of last year but pulled out of it by the beginning of this year. Yet unemployment continues to rise, with older workers simply not being rehired. This is what bourgeois economists call a "jobless recovery." The economy is growing so slowly it cannot absorb the additional

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This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

Exploitation, poverty and social degradation can be eliminated only through proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centers as well as the neocolonial countries, laying the basis for an international planned socialist economy.

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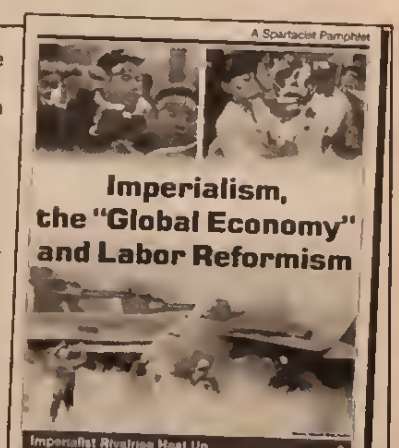


Capitalism...

(continued from page 11)

workers entering the labor market.

Furthermore, those workers who do have jobs have seen their take-home pay fall as a result of reduced overtime and other deductions. For example, many companies are taking increased health insurance premiums out of their employees' paychecks. James Foreman, managing director of a business consulting firm, explained very clearly how capitalists respond to a recession by seeking to increase what Marx called the rate of exploitation: "Profits are squeezed so employers have to shift more of the cost to employees, and it is harder and harder to get a job, so companies don't have to worry about employees going somewhere else" (*New York Times*, 11 August).

The only thing sustaining the economic "recovery" is that consumer spending has not yet fallen significantly despite greater unemployment and smaller paychecks. How is that possible? Working-class families as well as affluent members of the middle class have so far resisted cutting their living standard—by going even more deeply into debt. The combined mortgage, auto loan and credit-card debt of the average American family is now ***nearly 100 percent*** of annual after-tax income, up from 75 percent a decade ago. Obviously, this trend cannot continue for long.

Significantly, the big banks are pushing through new federal legislation to make it a lot harder, if not impossible, for working people to get out from under their debt burden by declaring personal bankruptcy. Describing the Congressional bill as "a creditor's wish list," Henry Sommer, vice president of the National Association of Consumer Bankruptcy Lawyers, explained: "Many who by filing [for bankruptcy] now could save their homes from foreclosure or their cars from repossession won't be able to do so under this bill. And many will come out of bankruptcy owing as much as they owe now" (*Nation*, 8 April).

Wall Street's main man on Capitol Hill in guiding this soak-the-poor legislation through Congress is Senate *Democratic* majority leader Tom Daschle. Daschle has long had close ties to Citibank—the nation's largest credit-card usurer—which operates its main credit-card processing center in his home state of South Dakota. Last spring the Senate Democratic leader boasted of getting Congress to pass "a strong bankruptcy bill" for Bush to sign into law.

As working-class families experience the value of their retirement funds and other savings falling and their credit-card and other debt rising, they will have to cut back their consumption spending. Both business and academic economists therefore see an increasing likelihood of double-dip recession by the year's end. More fundamentally, there is a striking parallel between the U.S. economy today and that of Japan after its stock market/real estate bubble burst in the early 1990s:

> "The similarities between America's financial bubble in the 1990s and Japan's in the 1980s have been well rehearsed. In both cases, share prices and capital spending soared; households and companies went on a borrowing binge....
>
> "America's economy over the past two years has in many ways mirrored the performance of Japan's immediately after its bubble burst."
>
> —*Economist*, 15 June

And ever since, the Japanese economy has been in a prolonged slump.

Wall Street's Democrats

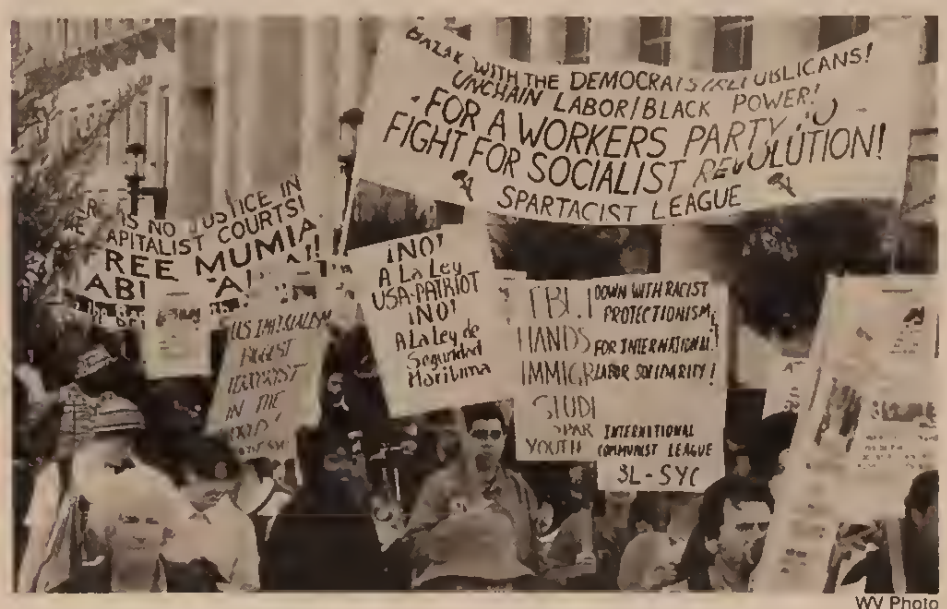
Before the WorldCom fraud broke in June, Republican pollster Bill McInturff was certain the GOP would keep control of the House of Representatives and had a good chance of regaining a Senate majority in the November elections. After all, Bush was still riding high in the public standing as Commander-in-Chief of the "war on global terror." But the escalating wave of corporate scandals and the ensuing fall in stock prices have significantly changed the political climate in terms of the upcoming elections. Republican strategist Stuart Stevens, Bush's media adviser in 2000, now thinks, "The Democrats have a real opportunity here." At the same time, the Republican Bush administration is playing up its drive toward war against Iraq.

AP Reuters

Argentine economy devastated by IMF austerity. Left: Soup kitchens in financial district of Buenos Aires. March by unemployed workers in August demands unemployment benefits and new jobs.

The Republicans flaunt their close ties to Wall Street and the Fortune 500 corporations while touting the virtues of unfettered "free market" capitalism. The Democrats are the "soft cops" of American capitalism. They appeal to a different constituency, using a different rhetoric. The particular role of the Democratic Party in American bourgeois politics is to convince the working class and the oppressed black and Latino minorities that they, too, can benefit from the capitalist system with the right kind of government policies and regulations.

Thus Democratic Congressional leader Richard Gephardt blames the GOP leadership for allowing and encouraging Enron, WorldCom and the other corporate swindles: "In 1995, when the Republican leadership came in, both Newt Gingrich and Tom DeLay made statements that the main goal of their effort was to deregulate corporate America. Well, they did a lot of that in the last years, and now we see some of the results of that" (*New York Times*, 28 June).



WV Photo

Spartacist supporters at Oakland February 9 united-front demonstration against government's "anti-terror" laws.

Gephardt to the contrary (and he knows better), the financial deregulation of the 1990s was very much a *bipartisan* operation. When not preoccupied with the Monica Lewinsky affair, the Clinton White House collaborated with Gingrich, DeLay & Co. in undoing many New Deal-derived regulatory measures designed to curtail the worst excesses of unbridled speculation. For example, in 1999 Clinton and the Republican-led Congress repealed the 1933 Glass-Steagall Act which prohibited Wall Street firms from engaging in both investment banking and stock trading. An investment bank gets money from corporations for arranging and promoting their new stock and bond issues. A brokerage house gets money from its clients for recommending those stocks that are the best buy. There's an obvious conflict of interest here. Witness Merrill Lynch analysts describing some Internet stocks as "crap" in private while recommending these stocks to the firm's clients.

A major theme of liberal journalism these days is muckraking exposés of the ties between the Bush gang, beginning with George W. himself, and corporate malefactors. The left-liberal *Nation* is campaigning for the ouster of Secretary of the Army Thomas White, a former Enron executive directly implicated in fixing the firm's books and also manipulating California's energy crisis a few years ago. Another favorite liberal target is Harvey Pitt, Bush's appointee as head of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), the agency charged with overseeing new stock issues and other corporate financial transactions. Pitt is a former top-level Wall Street lawyer mainly employed by the big accounting firms. Liberal publicist Frank Rich quipped that appointing him head of the SEC is like appointing a Mafia *consigliere* as director of the FBI.

However, leading Democrats are just as involved with and beholden to corporate America as their GOP counterparts. We've already indicated that Senate Democratic majority leader Daschle is one of Citigroup's main political point men in Washington. On behalf of his Wall Street masters, he's just condemned millions of working-class families to years of debt peonage.

Another of Wall Street's favorite Democrats is Joseph Lieberman, the party's vice-presidential candidate in 2000. In the early 1990s, then head of the SEC Arthur Levitt proposed new federal legislation requiring corporations to list as an expense on their financial statements the income of their executives from exercised stock options. It was Lieberman who spearheaded the counter-offensive that killed Levitt's proposed reform in the Senate. This leading Democrat is thus directly responsible for perpetuating the most important form of de facto fraudulent accounting practiced by U.S. corporations. In fact, Lieberman is still a die-hard defender of the stock-options scam.

Then there's Terry McAuliffe, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, with his close and lucrative ties to the failed telecom company Global Crossing, now under criminal investigation for fraudulently inflating its revenues through phony transactions with other telecom companies. McAuliffe parlayed an initial investment of $100,000 into $18 million when the firm went public by selling stock. Tipped off by inside information, the Democratic national chairman sold his stock before the telecom company went down the tubes. Incidentally, some top union bureaucrats also benefitted from Global Crossing's operations.

The ties of Daschle, Lieberman and McAuliffe to corporate America, including its shadier operators, are a surface manifestation of the fundamental nature and role of the Democratic Party. Abetted by the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy (itself a component of the party's leadership), the Democrats seek to suppress the struggles of the working class and oppressed minorities through political deceit as well as state repression.

This was clearly evidenced earlier this summer in the face of a possible strike by West Coast longshoremen against the anti-union attacks of the Pacific Maritime Association. The International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) contract expired just after the WorldCom scandal broke which provoked an upsurge of public hostility toward corporate bigwigs. A longshore strike against the maritime bosses would have had widespread popular support extending far beyond the ranks of organized labor. But in the face of threats by the Bush administration, the ILWU bureaucracy seeks refuge among "labor friendly" Democrats instead of fighting for independent workers action and solidarity among workers in the U.S. and internationally. As we wrote:

> "The trade-union bureaucracy has poured millions into the Democrats' coffers and rounded up a lot of votes for them over the years. In return, the Democrats have kicked workers in the teeth just like the Republicans; the difference is the Democrat wears a friendly smile on his face."
>
> —"ILWU Threatened by 'National Unity' Crusade" (*WV* No. 785, 9 August)

Wall Street's Troubles Rattle World Economy

In the past, a stock market slide and ensuing economic slump in the U.S. damaged the European and Japanese economies mainly through the contraction of world trade aggravated by protectionist policies in Washington. That is what happened in the early 1930s and again in the early 1980s, the most severe global economic downturn in the post-World War II era.

Additionally, however, European and Japanese capitalists are suffering the consequences of their massive investment in Wall Street securities and vast expansion of manufacturing and other operations in the U.S. Revenue from the domestic sales of European-owned American subsidiaries (e.g., DaimlerChrysler) is now three times greater than the value of European commodity exports to the U.S. Consequently, a recession in the U.S. impacts on European and Japanese capital more directly and quickly than in the past.

Thus *all* of the major stock markets in the capitalist world have fallen in tandem since the Wall Street bubble burst two and a half years ago. In fact, the main European stock market indices, the FTSE and FTSE Eurotop, have plummeted to an

even greater degree than the Dow Jones and S&P 500.

Germany, the economic and political core of the European Union, is teetering on the brink of a recession, with unemployment already climbing to the highest level in three years. Eighteen thousand German companies have filed for bankruptcy in the first half of this year, 25 percent more than in the same period last year. *Business Week* (2 September) commented in this regard:

> "The Frankfurt trading house founded by Jacob Friedrich Gontard in 1726 survived occupation by Napoleon, hyperinflation in the 1920s, and Allied bombing in World War II. But the 21st century stock meltdown brought Gontard to its knees. In May, bad bets on tech startups forced the company, now known as Gontard & MetallBank, to declare insolvency."

In Japan, mired in a decade-long slump, a recent tepid economic recovery appears to have run out of steam in good part due to reduced exports to the U.S., West Europe and the rest of the world.

Despite their current economic troubles, West Europe and North America are still the wealthiest regions of the capitalist world. Not so the traditional U.S. neocolonies in Latin America. It is here—in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and throughout the region—that the bloodsuckers of Wall Street and their partners in London, Frankfurt and Tokyo have reduced hundreds of millions of workers and peasants to desperate poverty.

In the industrial city of Rosario, once called the "Chicago of Argentina," an unemployed bus driver is now raising earthworms to sell as organic fertilizer. His neighbors are raising snails and frogs to sell to restaurants. According to official government figures, one-quarter of Argentina's labor force is unemployed and one-half its population is struggling to survive on less than $110 a month for a family of four. And as a condition for any new loans, the International Monetary Fund (IMF)—the world bankers cartel—is demanding even harsher economic austerity: cuts in social spending by provincial governments, the scrapping of an "economic subversion" law which some courts have used against bankers.

In recent months, Brazil has been the target of concerted *economic warfare* by international financiers worried about a possible victory for Luiz Inácio da Silva, known as Lula, presidential candidate of the leftist Workers Party, in October's elections. It doesn't matter that Lula has now pledged that he would not default on or even demand to "renegotiate" Brazil's government debt. With the "leftist" candidate ahead in polls, Brazil experienced massive capital flight. Between April and early August, the country's currency, the *real*, lost a third of its value in foreign-exchange markets. Since a third of outstanding government bonds are indexed to the dollar, Brazil's public sector debt soared, raising the prospect of imminent default.

So in mid-August the IMF came up with a $30 billion "rescue package" conditional on a substantial reduction in the government budget deficit by the post-October regime. A financial analyst in Rio de Janeiro, Walter Molano, explained quite bluntly that Wall Street and other foreign bankers will dictate Brazil's economic policies no matter who wins the upcoming "democratic" elections:

> "When it comes time for the rest of the money to be dispersed in Brazil, because they have quarterly targets and reviews, the first time that Lula misses they can tell him he's not getting any more money. That's what they did to Argentina last year, saying there would be no waiver, and they will do the same to the next administration in Brazil."
>
> —*New York Times*, 11 August

To liberate themselves from Wall Street's debt peonage, the workers and rural toilers of Latin America must be won to the principles and program of *proletarian internationalism* as represented by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. For all the bourgeoisie's triumphalism about the supposed "death of communism," the current world economic situation calls out for an *internationally planned socialist economy*. To achieve this requires workers revolution, from industrialized Third World countries like South Korea, South Africa, Brazil and Mexico to the imperialist centers of North America, Europe and Japan. What is needed is an authentically communist international party—a reforged Fourth International based on Lenin and Trotsky's program of world socialist revolution—to render the proletariat conscious of its historic task as the gravedigger of capitalism, a party capable of politically defeating the reformist misleaders and labor bureaucrats who bind the exploited and oppressed to the bloodsuckers of Wall Street, Frankfurt and Tokyo.■

Nigeria...

(continued from page 5)

further subdivided along ethnic and religious fault lines, these groups are thrown into unrelenting communal bloodletting fomented by the country's rulers, who rule on the behalf of the imperialists and international oil magnates. As journalist Norimitsu Onishi writes, "These hatreds and divisions are staggeringly complex, fueled by the misrule and corruption that have left most residents of one of the world's top oil producers in poverty. What is more, these rifts have been encouraged and exploited by the country's rulers, from the British to the military governments to the European and American oil companies that pump crude in the Niger delta, an area largely abandoned by the federal government" (*New York Times*, 26 March 2000).

A report published on August 26 by the World Organization Against Torture documents the role of Obasanjo's regime in the killing of over 10,000 people since 1999:

> "Security agents, acting in most cases on direct orders of the government, have been responsible for many of the deaths as well as accompanying rapes, maiming and torture of thousands of women, the aged, children and other defenseless civilians....
>
> "The local and international media coverage of these incidents portrays them as ethno-religious in nature. However, our investigations show that this euphemism has helped in obscuring the visible roles of the state and its security agencies in the perpetuation of these egregious violations, thereby shielding the government from full responsibility for their occurrence and recurrence."

Earlier this month, Obasanjo admitted responsibility for ordering the massacres, grotesquely claiming that he acted to "save lives and property."

Ruled by a succession of generals for all but 12 years after its independence in 1960, Nigeria became a synonym for corruption, terror, brutality and neglect. With nearly 70 percent of its estimated 125 million people living below subsistence levels, the degree of social misery in the sixth-largest oil-exporting country defies description. The per capita income of less than $300 remains unchanged since the pre-oil days. Most of the mass of city populations live in overcrowded slums with electricity seldom on. Thousands are homeless. The telephone system works intermittently at best, and often not at all. Factories are idle. Schools are without books, hospitals are without drugs and public transport has collapsed. In the vast countryside, the peasant population, mired in grinding poverty, eks out a bare subsistence. Particularly since the counterrevolutionary collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the imperialist bloodsucking of Nigeria has greatly intensified. The IMF and World Bank are now demanding payment on money they had previously given as a sop to such African countries during the Cold War with the USSR.

Reuters

Lagos: Union-organized rally protests government plans to increase fuel prices, March 2001.

Despite the constant repression, Nigeria has seen continued labor and social struggles in recent years. Following a government-ordered increase in the price of gasoline and diesel fuel, the country was shut down by a general strike in June 2000 called by the Nigeria Labor Congress. The five-day general strike and massive demonstrations forced the government to scale back a 50 percent fuel price increase. In January of this year, another general strike forced the regime to reduce another hike in fuel prices. In July, hundreds of women courageously occupied four ChevronTexaco pumping stations in the Niger delta demanding jobs, electricity, clean water, schools and health facilities. These are precisely the issues facing all of those within Nigeria's borders, and it is the task of a fighting workers movement to fight for these demands.

The mass impoverishment and degradation in the country, as elsewhere in the semicolonial world, are the direct product of the depredations of imperialist domination enforced by the local lackeys. From Iran to Algeria and Egypt to Nigeria, plebeian frustration over the desperate conditions has provided fertile ground for the spread of Islamic fundamentalism. With the expectations born out of independence struggles shattered, the dispossessed masses and the unemployed urban youth find solace in religion. They flock by the thousands into the ranks of the Islamic fundamentalists.

The rise of political Islam as a mass movement is the reactionary reflection of both the manifest dead end of nationalism and the absence of a communist alternative. As put by a leading Nigerian Islamist, "It is the failure of every system we have known. We had colonialism, which was exploitative. We had a brief period of happiness after independence, then the military came in, and everything has been going downward since then. But before all this, we had a system that worked. We had Shariah. We are Muslims. Why don't we return to ourselves?" (*New York Times*, 1 November 2001).

In a world economy dominated by imperialism, the neocolonial African countries have no chance of achieving significant economic development. With scant industrial production, the bourgeoisie consists mainly of generals, government ministers, government contractors and merchants. Such a ruling class cannot achieve genuine national emancipation from imperialism. The key to social and economic progress in these countries is provided by the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. As Leon Trotsky explained, in economically backward countries the weak national bourgeoisie—tied by a thousand strings to imperialism and fearful of its "own" working class—is incapable of realizing the goals of classical bourgeois revolutions such as the 1789 French Revolution. He wrote that "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses" (*The Permanent Revolution*, 1930).

While the industrial proletariat exists only in marginal and isolated pockets in much of Africa, oil workers in Nigeria and Angola, dock and rail workers in Kenya and miners in Zambia and the Congo, for example, represent a strategic industrial workforce. It is the challenge of an internationalist revolutionary workers party to transform these layers into a human link to the industrial proletariat of South Africa and the workers movement in the Near East, which are key to a revolutionary perspective on the African continent. To mobilize against its capitalist exploiters, the proletariat must launch a struggle against all oppression, crucially the oppression of women.

The struggle for democracy and social progress on the African continent necessarily requires proletarian revolution. It is a given that the imperialists will seek to crush such a revolution. The struggle for proletarian power in sub-Saharan Africa must be linked to the fight for workers rule in the advanced capitalist countries. The hundreds of thousands of immigrant African workers who are a key component of the strategic unionized sectors of the proletariat in Europe will provide the necessary bridge for the critical extension of the revolution.

To this end the working class must forge a revolutionary leadership, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties, as part of a reforged Fourth International. The International Communist League seeks to build such parties to lead the struggle against imperialism and its neo-colonial surrogate regimes. *Stop the execution of Amina Lawal!*■

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SPARTACIST SOUTH AFRICA
South African Bourgeoisie Backs US War on Afghanistan

IG...

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sought to have the referendum declared unconstitutional." Also opposing the referendum were the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Labor Organization—an arm of that imperialist den of thieves, the United Nations—as well as UN "human rights" commissioner Mary Robinson. Nor was that all. The director of the United States Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a government agency, warned: "When a country is out of step with internationally recognized workers' rights, that could force us to review our investments," amounting to a whopping $4.3 billion. Such types hadn't talked about "workers' rights" so much since the days when the CIA was bankrolling the counterrevolutionary, priest-infested Solidarność "union" in Poland in the 1980s!

Even the IG acknowledged, in passing, that the CTV bureaucracy had a history of "playing a central role in Yankee imperialism's 'dirty games'." In fact, the CTV has long been notorious for its close ties to the AFL-CIO's "American Institute for Free Labor Development" (AIFLD), a CIA "labor" front now called the "American Center for International Labor Solidarity." In 1990, the CTV's "Labor University" trained counterrevolutionary operatives as part of the AIFLD/CIA-backed mobilization that helped bring down the left-nationalist Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

It didn't take a rocket scientist to figure out that the U.S. imperialists had it in for Chávez. Only idiots or CIA apologists could gloss over that fact. Yet the IG statement dismissed Chávez as someone who merely "irritates" Washington and intoned that "Chávez defends the capitalist system." Of course, this bourgeois bonapartist does not oppose the capitalist system or even imperialist subjugation. But he did flaunt a level of independence—compared, e.g., to Mexico's Vicente Fox—intolerable to the imperialists.

Over a year before the IG's statement, *Business Week* (20 September 1999) reported that Chávez's election had "brought investment—local and foreign—to a screeching halt." In August 2000, Chávez became the first head of state to meet Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein since the 1991 Gulf War, "in defiance of criticism from the United States, a major importer of Venezuelan oil" (*New York Times*, 11 August 2000). That October, he signed a deal to provide Castro's Cuba with one-third of its oil imports, on favorable terms. These facts did not even get a mention in the IG's six-page statement, nor was there a single word about the pillaging of Venezuela's oil by U.S. imperialism nor the slightest sense of what it means for such a country to live under the imperialist yuke. And ever since, the IG has maintained a stony silence on events in Venezuela—in the face of a number of shutdowns organized by the oil bosses in cahoots with the CTV tops and even of last April's "Made in U.S.A." coup attempt.

When Is a Union Not a Union?

Given its history of lining up behind "anti-imperialist" nationalists from Mexico to Puerto Rico and beyond, one could have expected the IG to cozy up to the nationalist-populist Chávez. Indeed, behind the IG's criminal refusal to defend the Mexican CTM is its opportunist pursuit of elements around the "left" nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. According to the IG, the only real unions in Mexico are the so-called "independent" unions that are politically close to the PRD. This position has no other purpose than to relieve the IG of having to defend the CTM unions from the bosses' offensive and to prettify the pro-PRD bureaucracy.

The IG even opposed a "closed shop" provision in Mexico's labor law, which provides the unions the right to demand that the so-called exclusion clause obligating employers to hire only union members and to discharge non-union members be included in union contracts (see "Mexico: The IG, the Unions and the State," *WV* No. 775, 22 February). Nor did the IG write a single word about one of the most important union struggles in Mexico in recent years, the strike by 45,000 CTM-organized sugar workers that was declared "non-existent" (banned) by the government in December 2000. To the IG, the strike was "non-existent" because it contradicted their claim that the corporatist CTM was simply an agency of the bourgeoisie.

The IG argues that the class character of the CTM was transformed through an anti-Communist purge in 1948-49. But by then, the CTM had been part of the PRI and its predecessor, the Party of the Mexican Revolution, for a decade. By the IG's standard, the class character of the AFL-CIO should have changed with the Cold War purges of the late 1940s. And in the case of the CTV, the bourgeois AD achieved hegemony over the Venezuelan trade-union movement by denouncing Communist-led unions to the military regime during World War II and then setting up rival unions in their place. When a military coup brought the AD to power in 1945, it set up a corporatist system in which strikes were settled through systematic government arbitration while trade-union leaders were integrated into state bodies. When the CTV was founded in 1947, every member of its Executive Committee was in AD, including one who doubled as vice president of the Constituent Assembly.

Sabetta/Getty

Unholy alliance between oil bosses and CTV union bureaucrats: Workers at PDVSA state oil company mobilized by bosses to protest firing of anti-Chávez oil executives four days prior to coup. Sign reads: "We Are All PDVSA."

CTV bureaucrats ruled their bailiwick through blatant vote-rigging, purging of leftists and beatings of oppositionists by gangs of thugs—or by direct intervention of state security forces. By the 1990s, CTV leaders were sworn in by the head of state, top CTV officials had a direct interministerial phone in their offices, and the federation's finances were part of the public budget and were audited by the government accounting office. The flow of oil money allowed the bourgeuisie in Venezuela to afford a few more democratic trappings than in Mexico, including the managed alternation of power between AD and its bourgeois rival, COPEI. So COPEI also got its cut of positions in the CTV bureaucracy.

This is hardly the first time that the IG has taken a very different attitude toward corporatist unions in countries other than Mexico. After mass protests erupted in Argentina, the IG began describing the Peronist unions there as bona fide workers organizations, even while acknowledging in a January 2002 article that "all the main leaders are part of the [bourgeois] 'Justicialist' movement founded by General Perón." Likewise in Algeria, the IG treats the UGTA as a real trade-union federation despite its links to the military regime (see "Algeria Rocked by Mass Protests," *WV* No. 761, 6 July 2001).

One could scarcely imagine a more graphic illustration of Trotsky's observation that centrist opportunism, defined by accommodating to differing pressures on variuus national terrains, is inherently nationalist. According to the IG, the Mexican CTM is not a legitimate labor organization, while the Peronist unions in Argentina were corporatist but are no longer and the CTV never was. Like gods un high, the little *caudillos* of the IG decree which unions are real on the basis of their opportunist whims of the moment. In Mexico, the targets of their affections are elements around the PRD. In Argentina, they adapt to the mass protests against a burgeoning economic catastrophe. And one can only wonder who or what they're chasing after in Venezuela.

While the corporatist CTM is corrupt and gangster-ridden, we Trotskyists do not recognize a *class* difference between the CTM-affiliated unions and other unions, whether the "independents" in Mexico or the CTV unions in Venezuela. With the PRI no longer in power, the CTM does not even have a state patron anymore. In any case, as Leon Trotsky noted in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940), a common feature in the development of all modern trade-union organizations under reformist or nationalist leadership "is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power." Marxists fight for the class independence of the pruletariat in all countries. In Mexico or Venezuela, that means breaking the unions from the capitalist parties and their imperialist patruns. In the U.S., we fight to break workers from the Democratic Party and demand that the AFL-CIO cut its ties with the CIA's "labor" fronts.

It takes some nerve for the IG to call to "defend the independence of the unions" in Venezuela. These are the words of the group that in 1996-97 dragged the municipal workers union in the Brazilian town of Volta Redonda through the bourgeois courts, in a hureaucratic struggle to hold on to the leadership of this cop-infested union, in which the IG's supporters ran an ex-cop for union president. The IG's Brazilian comrades turned over the union's bank statements, account books, statutes and minutes of union meetings to the courts as "evidence" (see "IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* No. 671, 11 July 1997).

Pabloites of the Second Mobilization

What is perhaps most curious about the IG's line on Venezuela is its apparent spurning of Chávez's greatest fan, Fidel Castro. For the IGlistas have themselves long had a soft spot for the Cuban Stalinist leader, even before Jan Norden & Co. defected from our organization to found the IG in 1996.

Norden's Stalinoid bent toward Castro's Cuba was expressed, perhaps most grotesquely, in his initial attempts as editor of *Workers Vanguard* to alibi the Stalinist show trial and execution of General Ochoa on charges of international drug dealing in 1990. Ochoa had fought with Castro against the Batista dictatorship and led the Cuban troops in Angola against the forces backed by the U.S. and South Africa. Norden was finally persuaded that the Ochoa trial was a classic Stalinist purge. But in the article "Stalinist Show Trial in Cuba—The Execution of General Ochoa" (*WV* No. 500, 20 April 1990), Norden insisted on "disproving" Washington's claims that the Havana regime was involved in the drug trade by upholding Castro's integrity: "For Castro to lie about this would be to invite an invasion." Of course, the White House's drug charges against Castru were part and parcel uf U.S. imperialism's relentless drive to crush the Cuban Revolution. But to assert, as Norden did, that Castro couldn't lie about this was a statement of blind faith in the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy. This was fought out, resulting in a clarification box in *WV* No. 501 (4 May 1990) that noted, "It is not that Castro cannot tell a lie, or that Stalinist regimes never run drugs."

We have characterized the IG's politics as "Pabloism of the second mobilization," referring to the liquidationist current which destroyed the Fourth International in the early 1950s. Faced with the onset of the imperialist Cold War and the creation of Stalinist-ruled deformed workers states in East Europe, the Pabloites denied the need to construct Trotskyist parties and argued that the Stalinists and social democrats could be pressured to outline a "roughly" revolutionary course. The IG's opportunism, in turn, reflects despair over the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 and imperialist gloating about the "death uf communism," leading to an increasingly desperate search for, and accommodation to, social forces other than the proletariat and vehicles other than a Leninist vanguard party to advance the cause of the struggle for human emancipation.

To see where the IG's impressionism and opportunist appetites could lead them, recall that Michel Pablo ended up as an adviser to Ben Bella's FLN government, which came to power following the Algerian war of independence, while Pablo's man in Argentina, Nahuel Moreno, liquidated into the Peronist movement. On the other hand, they had something to sell out. Except for a few clots here and there, the IG's existence is largely limited to the etherworld of cyberspace.

In our first article on the Nordenites' split, titled "A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism" (*WV* No. 648, 5 July 1996), we observed: "As to where they are going, the possibilities are wide open so long as the minimum norm of being anti-Marxist is met." In its political appreciation of a gang of CIA-linked labor bureaucrats in Venezuela, Norden & Co. have shown that those possibilities are very wide open indeed. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-li.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
Public Office:
Tues. 6:30-8:30 p.m.
and Sat. 1-5 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco
CA 94107

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

"Tomorrow It Could Be Against You"
Anti-Muslim Hysteria in Florida

On Friday, September 13, three Muslim medical students (two of them U.S. citizens and one a foreign student on a valid visa) driving two cars across southern Florida's Interstate 75 were met with a massive police "anti-terrorism" dragnet of 100 cops from 19 agencies. The highway was shut down and the three students were dragged away for hours of police interrogation, while their cars and belongings were examined by bomb-sniffing dogs, a police robot, men in ceramic bomb suits, X-ray machines, chemical swabs and radiation-detecting equipment flown in by the FBI. The names of the three students, Ayman Gheith, Kambiz Butt and Omer Chaudhry, were run against terrorist databases, possible Florida "targets" were identified and ports were alerted. But after over 17 hours in custody, all three men were released and the cops forced to admit that there were in fact no bombs, no "weapons of mass destruction," no "terrorist links," and no "terrorist plot."

The ostensible basis for this massive display of police power was a telephone "tip" after the students stopped for breakfast the day before at a Shoney's restaurant in the backwater town of Calhoun, Georgia. A white customer noted that Gheith was wearing a skullcap and had a long beard, and claimed she overheard the three men "giggling and laughing" about September 11 memorial services. So she scribbled down their license plate numbers and phoned them in to the police. Her phone call precipitated a "Be On the Lookout" alert. Shortly after midnight, the three medical students were pulled over as they began the final leg of their cross-country drive to South Miami, where they planned to start a medical rotation at Larkin Community Hospital.

AP

Kambiz Butt, Ayman Gheith, Omer Chaudhry at press conference in Florida, September 15.

"We never made any threatening remarks in that restaurant," said Gheith, who family members said had helped organize a candlelight vigil at his medical school after the September 11 attacks. "She saw obviously the way I was dressed and maybe she put a little salt and pepper into her story" (*New York Times*, 14 September). Gheith poignantly remarked, "I think it's time for us as Americans to put down our big sticks and pick up our books and read about other people and read about what they believe before we jump to conclusions."

Outrageously, Georgia prosecutors are still looking for a basis to prosecute the men for creating a "hoax"! "These people are going to learn a lesson," a Georgia Bureau of Investigation spokesman threatened. Now, all three have been kicked out of the Larkin Hospital program, purportedly based on "safety" concerns as a result of an avalanche of threatening phone calls and e-mails received by the hospital. We demand: ***Hands off Gheith, Butt and Chaudhry! Reinstate them at Larkin Hospital!***

"These efforts, started yesterday at a Shoney's, are something all Floridians should be very pleased about," Florida governor Jeb Bush intoned. "In this time of heightened vigilance, I think it's important to show this system works" (*Miami Herald*, 14 September). The victimization of these three Muslim students is a vivid illustration of how the government's anti-terrorism apparatus will "work," especially the new "turn in your neighbor" plan called TIPS (Terrorist Information and Prevention System), the latest government effort to augment its legal arsenal in preparation for a never-ending "war against terrorism."

In the buildup for its impending attack on Iraq, the Bush administration is also desperate for something it can claim as an intelligence victory in its "war on terror." All the government's previous such "victories" have proven to be pure bull. Immediately on the heels of the fizzled Florida "plot," the Feds arrested five members of a supposed Al Qaeda-trained cell in Buffalo—all of them U.S. citizens. Yet the FBI admitted that the purported cell was not active, and that they did not have "anything specific that they were planning that would jeopardize the health and safety of anybody in the United States or western New York" (CNN, 15 September).

"It is against us today," Gheith told reporters after his release. "Tomorrow it could be against you." We have said that the post-September 11 laws and directives that initially targeted immigrants and those of Near Eastern descent would be used to target black people and the whole working class. A striking confirmation of this is the government's promise to use its war powers authority to prevent a strike by the powerful ILWU longshore union. The Bush government is now imbued with the notion that it can do whatever it wants to those that dissent. Witness the absurd case of a 65-year-old man arrested near Pittsburgh earlier this month for holding up a sign reading "The Bushes Must Love the Poor—They've Made So Many of Us" as a Bush motorcade went by.

What the government can get away with will be determined by the level of social struggle. It is urgently necessary to mobilize the social power of the labor movement to demand: Down with the government's "war on terror"! Defend immigrant rights! Break the bosses' "national unity" through class struggle!■

Woomera...

(continued from page 2)

Mr. Bakhtiyari's visa and, less than two weeks after his recapture, Almadar and other detainees were brutally beaten again in a rampage by detention centre guards. Stop this vicious persecution! We demand: Asylum now for all refugees—no deportations! Close the concentration camps! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

It is a measure of the racist barbarism of the Australian capitalist state that it seeks to deport Afghan refugees back to a country that it is helping its U.S. allies to devastate through terror bombing. Many of these refugees fled the former Taliban regime. Like the present regime of cutthroats, these woman-hating fundamentalists are the creatures of the U.S. and, among others, its Australian junior partners who bought and paid for their services against the Soviet Red Army's liberating intervention in the 1980s. Meanwhile another large group of refugees is threatened with deportation to Iraq, where they will face being starved by the murderous UN blockade that the Australian navy helps enforce, and/or being annihilated by a threatened U.S./Australia military onslaught.

Outrage at the government's detention of refugees in concentration camps, in large part policed by state ALP governments, was spectacularly demonstrated during the Easter weekend pro-refugee demonstrations at Woomera. On 29 March defiant protests by detainees and nearly 1,000 anti-racist activists liberated 50 asylum seekers including Roqiah and the Bakhtiyari brothers.

While eleven remain free as a result of the March actions, some 30 recaptured detainees have been charged with "escaping detention" and face up to five years in jail. Additionally, over 30 activists have been charged, with some facing up to four years jail for "harbouring escapees." From the later 28 June "breakout," 20 of the 27 recaptured detainees have been ordered to appear in the Adelaide Magistrates Court on 5 November while five of the several dozen refugee supporters who assisted them have been charged and three face up to ten years in jail if convicted.

Your government's vicious persecution of defiant immigrant detainees and their courageous supporters is aimed at cowing all opponents of racist reaction and state-sponsored union-busting. We demand: Drop the charges against all Woomera detainees and protesters!■

AP

March 29: Refugees break out of Woomera Detention Centre in Australia as hundreds of supporters rally outside.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

CHICAGO
Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.
October 1: **Marxism vs. Anarchism**
University of Illinois at Chicago
Room 117 Lincoln Hall
707 S. Morgan St.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail spartacist@iname.com

TORONTO
Thursday, 6:30 p.m.
September 26: **Marxism, Communism and the Fight for Revolution Today**
University of Toronto
International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (north of College)
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail spartcan@on.aibn.com

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
September 24: **U.S. Imperialism Is the World's Biggest Oppressor—U.S. Hands Off Iraq!**
Columbia University
(116th and Broadway)
Meet at Hamilton Hall Lobby
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail nysl@compuserve.com

BAY AREA
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
September 24: **Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism**
UC Berkeley, 246 Dwinelle Hall
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

VANCOUVER
Tuesday, 6 p.m.
September 24: **The Principles of Communism**
University of British Columbia,
Student Union Building, Room 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail tllt@look.ca

LOS ANGELES
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.
October 5: **Introduction to Marxism: Historical Materialism**
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Vermont/Beverly Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail slsycla@cs.com

ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

WORKERS VANGUARD

New York Spartacus Youth Club:

Protest U.S. War Moves Against Iraq!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are holding speakouts across the country this week and next protesting the U.S. imperialist war moves against Iraq. We reprint below the call for the united-front protest issued by the New York SYC on September 15.

Hell-bent on going to war with Iraq, the Bush cahal has arrayed an armada of death in the Persian Gulf and dispatched an advance war command team to nearhy Qatar. An American military attack would

Young Spartacus

revisit massive death and destruction on the semicolonial peoples of Iraq, much as the imperialists laid waste to a benighted Afghanistan under the banner of the "war on terror." In the U.S., the "war on terror" has been used as a pretext for repressive new laws, racist dragnets and anti-immigrant witchhunts, in which the Columbia University administration is complicit by handing over the names and records of immigrant students to the INS. The Spartacus Youth Club calls on all those who oppose imperialist war moves against Iraq and the attacks on immigrant students to join us on Wednesday, Septemher 18, in a united-front protest with the following demands: *U.S. honds off Iraq! Down with the UN starvation embargo! Protest Colambia handing over students' names and records to the INS!*

As part of its open-ended "war on terror," the American ruling class is stepping up its efforts on campus to recruit to its officer corps and spy agencies. When the SYC spotted two tables manned by Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) cadets at Columbia University's student activities day on September 6, we initiated a speakout protest, featuring such chants as "Army recruiters, imperialist looters—off campus now!" ROTC is designed to provide specialized training for the next generation of imperialist butchers, to produce an educated officer caste that will plan and execute wars while working-class and minority youth are hurled to the front lines to serve as cannon fodder.

Young Spartacus

Spartacist-led Revolutionary Contingent at San Francisco antiwar protest during onsel of imperialist "war on terror" last Oclober.

Leftist students drove ROTC off many campuses, including Columbia in 1969, during the Vietnam antiwar student protests of the 1960s and '70s. In that period, a group of black students occupied the ROTC lounge in Columbia's Hartley Hall and renamed it Malcolin X Lounge. Now, the federal government has begun enforcing a 1996 law that requires schools to allow military recruiters on campus or risk losing hundreds of millions of dollars in federal funds. On September 30, the CIA is sending its agents onto the Columbia campus to recruit for U.S. imperialism's premier spy syndicate, which has tortured and murdered literally millions of people since World War II. We oppose the use of the universities for military training and military and CIA recruitment. *Not one man, not one penny for the U.S. imperiolist military!*

War is endemic to the imperialist system, which is driven by competition for sources of profits and spheres of influence between rival advanced capitalist countries. To oppose war simply in the name of "peace" or to look to pressure the more "humane" imperialists is to ignore the fundamental class nature of the state, which enforces the rule of the capitalist class over the working class. The racist American capitalist state, which at home terrorizes and disproportionately imprisons black people and mobilizes to smash strikes, cannot be made to serve the oppressed and working people of the world.

There is no solution to imperialist war and exploitation short of socialist revolution by the working class, the only class that has the social power and consistent class interest to sweep away the capitalist system. Our revolutionary-defensist position means that in the case of imperialist military aggression against dependent countries, we are for a defeat of the U.S. imperialists and agitate for workers struggle at home in defense of the semicolonial

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New Court Papers Filed

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

WV Photo

On August 27, attorneys for political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal filed an appeal with the Pennsylvania Supreme Court seeking to reverse the order of Judge Pamela Dembe barring the confession of Arnold Beverly and rejecting Jamal's second application to reverse his conviction under Pennsylvania's Post-Conviction Relief Act (PCRA). In his latest papers, Jamal is also seeking a special hearing before the state's highest court to present Beverly's testimony.

One and a half years after Jamal's current attorneys filed Beverly's sworn affidavit that he, not Jamal, shot and killed Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 Decemher 1981, state and federal courts have refused to even consider his testimony, leaving Jamal under the shadow of death in Pennsylvania's Greene County prison. Last December, a federal court overturned Jamal's death sentence while affirming the conviction, condemning Mumia to life in prison. Appeals filed by both the state and Mumia's attorneys are on hold pending the outcome of this latest PCRA petition.

Jamal's appeal papers constitute a devastating indictment of the machinations used not only by the courts and prosecutors hut also Jamal's former attorneys, Leonard Weinglass and Daniel Williams, to suppress the evidence proving that Mumia is an innocent man. They paint as well a searing portrait of the racism that pervades the Pennsylvania courts and the judiciary's utter indifference to even the appearance of a fair trial for a black radical like Mumia.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is a textbook example of a racist frame-up. A Black Panther Party spokesman at the age of 15, an award-winning journalist and a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, Jamal was saddled at trial with a lawyer he didn't want—and one who did not want Mumia's case—a judge, Albert Sabo, known as the "king of death row," an overwhelmingly white jury, a prosecutor's office that concealed evidence and a parade of witnesses who were coerced by the notorious Philadelphia police into giving lying testimony against Mumia.

Judge Demhe barred the Beverly confession and other evidence of Jamal's innocence on the pretext that Jamal had failed to comply with the filing deadlines mandated by a 1995 state law enacted to drastically cut off death row appeals. But the statute provides an exception to the filing deadline where "interference by government officials" is responsible for the failure to previously raise a claim. As the new legal papers explain, in actively working to suppress Beverly's confession and other evidence of Jamal's innocence, Weinglass and Williams "acted in function, if not in fact, as *agents* of government officials insofar as their actions served the interests not of petitioner, hut of the District Attorney."

Using information contained in the affidavit of one of Jamal's former attorneys,

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 788 X-623 4 October 2002

U.S. Nuclear Cowboys on the Loose

Defend Iraq Against U.S. Attack!

Down With UN Starvation Blockade!

U.S. Navy

USS *George Washington* aircraft carrier, currently in the Persian Gulf, part of U.S. armada being assembled for attack on Iraq.

OCTOBER 1—As the people of Iraq gird themselves for another round of mass slaughter at the hands of "democratic" America, the imperialists shamelessly trade in the commodities futures of blood, oil and votes. Despite the Senate Democrats' being effectively labeled traitors by the president, Senate majority leader Tom Daschle corrals them to push through a war resolution for Bush, concerned that they're being out-flanked by the Republicans for the upcoming Congressional elections. In the United Nations, the European powers and the Arab states look to the "world's only superpower" to buy off their opposition to the impending war.

The U.S. and Tony Blair's Britain have been engaged in a steady buildup of military deployments to the region and of deadly bombing sorties against Iraq. Notwithstanding all the diplomatic jockeying over UN weapons inspectors and the wording of Security Council resolutions, the question is not whether but when the U.S. will launch its invasion. After the UN and Iraq reached an agreement over the return of weapons inspectors today, the U.S. responded by declaring that it will not accept inspections unless they are preceded by a new, "tougher" UN resolution demanding, among other things, the installation of foreign soldiers in Iraq to "guard" the inspectors. One administration official described the U.S. government's response as going into "thwart mode."

With little respite, the five million residents of Baghdad have lived under war or the shadow of war for 12 years, their homes destroyed by bombs and missiles, their children's lives snuffed out by malnutrition and disease. Some one and a half million people have died as a result of the UN embargo, half the schools are now unfit for use, female adult literacy has plummeted from 87 percent in the mid 1980s to 45 percent in 1995, and one in five children have had their growth permanently stunted.

Arab leaders throughout the Near East, fearing turmoil in their own countries, have warned Washington against a U.S. invasion of Iraq while the Zionists continue to sow terror against the Palestinians. Israeli troops occupy the Ramallah compound of Yasir Arafat, having destroyed almost all of the buildings, where he has been imprisoned since December. Israeli troops have repeatedly fired into crowds of Palestinians who

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West Coast Shipping Bosses Lock Out Longshore Union

Defeat PMA/Government Union-Busting! Victory to the ILWU!

OAKLAND, October 1—As of 6 p.m. Sunday, the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), representing shippers and terminal operators, has indefinitely locked out members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) from all West Coast docks. Union members have no intention of sitting idle while the bosses attack them; over the weekend, union members in Oakland mobilized to stand "curbside to keep a 24-hour watch on behalf of the union, making sure the cranes stayed still during the lockout" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 29 September). To prevent the PMA from using non-union labor to move cargo, the ILWU set up pickets outside the docks in ports up and down the coast.

The entire labor movement must mobilize in solidarity with the longshore workers to ensure that nothing moves in or out of West Coast docks.

The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) has indicated that any picket lines set up by ILWU members at East and Gulf Coast ports to stop diverted ships would be honored. Especially given the interconnected character of "intermodal" shipping, the solidarity of transport workers—from Teamsters to railway workers to port truckers—is key. The International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) has expressed its solidarity with the ILWU against "anti-union bullying," while the Maritime Union of Australia reaffirmed an earlier pledge of "full financial, political and industrial support." With dock workers under assault globally, workers in every country must come to the defense of the ILWU. This is particularly important in Canada, where ILWU members work under a separate contract.

A 36-hour lockout of the ILWU was first imposed last Friday, a provocative action which the PMA arrogantly called a "cooling-off period." Then after workers had been back at work for only

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PMA Brings Armed Thugs to Federal Mediation Meeting

As we go to press, we have learned from a 1 October ILWU press release that ILWU officers walked out of talks with the PMA and federal mediators in Oakland when union representatives were "greeted by gun-toting security guards under the employment of the PMA." As ILWU International president Jim Spinosa declared: "This is an outrageous action taken by [PMA head] Miniace and the PMA. This shows how they approach negotiations, hiding behind the government and armed thugs. PMA's lockout is holding a gun to the head of the American economy and now they move to aim real guns at us. We will not be intimidated by these kinds of tactics and we will never reach an agreement as long as the PMA acts as if it can force a settlement at gun point rather than negotiate."

"Anti-Terror" Hysteria in the Air

Since September 11, the U.S. government has carried out a racist dragnet targeting anyone perceived to be of South Asian or Arab descent. The wanton hysteria and government-stoked racist paranoia behind the "war on terror" was dramatically demonstrated over the past month against three people of Indian descent. None of these men committed any crimes, intended to commit any crimes or had any connection whatsoever to organizations deemed "terrorist" by the U.S. government.

The ordeal for Dr. Bob Rajcoomar, a former U.S. military doctor, began on August 31 when a white passenger, Steven Feuer, began behaving erratically in the coach section of the plane. Feuer was disoriented and refused to remain in his seat. This was a minor disturbance, but two U.S. marshals, Shawn B. McCullers and Samuel Mumma, on the plane as part of the security measures instituted after the September 11 attacks, jumped into the action. One of them drew his gun and brandished it at the passengers. The marshals commanded the passengers to remain in their seats and began snapping orders. They refused to allow anyone to stand or use the bathroom or even stretch their legs.

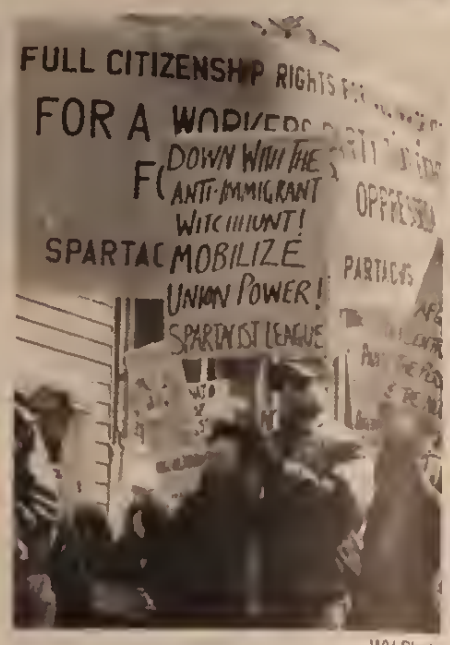
With the marshals stomping about the plane, waving their guns about like demented desperadoes, passengers were terrified. "I was afraid there was going to be a gun battle in that pressurized cabin," James A. Lineberger, a Philadelphia judge and military veteran, said. "I was afraid that I was going to die from the gunfire in a shootout" (*New York Times*, 23 September).

When the marshals seated Feuer next to Rajcoomar in first class, Rajcoomar asked to be reseated and a flight attendant obliged him, seating him elsewhere in first class. When the flight arrived in Philadelphia, not only was Feuer taken into custody, but, incredibly, Rajcoomar was dragged off as well. The Transportation Security Administration, which employs the marshals who were on the flight, lamely asserted that Rajcoomar was swept up because he was watching the pandemonium around him "too closely"! "I had never been treated like that in my life," he told *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert. "I was afraid that I was about to be beaten up or killed."

At least Rajcoomar was able to get out of custody with no charges against him. That cannot be said for Gurdeep Wander, a U.S. citizen of Indian descent, and Harinder Singh, a citizen of India. The two gas station employees flew out of New York's La Guardia Airport for an Exxon/Mobil convention in Las Vegas. They left on September 10 in the hope of avoiding flying on September 11, fearing, quite reasonably, that they might face particular trouble because of their ethnicity. However, due to a plane delay, they missed their transfer in Minneapolis and had to spend the night at a hotel. The next morning, the two barely caught a flight to Memphis with a transfer to Vegas, dashing on board at the last moment.

As the plane was approaching its cruising altitude, Wander asked if he could go to the restroom despite the "fasten seatbelt" sign remaining on. Deborah Summers, a flight attendant, gave him permission. Upon reaching the bathroom, Wander began to shave, using a kit Northwest Airlines had issued to him. After about ten minutes, the flight attendant began knocking on the door, asking if he was okay and telling him to finish up. At one point Wander opened the door with shaving cream on his face and asked if he could finish up. He also allowed Summers to check his razor as she demanded.

Soon afterward, Carlos Nieves, a Latino man who did not know Wander or Singh but had boarded at the same time, went to use the bathroom. Immediately afterward, Singh also went to use the restroom. The flight attendants informed the captain of this "suspicious" activity. The pilot placed an emergency call to the Fort Smith airport in Arkansas and made an emergency landing there. Singh, Wander and Nieves were detained by the cops. Also detained was one Alaaeldin Abdelsalam, an Egyptian man who happened to be on the flight and had absolutely nothing to do with anything. As Wander's lawyer, Matthew J. Ketcham, noted, "It's no coincidence that these dark-skinned men were singled out" (*New York Times*, 20 September).



WV Photo

Brooklyn: Spartacist contingent at March protest against detention of Immigrants.

Abdelsalam was arrested and his luggage blown open by water cannon after a bomb-sniffing dog noticed the smell of petroleum. He was only released after he explained that he was an oil worker and had his hard hat and boots in his luggage. Nieves was also released without charges. But Singh, hoping to end the ordeal to which he'd been subjected, was set free one week later after he paid a $500 fine for the "crime" of using the bathroom. Wander, whom everyone admits did nothing more serious than shave his face, originally faced up to *20 years in prison* on charges of interfering with the flight and intimidating the flight crew. He was eventually released on September 19 with 12 months' probation and a $1,000 fine.

As with Rajcoomar, no one suspects any of the individuals swept up in Fort Smith of being "Islamic terrorists" (a giveaway might have been the fact that Wander was shaving his beard!). But in the context of the "war on terror," it doesn't matter one whit to the prosecutors, government agencies and police departments who feel they can sweep up dark-skinned people for any reason whatsoever—or no reason at all. In his 1998 treatise, *All the Laws but One: Civil Liberties in Wartime*, Chief Justice William Rehnquist favorably quotes Franklin Roosevelt's attorney general, Francis Biddle, as saying: "The Constitution has not greatly bothered any wartime president." With an endless "war on

continued on page 9

TROTSKY

LENIN

War and the Struggle Against Imperialism

As U.S. imperialism gears up for war against Iraq, Leninists uphold the position of revolutionary defensism, defending semicolonial Iraq against imperialism while giving no political support to the Hussein regime. In the Transitional Program, adopted on the eve of World War II, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky advocated a position of revolutionary defeatism toward all the belligerent imperialist powers. At the same time, he emphasized the necessity of supporting the colonial and semicolonial peoples in their struggles against imperialist subjugation and defending the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution.

Imperialist war is the continuation and sharpening of the predatory politics of the bourgeoisie. The struggle of the proletariat against war is the continuation and sharpening of its class struggle. The beginning of war alters the situation and partially the means of struggle between the classes, but not the aim and basic course.

The imperialist bourgeoisie dominates the world. In its basic character the approaching war will therefore be an imperialist war. The fundamental content of the politics of the international proletariat will consequently be a struggle against imperialism and its war. In this struggle the basic principle is: "the chief enemy is in *your own* country," or "the defeat of *your own* (imperialist) government is the lesser evil."

But not all countries of the world are imperialist countries. On the contrary the majority are victims of imperialism. Some of the colonial or semicolonial countries will undoubtedly attempt to utilize the war in order to cast off the yoke of slavery. Their war will not be imperialist but liberating. It will be the duty of the international proletariat to aid the oppressed countries in their war against oppressors. The same duty applies in regard to aiding the USSR, or whatever other workers' government might arise before the war or during the war. The defeat of *every* imperialist government in the struggle with the workers' state or with a colonial country is the lesser evil....

In supporting the colonial country or the USSR in a war, the proletariat does not in the slightest degree solidarize either with the bourgeois government of the colonial country or with the Thermidorian bureaucracy of the USSR. On the contrary, it maintains full political independence from the one as from the other. Giving aid in a just and progressive war, the revolutionary proletariat wins the sympathy of the workers in the colonies and in the USSR, strengthens there the authority and influence of the Fourth International, and increases its ability to help overthrow the bourgeois government in the colonial country, the reactionary bureaucracy in the USSR.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (1938)

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Northern Ireland
Catholic Minority Under Siege

The following article is reprinted from Spartacist Ireland *(No. 2, Autumn/Winter 2002), published by the Spartacist Group Ireland, section of the International Communist League.*

SPARTACIST IRELAND

Trade Unions Act Against Sectarian Terror

News Letter

Belfast, August 2: Mass trade-union protest against sectarian violence following July murder of teenager by anti-Catholic gunmen.

This summer, violence in Northern Ireland reached the highest level since the signing of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. An article about Belfast in the [London] *Guardian* (11 June) noted, "Almost incredibly for a city supposedly under ceasefire, the number of bombings and shootings in Belfast last year was the highest for 20 years." In August the Catholic captain of the Northern Ireland team, Neil Lennon, was forced to retire from international soccer after [Protestant] Loyalists threatened to kill him. Particularly in working-class areas, the Catholic minority live under siege. In East Belfast's Short Strand, Catholics are segregated within a ghetto and subjected to nightly terror by Loyalists, the army and police.

Tony Blair blithely asserted on 4 July that Northern Ireland is in the process of "transition from violence to democracy," meaning his prized "peace" deal is working. The myth of British "democracy" was never much in evidence in Ireland, and the "peace process" is a fraud. We call for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British troops, and have consistently warned against illusions in any imperialist deal, which of necessity has been, is and will be at the expense of the oppressed Catholics, and does not serve the interests of the Protestant working class either.

Oppression of the Catholic minority is at the very foundation of the bourgeois order in Northern Ireland; it is reinforced by British imperialism and enshrined in the so-called "peace" deal which rests on the British Army presence. Sectarianism serves the interests of the capitalist exploiters by keeping the working class divided. To be effective, any fight against Loyalist terror must politically confront the capitalist system that breeds it as well as the state forces that back the Loyalists—the British Army and the renamed RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary], the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI). Key to making workers conscious of this fact and to breaking them from illusions in the imperialist "peace" fraud is the intervention of a revolutionary internationalist party.

In the last 18 months teachers, postal workers, hospital staff and ambulance workers have been threatened by Loyalist paramilitaries and their union brothers and sisters have responded. The murder of a Catholic teenager, Gerard Lawlor, in Belfast in July by Loyalist gunmen sparked renewed fears among workers. On 1 August, following yet another death threat against a Catholic worker by a Loyalist death squad, Catholic and Protestant health workers staged a one-day strike. In January postal workers throughout the North struck for five days protesting the Loyalist murder of a Catholic union brother, Daniel McColgan. At the time, the Irish Council of Trade Unions (ICTU) organised a 15,000-strong protest rally in Belfast and smaller rallies in other cities while public sector workers staged a half-day strike. Since then, postal workers in Derry have walked off the job a number of times in response to death threats from Loyalists.

Loyalist paramilitaries condemned the union protests—according to the Belfast *Telegraph* (15 February), the "Waterside Young Loyalists" issued threats not only to Catholic postmen in Derry but also against Protestant workers who had defended Catholics. Workers at three Belfast hospitals also protested last month when the "Catholic Reaction Force" threatened to kill three members of staff if they turned up to work. Although Loyalist violence far exceeds that of the [Catholic Republican] nationalists, on 1 August dissident Republicans placed a bomb in a lunchbox at a Territorial Army base in Derry which has been closed since July 2001, killing Protestant construction worker David Caldwell. This was criminal and can only help push Protestant workers towards the Loyalist reactionaries.

The union mobilisations demonstrate the social power of a united proletariat and present an opportunity to win Protestant and Catholic workers to a proletarian revolutionary perspective, to transcend the sectarian divide by understanding the need to get rid of the capitalist system.

However, the trade union tops undermine the social power of the unions by seeking to re-direct working-class anger into support for the imperialist "peace" deal. Under mounting pressure from their members to act in response to the murder of Gerard Lawlor, the ICTU pleaded with Belfast City Council to lead an "anti-sectarian" rally, which they did on 2 August. This brought howls of anti-Catholic venom from Ian Paisley's DUP [the ultra-chauvinist Loyalist Democratic Unionist Party], enraged that the rally was led by Sinn Féin's Alex Maskey, Lord Mayor of Belfast. The rally drew several thousand workers from many unions. But the spectacle on the speakers platform showed the utter political bankruptcy of the trade union bureaucracy—workers had to endure speeches from the CBI [Confederation of British Industry], the bosses' organisation, the petty-bourgeois nationalists of Sinn Féin, and the leaders of four Christian churches, who led the demonstrators in prayer!

British Troops Out Now!

AP

Catholic residents of Portadown, Northern Ireland under siege by British forces called out on behalf of Orange Order, July 1997.

Reformists Promoted Imperialist "Peace" Fraud

The Socialist Party (SP) [linked to Socialist Alternative in the U.S.] and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) [formerly affiliated with the U.S. International Socialist Organization] both claim to fight for "class unity against sectarianism" but this is bogus. Both organisations refuse to call in Britain for troops out of Northern Ireland and peddle illusions in British imperialism's "peace deal," which is premised on the presence of British troops. This makes them obstacles to the fight against Loyalist terror.

The Socialist Party correctly criticised the Belfast City Council-sponsored rally because of its leadership and called for "Independent workers action," by which they meant the ICTU bureaucracy should lead it. According to their British paper, "unfortunately NIC-ICTU rejected the proposal for independent mass action" (*The Socialist*, 9 August 2002). Likewise the SWP says "it is up to the trade unions to take the lead. Leaving it to politicians to lead the call only blunts the message" (*Socialist Worker*, No. 180 [undated]). The Socialist Party and SWP act as left tails of the trade union misleaders by calling for "independent" trade union action without stating that even when the trade unions call their own actions, the union tops push class collaboration. In January, when the bureaucracy did lead a workers rally, they got endorsements from the CBI and the British government's Northern Ireland secretary, John Reid. Class independence requires a struggle within the unions *against* the pro-capitalist bureaucracy.

The Socialist Party helped organise a separate rally of 400 workers in Belfast on 1 August, but their "anti-sectarian" posture is nothing but a cover for blindness to the oppression of Catholics. The need to combat the oppression of Catholics is a critical point that Protestant workers must understand in order to fight in their own *class* interests. The Socialist Party are known for defending the "right"

continued on page 13

Schröder's Defiance of Bush over Iraq Wins German Elections

Getty

SPD chancellor Gerhard Schröder and Green Party foreign minister Joschka Fischer.

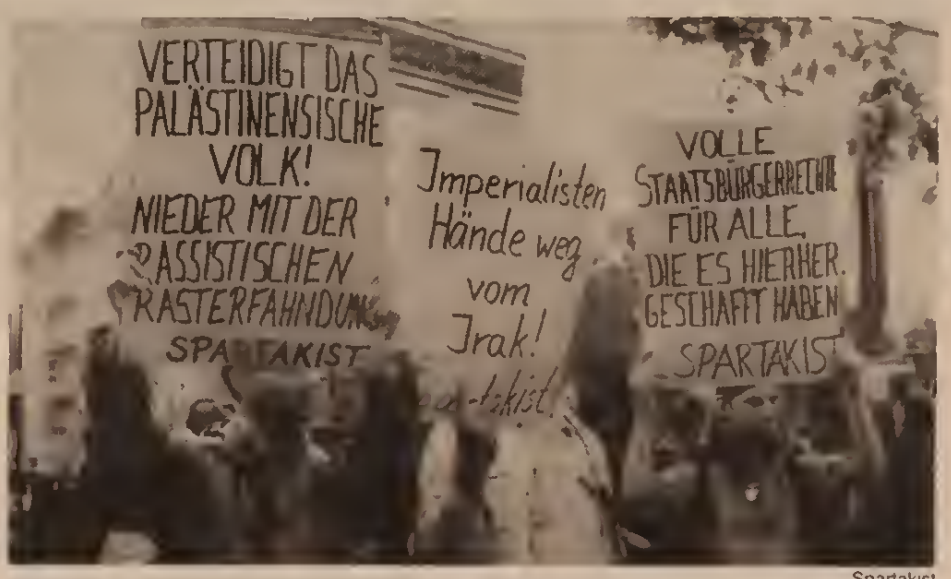
On September 22 the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD), in coalition with the bourgeois Green Party, was narrowly re-elected in a hotly contested election in Germany. Gerhard Schröder's SPD was trailing in the polls behind the conservative opposition led by the Christian Democrats (CDU) until only a few weeks prior to the balloting. But in August Schröder declared that Germany would not participate in a military intervention in Iraq, even if the United Nations endorsed it. Schröder's statement got a sympathetic response among the German electorate and turned the tide. The *New York Times* (24 September) observed: "This was the first time since World War II that a leader of a major ally won an election by campaigning against American policy." Schröder's victory also bucked a recent trend in Europe in which right-wing parties have defeated their social-democratic opponents, most recently in France where Jacques Chirac defeated Lionel Jospin's Socialist Party.

The election set off a sharp round of recriminations between German and American government officials. Bush refused to deliver the customary congratulatory phone call to Schröder upon his re-election. The Bush administration was particularly incensed by the remarks of SPD justice minister Herta Däubler-Gmelin. As reported by the German newspaper *Schwäbisches Tagblatt*, Däubler-Gmelin told a meeting of metal workers that "Bush wants to divert attention from his domestic problems. It's a classic tactic. It's one that Hitler also used." This not unfair observation prompted U.S. defense secretary Rumsfeld to declare that the German-American relationship had been "poisoned." Ronald Asmus, a former senior U.S. State Department official, opined: "For most of the last decade we thought that Germany was moving in the right direction, and becoming a more normal country prepared to assume more international responsibility. We thought Germany had overcome its history. But now there's a big question mark" (*New York Times*, 23 September).

Underlying the election results is a deep aversion to militarism among much of the population of Germany. This is not surprising in a country that has lost two major interimperialist wars. Indeed, the strength of pacifism among the German masses makes the American "Vietnam syndrome" look rather tame in comparison. Thus, there was substantial opposition in the trade unions to German participation in both the U.S./NATO Kosovo war in 1999 and the war in Afghanistan more recently. In fact, Schröder, who enthusiastically signed up to support the American imperialists in both these ventures, pointedly denounced IG Metall, Germany's largest union, for calling for a halt to the bombing of Afghanistan. Schröder arrogantly warned the union to "keep your fingers out of foreign policy."

However, Schröder's opposition to an invasion of Iraq was not simply a ploy designed to flatter popular sentiment in a difficult election. The developing fissure between the American and German governments is not something that can easily be papered over. Bush's arrogant contempt for the opinions of his putative allies has certainly added fuel to the fire. But at bottom these frictions reflect the merciless competition among rival imperialist powers for larger shares of the world market—a system that ultimately will lead from trade and economic conflict to military conflict. As we noted at the time of the earlier Gulf War in 1989-90, Bush Sr.'s attack on Iraq was also a thinly disguised blow directed at America's chief rivals, Germany and Japan, and in particular an assertion on the part of the U.S. imperialists of their right to dispose of key oil resources. At the time, the German and Japanese governments grudgingly went along with the war and in fact ended up footing a good portion of the bill. According to the *New York Times* (30 July), out of a $61.1 billion expenditure on that earlier war, an estimated $48.4 billion was paid by America's "allies."

Now, with the world economy in a major downturn, economic tensions among the imperialists have climbed. Bush's imposition of tariffs on steel products outraged governments around the world. Interestingly, it was the German government that struck a more conciliatory posture over this, heading off a major confrontation between the U.S. and the European Union. But the European bourgeoisies, which are more dependent on Near East oil than the Americans, are extremely nervous about the ramifications of a U.S. oil grab in Iraq, which could also destabilize the region. The German capitalists and their social-democratic agents are particularly unsettled over the impact this could have on the economy. The unemployment rate currently hovers around 10 percent nationally, and is much higher in more devastated areas like eastern Germany. This was deeply embarrassing to Schröder, who had promised to reduce joblessness substantially. His failure to do so almost cost him the election.



Spartakist

SpAD supporters at September 21 immigrant rights protest in Berlin call to defend the Palestinian people and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. Sign in the middle reads: "Imperialist Hands Off Iraq!"

German Imperialism: No "Lesser Evil"

Should Schröder stand by his promise not to support an invasion of Iraq, this would not frustrate the plans of Bush, Rumsfeld & Co. but it would make them more difficult. No sensible Marxist would denounce a measure that would create an obstacle, albeit a modest one, for the war-crazed Bush gang. However, it is particularly incumbent on communists in Germany to maintain intransigent political opposition to German imperialism and its social-democratic agents. In particular, Marxists in Germany must combat the fatal illusion that the German bourgeoisie and the social democracy in particular are a force for peace. The SPD went over definitively to the bourgeois order in August 1914, when it voted for war credits for the German government and lined up the proletariat as cannon fodder for World War I. A few years later, the SPD organized the fascistic Freikorps to carry out the murder of the revolutionary Marxists Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who had opposed that interimperialist slaughter. The SPD has been a consistent opponent of revolution and has sought to throttle revolution wherever it has succeeded in sweeping away capitalism, as in the former Soviet Union.

In the post-Soviet world it has been the SPD that has spearheaded the deployment of German troops abroad. The dispatch of German troops to Kosovo and their intervention in Afghanistan represent the first significant deployment of military forces abroad since World War II. Significantly, the task of refurbishing the credentials of the German military was entrusted to the social democrats and the Green Party, which is headed by the ex-leftist Joschka Fischer, and not to the conservative right wing. By virtue of its ties to the trade unions and consequent authority with the working masses, the social democracy was the ideal tool for the bourgeoisie to use in an attempt to overcome the deep suspicion and hostility of much of the population toward the military and its officer corps. It is hardly surprising that today many Germans remain skeptical of Schröder's promise to stay clear of a military adventure in Iraq. A poll taken for German N-TV showed that 58 percent of those interviewed agreed with the statement: "The government's declaration that Germany will not take part in an expansion of the U.S. war against terrorism is not credible because it was made during the election campaign."

Since the election Schröder and Fischer have sought to mollify the Americans, with Fischer playing the role of chief conciliator. Schröder apologized for the reported remarks of Däubler-Gmelin and subsequently announced that she would not be reappointed in his new government. The SPD also removed parliamentary floor leader Ludwig Stiegler, who had compared Bush to Augustus, the Roman emperor who subdued the Germanic tribes. More substantively, Fischer pledged that Germany would continue to cooperate with the U.S. in the fight to round up Al Qaeda. Meanwhile, German defense minister Peter Struck said Berlin had offered to expand its military commitments in Afghanistan. At a meeting of NATO defense ministers, Struck said Germany and the Netherlands were considering taking over an international force in Kabul when Turkey relinquishes command at the end of the year. Germany has deployed over a thousand soldiers in Afghanistan while hundreds of German special forces took part in Operation Anaconda, fighting alongside British and American soldiers.

The SPD/Green government enthusiastically supported Bush's bloody foray into Afghanistan, not least because this gave it a pretext to crack down on the immigrant population at home under the pretext of "fighting terrorism." The

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newly instituted racist *Rasterfahndung*, a system of computerized "racial profiling," targets millions of mainly Muslim immigrants. While Germany has a substantial immigrant population that forms a strategic component of the working class, very few of these immigrants have German citizenship because of chauvinist laws that discriminate in favor of ethnic Germans. In further cracking down on Turkish, Kurdish, Palestinian and other immigrants, the SPD government is simply doing the bidding of its bourgeois masters who find immigrant labor redundant in a period of economic downturn. This underlies the vital importance of the struggle for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants*. Moreover, the attacks on the more vulnerable immigrant population have served as the cutting edge of a broader attack on the workers movement. Thus the Security Check Law, modeled after Bush's Maritime Security Act, authorized secret service background checks on airport, transport and other workers, including tracking down affiliation with socialist or communist organizations. Johann Hartshauser, a member of a factory council at the airport in Munich, was driven from his job because *18 years ago* he posted up placards for the small leftist Gruppe Internationaler Marxisten.

Schröder's implementation of policies of war, racism, capitalist austerity and witchhunting leftists certainly *did* have a negative impact on the SPD's working-class base. The trade unions, whose leadership is aligned with the social democracy, acted belatedly, if at all, to mobilize their membership to back the SPD. Despite the last minute spurt in support for Schröder, the SPD lost 5 percent of its working-class voting base. It was only a strong showing by its coalition partner, the Greens, that rescued the election for Schröder.

The enthusiasm of some bourgeois elements in Europe for Schröder's victory was reflected in the Italian left-liberal newspaper *La Repubblica* (24 September), which crowed: "After Fischer and Schröder's victory, the equation is pacifism equals electoral victory, where pacifism means no to Bush's war against Iraq, thus no to Bush, thus no to Italian (and European) servile disposition toward the U.S." This unvarnished call on the European capitalist ruling classes to adopt a more independent stance from their American counterpart was also encapsulated in a statement of the European Social Forum earlier this month endorsed by several reformist and centrist groups. The statement posited "the chance to influence European governments" and appealed to "all the European heads of state to publicly stand against this war" (see "Defend Iraq Against U.S. Attack!" on page 1). What the British Socialist Workers Party, Workers Power, the French Communist Party and Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire and Italian Rifondazione Comunista fake leftists are pushing is the thoroughly fraudulent idea that the European imperialists are more benevolent and progressive than their American rivals.

This is nothing but vile social-patriotism. Presumably then the German bourgeoisie of Auschwitz is morally better than the American rulers? And what about the dirty history of French colonialism in Algeria and Indochina, or the British empire's history of pillage and murder in Ireland, the Indian subcontinent, Africa and the Middle East? Or the bloody occupation of the Congo by Belgian imperialism and Indonesia by the Dutch? It was the Italian bourgeoisie which invented concentration camps in Libya and which first used poison gas against the Ethiopian population. The argument that one's own imperialist bourgeoisie is somehow less reactionary than an imperialist rival is exactly the argument used by the SPD in 1914 to line up the German proletariat for inter-imperialist slaughter. And while the SPD argued that "German civilization" had to be defended from Russian tsarist backwardness, the French social-patriots were arguing that the French workers had to defend France from the German Kaiser's brutality.

M. Matzel

SPD/Green government ordered German troops to Macedonia on eve of 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia. Germany now heads up imperialist occupation force in Macedonia.

The German reformist Linksruck group published a petition on its Web page demanding:

> "We appeal to the German Federal Government with much concern: To do everything possible in the framework of the UN in response to the U.S.A., to avoid the threatened war! To refrain from any military, financial and political support to this war! To withdraw all German troops from the crisis area, especially the ABC tanks out of Kuwait and the Marine units out of the Gulf region and Africa!"

This statement by Linksruck goes far beyond demanding that Schröder keep his "hands off Iraq"; it openly accepts the framework of the United Nations, which is a tool of imperialist domination. In that regard it is to the *right* of the stated position of Schröder, who promises to withhold German military support regardless of what the UN does. Moreover, Linksruck's bogus "anti-imperialism" is crafted so as not to conflict with the SPD government's war policies. Thus, the petition omits any mention of Afghanistan or the Balkans, where the German imperialists are working in tandem with the Americans! But then this bootlicking for the social-democratic agents of German imperialism is hardly surprising coming from a group that published an article identifying the American state as the main war criminals of the 20th century. Needless to say, this displays touching amnesia about the crimes of the German ruling class, from Kaiser Wilhelm to Adolf Hitler.

In contrast, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League, demand: "Bundeswehr/NATO/UN—Out of the Balkans! Out of the Near East! Out of Afghanistan!" Our comrades forthrightly stand for military defense of Iraq against imperialist attack and oppose the lie that German imperialism is a lesser evil than its imperialist rivals. In the recent elections, the SpAD was unique on the German left in explaining that the SPD's anti-immigrant, warmongering policies paved the way for the right-wing resurgence and calling for no vote to the SPD or the smaller but equally social-democratic Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS).

Interimperialist Rivalries Escalate

In an attempt to rebuke the German government for Däubler-Gmelin's remarks, Bush's national security adviser Condoleezza Rice complained, "How can you use the name of Hitler and the name of the president of the United States in the same sentence?... Particularly, how can a German, given the devotion of the U.S. in the liberation of Germany from Hitler?" The idea that the Allies liberated Germany from Nazism is a standard Western imperialist myth. In reality it was the Soviet Red Army that smashed Hitler's Nazis. This Soviet victory was carried out at exceptional cost: well over 20 million dead. In eastern Germany, the DDR, a deformed workers state, was erected, where capitalism had been rooted out but where the proletariat was deprived of political power. In West Germany, where capitalism was preserved, the victorious democratic imperialists willingly employed leading "former" Nazis to staff intelligence services, the courts continued to be run by the same judges who presided over Third Reich courts, etc.

In the postwar period there was indeed a shared ideological consensus among the imperialist powers, based on mutual hatred of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states which represented a part of the world that had been ripped out of the sphere of capitalist exploitation. West Germany, as a "front line" state of the Cold War, was closely allied with the U.S. imperialists. Indeed, the German social democracy for years acted as a regional paymaster, funneling CIA funds to various reactionary forces in Europe, which ranged from the social democrats in Portugal to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność (the favorite "union" of Ronald Reagan and the Pope). The SPD vigorously supported the drive of both U.S. and German imperialism to overthrow the collectivized property gains of the DDR and the Soviet Union.

In 1989, an incipient political revolution erupted in the DDR, posing the possibility of ousting the Stalinist bureaucracy, the SED, and replacing it with genuine workers democracy based on workers councils. Our international party, the ICL, intervened vigorously. We fought for proletarian political revolution in the DDR and for socialist revolution in western Germany. We strongly opposed capitalist reunification. But larger forces prevailed, namely the Kremlin bureaucracy and the decomposing Stalinist bureaucracy of the DDR, whose remnants became the PDS. Criminally, then-Soviet leader Gorbachev and the PDS opened the door to capitalist restoration in the DDR. This foreshadowed capitalist restoration in the USSR two years later. And it spelled catastrophe for the proletariat of the former workers states and the workers movement internationally. The former DDR became an industrial wasteland with the highest unemployment rates in Germany; its lumpenized population became a prime target for fascist recruitment.

The demise of the Soviet Union also removed the material basis for the anti-Soviet alliance of imperialist states that existed during the Cold War. Without the Soviet Union to serve as a common enemy, there was no "glue" to hold together the alliance. The particular imperialist powers began to act in accord with their conflicting national appetites. To the extent that there has been an apparent consensus since then, it does not reflect any ideological solidarity between the imperialists, but merely reflects the strength of the brute military superiority of the U.S. imperialists.

One of the legacies of the post-war military occupation of Germany is the proliferation of U.S. military bases in the country, which house some 70,000 American troops and include key air bases for a Near East operation. While Schröder has declared that Germany will not provide troops for a war against Iraq, it is highly unlikely that he will seek to interfere with these NATO operations. Nonetheless, U.S. bases have already been the targets of demonstrators, including some trade unionists, protesting the involvement of these bases in Near Eastern operations. Certainly those desiring to defend Iraq against imperialist incursion would have good reason to protest the use of these bases to launch attacks on Iraq. In Italy during the Balkans War, there were mass protests outside NATO bases, as well as proletarian struggle culminating in a million-strong general strike against the war. In Germany the question is posed: will such protests proceed along an axis of nationalism or of proletarian internationalism?

In the past, social democrats, nationalists and outright fascists have raised the call for foreign troops to quit Germany. In fact, this was first directed at *Soviet* troops in East Germany, when the demand "foreign troops out of Germany" was raised in the 1980s by social democrats and pacifists in West Germany. This nationalist "peace" movement remained ultimately directed against the USSR and DDR. In contrast, our comrades counterposed the call: "Defend the Soviet Union! Smash NATO through workers revolution!" When we demanded Pershing missiles out of Germany and defended the presence of the Soviet SS20s in the DDR, everyone knew exactly what that meant—unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism. In counterposition, many of those who cut their political teeth screaming "foreign troops out" are today running the bourgeois Greens, an ardent party of German imperialism. (See "Interimperialist Rivalry in the 'New World Order'," *WV* No. 667, 2 May 1997.) The problem with "U.S. military out of Germany!" is that it begs the question of how the U.S. military will leave Germany; as a consequence of moves of an increasingly assertive German imperialism or through proletarian revolution.

A central issue posed by the protests at the U.S. bases is the need to link the call to oppose imperialist incursions in Iraq with opposition to German imperialism. To only protest the depredations of *American* imperialism in the Near East would be a gross capitulation to

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Young Spartacus

From Labourite Reformism to Revolutionary Trotskyism

We reprint below an article from Workers Hammer *No. 182 (Autumn 2002), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain. The article is an edited version of a talk given by comrade James Palmer at a public meeting of the SL/B held in London in July in conjunction with our internationalist intervention into the annual "Marxism" event of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Comrade James was a leading member of the SWP's Oxford branch before being won to the revolutionary Trotskyism of the International Communist League.*

For most of its history, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) was the American affiliate of the international tendency founded by Tony Cliff and headed by the British SWP. Following Cliff's death in spring 2000, a bitter factional struggle erupted between the ISO and the SWP, not over program but rather over expressions of competing opportunist appetites conditioned by their different national terrains. The formal organizational split consummated in March 2001 notwithstanding, the ISO shares the same reformist political program as the SWP. Foremost among the positions held in common by the ISO and the SWP is the bankrupt "theory" of state capitalism, which at bottom is a cover for having dumped the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialism.

WORKERS HAMMER

I was previously a member of the Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff. My purpose here today is to explain how it is that I came to understand that the SWP was not the sort of party that I had believed it was, and how I was won over to the Leninist/Trotskyist programme of the Spartacist League, British section of the International Communist League, by learning the principled political differences in programme that draw the real line between revolutionaries and reformists.

Why I Joined the Spartacist League/Britain

Something that concerns many young members in the SWP is the lack of internal democracy within the organisation. The reasons for this flow from the contradictions between their professions to be revolutionary and their actual programme of pressuring the Labour Party. This is reflected in the composition of the membership, where you have many young members who stay for a year or so until they become disillusioned, but you also have a layer of permanent, mainly older, "cadre" who are cynical Labourites in the leadership using the youth to do the leg work in the SWP's many reformist campaigns.

How I Joined and Why I Left the SWP

At the end of 1999, I was amazed by news that the city of Seattle had been rocked by what were described as "anti-capitalist riots." I was fascinated by the idea that it was possible to build any organised resistance to capitalism. From the way it was reported, this seemed more like an insurrection than a political demonstration or the CND [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament] movement of the 1980s. So when I ran into some *Socialist Worker* sellers doing a petition of support, I signed it and bought the paper and also left my phone number. This was the first organised grouping on the left that I had met and it was not long before I was recruited by them. I had not read any communist literature at this point and was not able to tell the difference between reformist politics and revolutionary politics. I noticed that the SWP never said much about the former USSR or Cuba, merely classing them as "state capitalist." I didn't feel that this analysis did these states justice, but now that the Cold War was over and it didn't seem to be the main issue, I said nothing.

Being a campaigning member of the SWP, however, brought me into contact with other left groups (despite the SWP's apolitical argument that other parties were all "tiny sectarian groups"). One of these groups was the Spartacist League, with Lenin talked of the need for a vanguard party. In Britain, the strategic goal is to split the working class politically from social democracy, historically, the Labour Party. Today, the Labour Party is so openly right-wing that it is hated by many working-class people and minorities. For a real Leninist revolutionary party, this presents an opportunity to win workers away from Labour and Labourite politics. The SWP acts as a barrier to this by offering the Socialist Alliance, a social-democratic grouping designed to play the same political role as the old Labour Party, that is to say, it is for reforming the capitalist state. One of the things that was said during the time I was

Spartakist

1990: Spartacist-initiated, 250,000-strong demonstration against fascist desecration of Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park, East Berlin. We fought against capitalist reunification, for a red soviet Germany in a socialist Europe.

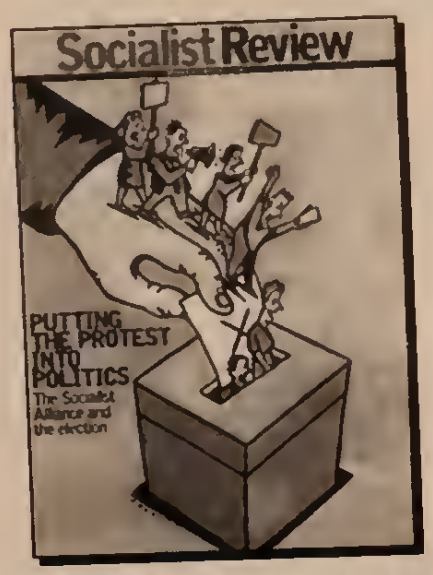
the newspaper *Workers Hammer*. Trotskyist ideas had been denied to me in the SWP, none of his books were ever on sale at the SWP book stalls, but in *Workers Hammer* Trotsky's position on defending the former USSR was explained and hit me as being a thousand times more convincing than Tony Cliff's negative, defeatist concept of "state capitalism." If all the revolutions so far had become state capitalist beyond repair, then the prospects for the working class were very bleak indeed; there hardly seemed any point in being a revolutionary!

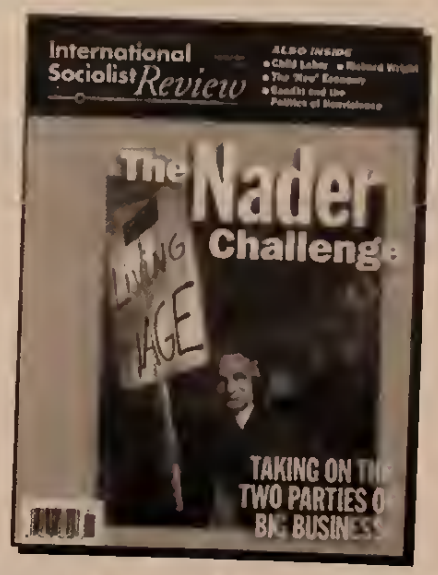
In addition to this, the idea of voting for the Labour Party in the local elections where there weren't any Socialist Alliance candidates didn't seem like the way to develop the sort of revolutionary working-class movement needed to bring down the entire capitalist system, and I wanted to be able to discuss this with people who had politics that were not in some way tied to the Labour Party. This is what led me to more serious political discussions with the Spartacist League.

According to Lenin, in his pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?*, the task of a revolutionary party is to build revolutionary consciousness in the working class from the outside as the basis for revolution. It doesn't come naturally, that's why onboard the campaign was: "There is a massive political vacuum where the Labour Party used to be!", i.e., the SWP intend the Socialist Alliance to fill that gap, rather than taking advantage of the huge divide to split the working class from Labourism. The final discrediting of the Labour Party during recent years in power represented a direct opportunity to intervene and utilise this split from parliamentary politics; instead the SWP chose to repair the credibility of social democracy by founding the Socialist Alliance to plug the gap. Once it had become clear to me that the SWP was another barrier to achieving a revolution, I resigned.

Being Won to the Trotskyist Programme

My point today is to explain the basic political differences and what they actually mean. Why did the SWP not defend the Soviet Union, what we Trotskyists understood to be a degenerated workers state, and the deformed workers states of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam? And why do Trotskyists defend them? In Trotsky's book *The Revolution Betrayed*, he explained that the Soviet Union, as the first workers state, was different not just because its government had been founded by workers councils called soviets and led





Cliffites peddle illusions in capitalist electoralism. In Britain, SWP's Socialist Alliance seeks to corral youth, workers into "Old Labour" parliamentarism, while during U.S. 2000 election, the ISO hustled vote for capitalist politico Ralph Nader.

by the Bolshevik Party, but because of the new property forms that this society was based on, property forms resulting from the 1917 Russian Revolution. This was a society where there were no privately owned factories, no one owned shares and bonds, there was no stock exchange, no capitalists could get rich off the workers' backs by playing the stock market or live off the interest and consequently there was no economic cycle of boom and bust to cause misery and impoverishment to workers. This was a system that could in no way be described as capitalist. It was based on a system of collectively owned means of production, a planned economy.

Stalin's bureaucracy first ascended to power in 1924 in the aftermath of the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution and Lenin's death. Some months later, Stalin would preach the nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country." Originally a recipe for utopian economic autarky, "socialism in one country" would become the justification for sacrificing socialist revolution internationally in the illusory belief that the imperialists would, in exchange, cease their drive to recapture for the capitalist market the one-sixth of the globe ripped from them by the October Revolution. Trotsky fought this betrayal of the Bolsheviks' internationalism down the line, and fought as the staunchest defender of the gains of the Bolshevik-led October Revolution. He understood that Stalin & Co. eventually were able to consolidate a *political* counterrevolution, but not a *social* one. For this reason, Trotsky considered the planned economy and collectivisation to be a massively progressive feature of the new society and, although workers no longer had control of the political apparatus any more than they did in the West, he knew that those remaining gains for workers needed to be defended from a return to capitalism. The USSR, a formerly backward country, was able to modernise itself even during the epoch of imperialism. From being a backward, largely agricultural nation in 1917, the USSR's planned economy enabled it to industrialise, to mobilise the Red Army to smash Hitlerite fascism throughout Eastern Europe and, at the end of the Second World War, to emerge as one of two superpowers.

Against the Stalinist bureaucracy, Trotsky called for ***proletarian political revolution***, that is for workers to retake political control of the state, and return the Soviet Union as a beacon of international proletarian revolution against capitalism throughout the globe. Trotsky was a scientific socialist, and his conclusions are based on Marxist science. Thus, he was quite clear that the bureaucrats were not a capitalist class, but a new type of parasitic ruling *caste*; their social existence was dependent upon the collectivised property established by the Russian Revolution and therefore—and this is very important—they were based on a contradiction. That contradiction meant they were sometimes compelled to defend the Soviet Union against capitalism. Even though this ruling caste lived relatively privileged lives by comparison to the mass of the working people, even though they carried out often terrible repression—especially against the supporters of Trotsky's Left Opposition—to protect their existence, they had not destroyed the social basis of the Revolution.

Novosti

YIVO Institute

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 abolished capitalism and created the world's first workers state. Unlike British SWP, ISO, Trotskyists defended the gains of the Russian Revolution against imperialist attack, domestic counterrevolution.
Above: Revolutionary soldiers march in Moscow under banner reading "Communism."
Left: Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky with Red Army graduate commanders in 1924.

In *The Revolution Betrayed*, written in 1937, Trotsky explained:

> "As a conscious political force the bureaucracy has betrayed the revolution. But a victorious revolution is fortunately not only a program and a banner, not only political institutions, but also a system of social relations. To betray it is not enough. You have to overthrow it. The October revolution has been betrayed by the ruling stratum, but not yet overthrown."

You can draw a very simple analogy: imagine a trade union run by rotten leaders that was involved in a strike. No socialist in his right mind would call for the union to be smashed just because the union tops were corrupt, or because the struggle caused hardship, because this would be a huge defeat for the workers, too. The very existence of the union is a gain to defend.

Trotsky went on to outline two possible outcomes to the class struggle with regard to the USSR. One was that the workers would struggle, the Revolution would spread to the citadels of imperialism internationally and in the USSR the workers would make a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinists, returning their state to the revolutionary internationalist perspective on which it was founded. The other was that counterrevolution would triumph, which was always a danger due to hostile imperialist encirclement of the world's first workers state, the bureaucratic and vacillating policies of the Stalinist bureaucrats both domestically and internationally, i.e., Stalin & Co.'s conciliation of imperialism at the expense of revolution internationally. Unfortunately, Trotsky was later proved correct in the negative. I should mention that we found workers in the former East Germany were amazed to read this book for the first time, and many could not believe that it had been written 50 years before.

"State Capitalism"—A Capitulation

So why was it that Cliff's Socialist Review Group (the SWP's forerunner) came into existence on the basis of abandoning Trotskyism and refusing to defend the Soviet Union, the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states during the Korean War? The SWP's leaders won't tell it to you. Under the fig-leaf of the United Nations, Britain (then ruled by a Labour government) and the U.S. were at war with North Korea, which was backed by China and the Soviet Union. Any support for the Communist forces meant coming head to head with the British ruling class and state at their most aggressive. This was unacceptable for the Cliff group, so they dropped it. They couldn't take the heat, so they got out of the kitchen, as they say. Rather than calling for unconditional military defence of China and North Korea, which meant calling for the military defeat of their "own" bourgeoisie, they refused to defend the workers states. In order to cover their capitulation, the Cliffites resorted to equating both sides as waging war for their own "imperialist" interests.

This line was also flavoured with a hefty dose of patriotism: "Why must our young lads fight and die in far-off Korea?" (*Socialist Review*, December 1952-January 1953). By reneging on revolutionary defensism and placing themselves in the so-called "Third Camp"—which was supposedly for neither Washington nor Moscow—in the reality of the international class struggle they had crossed a clear class line and put themselves firmly in the camp of their own bourgeoisie, together with the Labour Party. They were rightly expelled from the Fourth International, founded by Trotsky in 1938.

In order to provide a theoretical justification for not defending the USSR, China and North Korea, Cliff & Co. promoted the "theory" of state capitalism. Tony Cliff is generally credited with the invention of this theory, but it was in fact first used by the infamous revisionist and apologist for the crimes of the Second International, Karl Kautsky, long before. "State capitalism" is not a serious Marxist theory, rather it is a way of rationalising defection from the essential task of defending the dictatorship of the proletariat. I can give you a quote from some years later in a paper called *The Leveller* in September 1979 where Cliff is caught in a moment of rare honesty. He says: "And I say no, no, we have nothing to do with bloody Russia, because it is not a source of strength." I think that makes it about as clear as it is going to be.

So this was how the SWP came to take the side of British imperialism, but I want to give you some other examples of enthusiastic support for the aims of its "own" ruling class. This wasn't some one-off failure based on a theoretical departure from Trotskyism; it was and is a fundamental part of the SWP's programme of class collaboration.

From Northern Ireland...

In 1969 the Labour government sent British troops to occupy Northern Ireland, and assist in the repression of the Catholic minority there. Revolutionaries in Britain have a particular responsibility to oppose British imperialism's oppression in Ireland which, for a start, means calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British troops. Cliff, however, managed to find a rationale for supporting the British Army, encouraging faith in the supposedly democratic credentials of British imperialism. His argument was that it provided a "breathing space" needed for the Catholic population to avoid a pogrom. The pogrom did indeed occur: in Derry three years later when British paratroopers opened up into a crowd, killing 14 on "Bloody Sunday." This is the bloodsoaked reality of the SWP's unstinting support for the Labour Party.

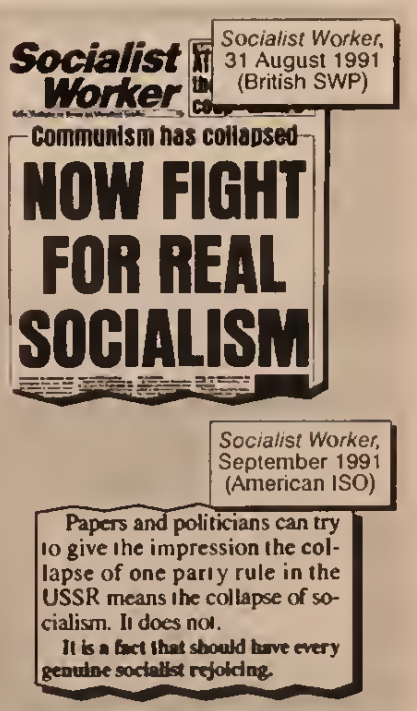
...To Afghanistan and Counterrevolution in the USSR

Let's look at the restoration of capitalism in Russia in 1991-1992. The SWP actively supported this. It is totally clear that this was a disaster for hundreds of millions of workers. The remaining gains

continued on page 8

no credit

Thousands of courageous Afghan women took up arms alongside Soviet Red Army in struggle to the death against Islamic fundamentalists. Cliffites sided with CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats, cheered Soviet withdrawal.



British SWP, ISO hailed Yeltsin counterrevolution in Soviet Union which brought misery and hunger to workers, national and ethnic minorities.

Trotskyism...

(continued from page 7)

of the October Revolution were finally undone. But Chris Harman of the SWP characterised the return to capitalism as a "step sideways" from one form of capitalism to another. Unemployment, virtually unknown in the former USSR, now exists on a huge scale; life expectancy has plummeted and industrial productivity is down to about 50 per cent of what it was before. Reactionary forces are on the rise—Great Russian chauvinism, Islamic fundamentalism, anti-Semitism and appalling oppression for women. U.S. imperialism and its partners, such as Blair's Labour government, feel unrestrained in their military adventures abroad. These are the concrete realities of Harman's "step sideways."

But the SWP grotesquely hailed Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary coup as "The Russian Revolution of 1991," and the *Socialist Worker* of 31 August that year proclaimed: "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing." For our part, the ICL actively fought to defend the gains of October, including within the Soviet Union, where our Moscow group distributed tens of thousands of leaflets headlined "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution."

One of the crucial events leading to the destruction of the USSR was the withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan. The SWP denounced the Soviet presence as Russian "imperialism." Against the CIA-backed *mujahedin* forces waging bloody civil war against even modest improvement in the condition of women in Afghanistan—the reduction of the bride price, the lifting of the veil and education of girls and women—we Spartacists recognised the progressive role played by the Red Army forces in Afghanistan. Our slogan was: "Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" Workers in the West needed to be called on to stand against the sending of arms and money to the *mujahedin*, just as trade unions were mobilised to stop supplies of arms to the counterrevolutionary White forces during the Russian Civil War that followed the 1917 Revolution. We offered to recruit volunteers to fight for the Kabul government after the Kremlin had decided to withdraw. While our offer was refused, we took up the suggestion of the Afghan government to raise funds for the besieged fighters at Jalalabad and in fact were able to raise thousands of pounds internationally on their behalf.

As for the SWP, one of its leaders, Paul Foot, actually attacked Margaret Thatcher (who, along with the U.S. rulers, was in the forefront of backing the reactionary Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan) from the right in his column in the *Daily Mirror* (25 June 1980), complaining that exports of EU [European Union] meat ("our beef") may have been used in rations for the Red Army. When the Red Army was finally withdrawn, *Socialist Worker* (4 February 1989) said: "The repercussions of this defeat will echo way beyond the borders of Afghanistan. All socialists should welcome it." I think this makes pretty clear the side which the SWP had taken in the wider struggle.

U.S. Air Force photo

Captain C.W. Huff/National Archives

Left: U.S. bombing destroys warehouse at a North Korean port. Right: Korea's largest city, Seoul, in ruins. Tony Cliff broke from Trotskyist Fourth International over his refusal to defend North Korean deformed workers state under attack by U.S., British imperialists during Korean War.

The SWP and Labourism

How can we explain these betrayals of the international working class by the SWP? They are based on a split from Trotskyism to join the camp of Labour, the party that serves to tie the working class to British imperialism. This is why they will not oppose them in elections. This has always been true, long before the SWP's turn towards electoralism via the Socialist Alliance. The politics of the Socialist Alliance, meanwhile, are even to the right of the politics of "Old Labour." Subordinated to the goal of getting New Labour re-elected, it is nothing more than a pressure group on Blair & Co. This was made clear when the SWP announced in the last general election: "Our approach in the coming election should be vote Socialist where you can, vote Labour where you must" (*International Socialism* No. 90, Spring 2001).

The historic role of the Labour Party in Britain can be seen in regard to the Russian Revolution. Labour vehemently opposed it. In the years immediately after the Russian Revolution, workers in the West knew that something historic had been achieved for their class, and they wanted it here, too. What they didn't know was how to get it. To head off revolutionary explosions, Labour adopted measures like Clause IV in its constitution, which called for collective ownership of the means of production. At the time, the Labour Party had never been in power, and Lenin advocated tactics, such as critical electoral support, in order to expose its real purpose—to rule for the bourgeoisie—and thus to effect a split by the working-class base from the pro-capitalist tops of what Lenin called a bourgeois workers party. I think it is quite clear that this is a tactic which does not apply today to Blair's "New Labour." In the last general elections, we did apply the tactic of critical support for Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP). The SLP are based on Old Labour "Clause IV" socialism, and there is no way they can lead workers to revolution. Our critical support was based on their refusal to support Labour in any way and the fact that, unlike the Socialist Alliance, they advanced basic demands in the interest of the working class, including the demand for British troops out of Northern Ireland.

The SWP's Labour-loyalism is the total antithesis to the whole concept of building revolutionary consciousness, serving to tie workers to illusions in the "mother of parliaments," as Labour leaders obsequiously worship institutions such as the monarchy, House of Lords and established churches. And this is what the SWP has always done: at each election the SWP says, "Vote Labour with no illusions," and then four years later, "Vote Labour with no illusions," ad nauseam. Today, there are a lot of youth and workers who are a million miles to the left of Tony Blair and would rather cut their own throats than vote for him. The huge gap between New Labour and workers and youth today is an opening we seek to utilise in order to build a revolutionary Leninist/Trotskyist party. The SWP, through its various coalitions, alliances and electoral campaigns, seek on the contrary to rope radical youth and advanced workers back into the Labourite fold.

The "Third Camp" vs. Revolutionary Internationalism

The position taken by the SWP over the Russian Question is not some irrelevant piece of history. It is their political credentials. It mattered then and it matters now because capitalism has not yet been restored in China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. There have been major battles fought by millions of workers against the introduction of "market reforms" being introduced in China and elsewhere. How can you seriously fight against capitalism if you don't fight against its return to these states where capitalism has been overthrown by mass insurgencies? Should, for instance, the proponents of capitalist counterrevolution prevail in China, another billion workers to exploit in China will only strengthen huge corporations and weaken the position of workers everywhere. This is not an abstract argument for internationalists.

There is no, and can be no, third camp because the third camp is merely the camp of imperialism. The Labourism inherent in the politics of the SWP reflects the basic capitulation to its "own" bourgeoisie codified by its abandonment of the Trotskyist programme for unconditional military defence of all those states where capitalism had been overthrown, not least in the homeland of the October Revolution.

Comrades of the Spartacist League fight for the international, proletarian and revolutionary communism of Lenin and Trotsky, for new Octobers. The SWP denounce us as "sectarians" for this. We are proud to do the groundwork needed to build a revolutionary party here in Britain, carrying out the necessary fights against social democracy and its hangers-on, fighting to win serious revolutionaries to the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. Join us!■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m.

October 10: **The State, the Family and Class Society—For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

Boston University, CAS Room 237
725 Commonwealth Ave.
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail bostonsyc@yahoo.com

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Thursday, 6.30 p.m.

October 17: **Down With U.S./Canada Terror War Against Afghanistan and Iraq! Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist War**

University of Toronto
Sidney Smith Hall, Room 2116
100 St. George St. (north of College)
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail spartcan@on.eibn.com

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

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UC Berkeley, 246 Dwinelle Hall
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October 15: **Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! No Illusions in the Racist, Capitalist State and Its Courts!**

University of Illinois at Chicago
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or e-mail spartacist@iname.com

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Octobar 12: **The Economics of Capitalism**

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Vermont/Beverly Red Line station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail slsycla@cs.com

VANCOUVER

Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.

October 8: **Fight Anglo-Chauvinism: Independance for Quebec!**

University of British Columbia,
Student Union Building, Room 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail tlit@look.ca

Hysteria...

(continued from page 2)

terror" declared, such assertions are particularly ominous.

A clear example of the government's assault on civil liberties is the prosecution of the alleged "Al Qaeda sleeper cell" in Lackawanna, New York. The suspects—Shafal A. Mosed, Yahya A. Goba, Sahim A. Alwan, Yasein A. Taher, Faysal H. Galab and Mukhtar al-Bakri (who was arrested in Bahrain)—are all American citizens of Yemeni background who grew up in the steel town in upstate New York. The government's case states that these men, whom they have been monitoring for over a year, spent time in Pakistan in early 2001. According to the prosecutors, Alwan and al-Bakri went on to Afghanistan and spent time at an alleged Al Qaeda training camp. But even according to the government's case, none of these men had actually *done* anything, nor did they *plan* to do anything. The FBI itself admitted that the men did not have "anything specific that they were planning that would jeopardize the health and safety of anybody in the United States or Western New York" (CNN, 15 September). In fact, Alwan faked an ankle injury during his ten-day stay at the camp in order to get out.

But as the U.S. gears up for an attack on Iraq, the Bush administration is desperate for anything it can point to as an intelligence victory in the "war on terror." The prosecution of the Lackawanna men has been run from the highest level. Defense lawyers say that any plea bargains for individual defendants will have to be run through Attorney General John Ashcroft, if not Bush himself.

AP

Buffalo: Protest at September 18 bail hearing for six U.S. citizens of Yemeni descent accused of being an Al Qaeda "sleeper cell."

Not only have the Democrats marched in lockstep with Bush & Co. in the "war on terror," but it was Democratic president Bill Clinton's 1996 "Anti-Terrorism" act—with its secret hearings, "preventive" detention and broad definition of "terrorism"—that laid the groundwork for the Bush administration's USA-Patriot Act. The young men in Lackawanna are being charged under provisions of the 1996 law, which holds that "material support or resources" provided to groups the U.S. government deems "terrorist" is the same as terrorism itself even if, as in this case, this means simply being in an Al Qaeda camp and apparently not enjoying it. The government is seeking to bolster its thought-crime conspiracy laws, whose victims are prosecuted on the basis of political views and association rather than any actions they've carried out. Historically, such laws have been used to imprison countless union militants, fighters for black rights, leftists and anyone the government perceives to be an "enemy."

The Bush administration has been able to ram through its new repressive measures by pushing the illusion that they are intended for a specific small and vulnerable sector of the population—immigrants from Muslim countries. But as the arrests in Lackawanna and elsewhere demonstrate, the line between noncitizen and citizen is becoming increasingly blurred. The American populace is now expected to accept curtailment of their rights as the norm. But what the government can actually get away with will be determined by the level of social struggle. The working class in the U.S. has every stake in mobilizing against the truly frightening "war on terror," which will ultimately be used to attack the labor movement. ***Down with the government's "war on terror"! Defend immigrant rights! Defend democratic rights!*** ■

Germany...

(continued from page 5)

German nationalism. Marxists in Germany must insist: Not one man, not one penny for the German bourgeois military! What about *German* military rampages in Afghanistan and the Balkans, the anti-"terror" witchhunt which targets immigrants and leftists at home, as well as the unemployment and immiseration that threatens working people? The struggle against war abroad must be linked to the fight against capitalism through a proletarian internationalist perspective; only in such a fashion can the struggle for socialist revolution go forward.

Pacifism vs. Marxism

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution and founder of the Fourth International, distinguished between the pacifism of the masses and bourgeois pacifism. Writing in the 1938 Transitional Program, he asserted:

> "In addition, it is necessary to differentiate strictly between the pacifism of the diplomat, professor, journalist, and the pacifism of the carpenter, agricultural worker, and charwoman. In one case, pacifism is a screen for imperialism; in the other, it is the confused expression of distrust in imperialism. When the small farmer or worker speaks about the defense of the fatherland, he means defense of his home, his family, and other similar families from invasion, bombs, and poisonous gas. The capitalist and his journalist understand by the defense of the fatherland the seizure of colonies and markets, the predatory increase of the 'national' share of world income. Bourgeois pacifism and patriotism are shot through with deceit."

Bourgeois pacifism is indeed shot through with deceit. A clear if somewhat extreme example was Adolf Hitler. The first couple of years after taking power, Hitler swore high and low that his intentions were peaceful. Why? Under the Versailles Treaty that ended World War I, Germany had been effectively disarmed. Hitler lacked the means to wage war, so he talked peace. But all of this changed once he had assembled a sizable arsenal. If today the German imperialists clothe themselves in more pacific garb than their American counterparts, it does not at all mean that they are inherently more "peaceful." It simply reflects the fact that at the present moment they lack the military means to challenge their American rivals. But if and when the relationship of forces changes on the international arena, so will the methods of struggle.

The Greens are yet another example of a bourgeois party that began by proclaiming its "pacifism" but ended up participating in a government that bombed Serbia and invaded Afghanistan. The Greens play a particular role in the alliance with the social democrats. Unlike the SPD, the Green Party is not connected to the organized workers movement and is therefore the vehicle through which the German industrialists can push for the labor market "reforms" they clamor for, which in practice amount to attacks on the unions. Recently the SPD/Green government has drastically slashed unemployment benefits and instituted regulations that make it more difficult for unemployed workers to refuse jobs that offer low pay rates or require moving great distances.

Spartakist

Berlin, May 13: IG Metall strikers at DaimlerChrysler auto plant, one of a series of rolling strikes that shook SPD-led government.

In the past, the PDS has attracted some young people who regard it as a left alternative to the SPD. In the recent elections the Sozialistische Alternative Voran (SAV), affiliated to Peter Taaffe's Socialist Party in Britain and Socialist Alternative in the U.S., supported a vote to the PDS. The SAV regards the PDS as being somehow a "peace party" and therefore qualitatively superior to the SPD. In actuality, having embraced the bourgeois order with its sellout of the DDR, the PDS is simply a second-rate version of the SPD. In all essential respects its program is the same, not least of all in its willingness to administer capitalist austerity. Last year the PDS formed a government coalition with the SPD in Berlin. The purpose of this was to give a "left face" to a government whose task has been to bail out a financially bankrupt city by means of cuts in social spending and attacks on the working class. The PDS' direct complicity in enforcing capitalist belt-tightening in Berlin and elsewhere in eastern Germany was an important factor in its disastrous showing in the elections, where it lost everything but two parliamentary seats. As Winnie Wolf, a perennial loyal left critic in the PDS, frankly acknowledged: "Its [PDS'] policies as a governmental party are scarcely distinguishable from those of the SPD and Greens. That's why the losses in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Berlin are particularly high" (*Junge Welt*, 24 September).

In fact, since selling out the DDR in 1989-90, the PDS has never been an opponent of imperialism; it has simply quibbled over the means to achieve imperialist objectives. In the 1990-91 Gulf War, the PDS preferred to starve rather than to bomb the Iraqis into submission, advocating a UN embargo (a position which it later dropped). Sanctions are in fact a step toward war and in the case of Iraq, over the course of many years they have killed far more Iraqis than the imperialist armed forces. In the Balkans conflict three years ago, the PDS supported an occupation of Kosovo, differing in that they wanted it carried out by the UN or the European-controlled Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) rather than the American-controlled NATO. The PDS' line is no more motivated by opposition to imperialism than is Schröder today. They want German imperialism to be more independent of the American imperialists. Indeed the PDS (as well as some SPD dissidents like Oskar LaFontaine) has long advocated a closer alliance with capitalist Russia. Such a lash-up, which is not inconceivable, would provide Germany with what it has the technology for but does not yet possess: an arsenal of nuclear weapons.

Marxists are not pacifists. We do not have a position against "war in general." Our line on particular wars is determined by our programmatic opposition to the imperialist order and our struggle in the interests of the working class internationally. In the event of an imperialist invasion of the Gulf, a war waged by Iraq would be a just, defensive war. We are therefore for military defense of Iraq, without giving one inch of political support to Saddam Hussein. Any other position would constitute a capitulation to the existing bourgeois order, in which a small number of rich imperialist states dominate and exploit the vast majority of working people and oppressed worldwide. Likewise we stand for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states—China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. One cannot win new gains without defending what has already been ripped out of the sphere of capitalist exploitation.

There is no shortcut to genuine peace short of the overthrow of the capitalist order and its replacement with a world socialist order. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin emphasized:

> "The temper of the masses in favour of peace often expresses the beginning of protest, anger and a realisation of the reactionary nature of the war. It is the duty of all Social-Democrats to utilise that temper. They will take a most ardent part in any movement and in any demonstration motivated by that sentiment, but they will not deceive the people with admitting the idea that a peace without annexations, without oppression of nations, without plunder, and without the embryo of new wars among the present governments and ruling classes, is possible in the absence of a revolutionary movement."
>
> —*Socialism and War* (1915)

It is to the forging of a proletarian internationalist party that can lead such a revolutionary movement to victory that we are dedicated. ■

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

have defied curfews to come out on the streets and demonstrate. Almost the entirety of the West Bank is now again under the iron fist of Israeli military occupation, the oppressed Palestinian population confined to their villages and towns by a network of military checkpoints, barbed wire and trenches and imprisoned in their homes for days and weeks at a time by 24-hour curfews.

Around the globe, there is mounting fear and anger over Washington's war moves against Iraq, accentuated by the release of the "Bush doctrine" earlier this month threatening any perceived adversary with "pre-emptive" military strikes. On Saturday, over 400,000 people marched in London to oppose the Blair Lahour government's support for war against Iraq. In Germany, Gerhard Schröder's Social Democratic (SPD)/Green coalition, which had been trailing in the polls, was re-elected on the basis of opposition to an American war. In Mexico City, one television poll elicited over 40,000 calls, with more than 80 percent opposed to any endorsement by the neocolonial Fox government of the coming U.S. onslaught.

Our opposition to this war is based on our struggle in the interests of the working people and oppressed internationally against an imperialist order in which a handful of rich and powerful states dominate and exploit the world. A war between the U.S. and Iraq would he reactionary and predatory on the part of the U.S., but just and defensive on the part of Iraq. We stand for the military defense of Iraq against imperialist attack without giving one iota of political support to the bloody Saddam Hussein regime, which is run by a Sunni Arah minority oppressing the Shi'ite and Kurdish populations.

The defense of neocolonial Iraq against the American imperialist behemoth is in the interests of working people and the oppressed around the world, not least in the United States. A decade of imperialist attacks against defenseless peoples abroad has been accompanied in the U.S. by the loss of millions of jobs, the increasing erosion of any health care benefits for tens of millions of people, the virtual destruction of welfare and an unparalleled widening of the gap between rich and poor. The domestic "war on terror," directed overwhelmingly against Muslims and Arabs, is ultimately aimed at organized labor. This is most starkly demonstrated by government threats of military strikebreaking against the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU).

Every unchallenged act of aggrandizement, every new easy win further emboldens America's capitalist rulers to lash out against their perceived enemies at home and abroad. Small, neocolonial Iraq is in no position to militarily prevail over the U.S. imperialist war machine. The Bush administration screams that Saddam Hussein has "weapons of mass destruction." But the fact is that the one-sided slaughter carried out by the U.S.-led coalition in 1991 and 12 years of sanctions—as well as the loss of its overt Soviet and covert American military suppliers—have left the Iraqi military much weaker even than it was during the Gulf War, with the army barely one-third its former size and most of what equipment it has in need of spare parts.

Pursuit of the class struggle in the U.S. and other imperialist countries is the chief means of defending Iraq against imperialist attack. "Imperialist war is the continuation and sharpening of the predatory politics of the bourgeoisie. The struggle of the proletariat against war is the continuation and sharpening of the class struggle." These words from the 1938 Transitional Program, written by revolutionary fighter Leon Trotsky in the lead-up to the second interimperialist world war, must guide class-conscious workers and antiwar youth on the eve of this predatory war against Iraq. Every strike, every labor mobilization against the government's war plans and its attacks on workers and minorities, every mass protest in defiance of the assaults on civil liberties is a blow against Bush's war drive.

For class struggle at home against the U.S. capitalist rulers! Dawn with the racist war an immigrants! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Dawn with the UN starvatian blockade! Defend tlie Palestinians—Israel out af the Occupied Territaries! U.S., UN and all imperialist farces aut af the Near East, Central Asia and Afghanistan! Only warkers revolutian can end imperialist war!

The "Bush Doctrine": U.S. Imperialism Declares War on the World

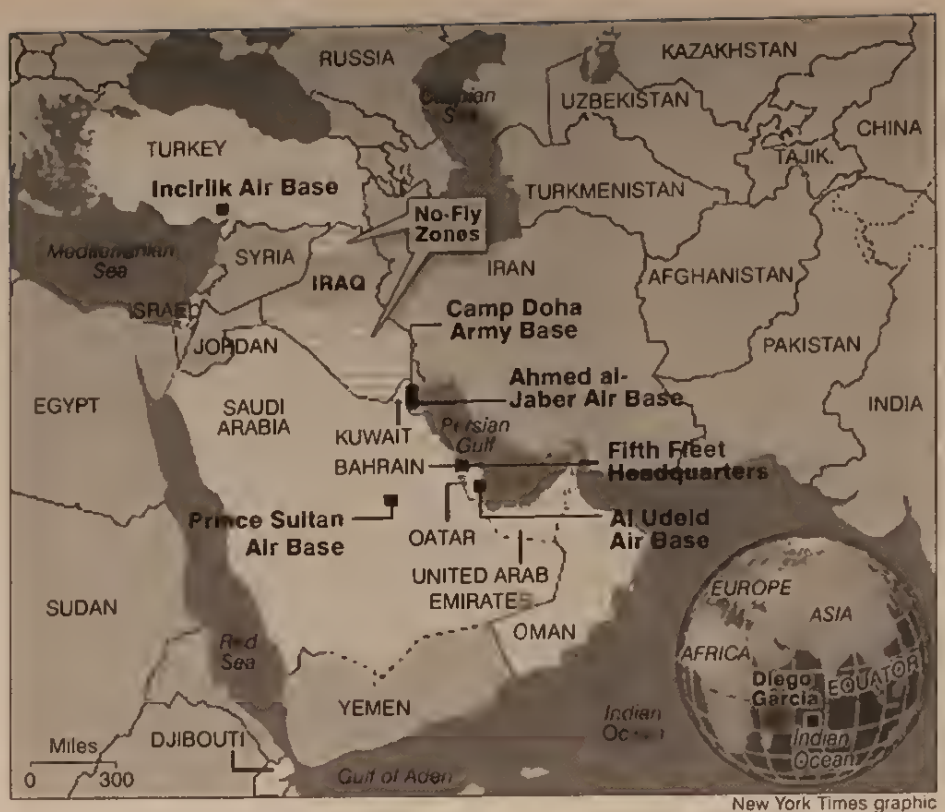
In his speech to the UN on September 12, Bush made a grudging bow to "multilateralism" while delivering a U.S. ultimatum for war against Iraq. Coming only days later, the release of the Bush government's "National Security Strategy" document was something of a diplomatic bombshell. Affirming a general policy of "pre-emptive" war, the document states that the U.S. is militarily "strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military buildup in hopes of surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States." Summarizing the administration's view, the *New York Times* (20 September) wrote that "the president has no intention of allowing any foreign power to catch up with the huge lead the United States has opened since the fall of the Soviet Union more than a decade ago."

This doctrine is the encapsulation of the arrogance and triumphalism of the U.S. imperialist rulers—whose military budget is greater than that of the next 19 countries combined—since capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet Union a decade ago. Our international tendency, the International Communist League, fought until the bitter end for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution and called on the Soviet proletariat to sweep away the Stalinist misrulers, whose bureaucratic mismanagement and futile attempts to conciliate imperialism paved the way for capitalist restoration. The destruction of the former Soviet Union ushered in a far more dangerous world. As the ICL's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998) stressed:

> "History speaks its verdicts loudly. The ascendancy of counterrevolution in the former USSR is an unparalleled defeat for working people all over the world, decisively altering the political landscape on this planet. No longer challenged by Soviet military might, U.S. imperialism has proclaimed a 'one-superpower world,' running roughshod over semicolonial peoples from the Persian Gulf to Haiti. No longer the unrivaled economic powerhouse of world imperialism, the United States still maintains the murderous advantage of its military might, while often preferring to camouflage its terror under the 'humanitarian' fig leaf of the United Nations' 'den of thieves'."

Virtually the entire "left" howled along with the imperialist wolves in backing the forces of counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. Having done their bit to strengthen the rapacious might of U.S. imperialism, today these same groups, particularly in Europe, push the illusion that the European governments or the United Nations can and should be made to stop an American war against Iraq. The UN is simply a clearing-house for the rival imperialist powers, and the European bourgeoisies have neither the will nor the capacity to stop the U.S. Moreover, though constrained by Washington's overwhelming military superiority, they are no less predatory in their own national interests.

At any rate, in its war moves against Iraq, the Bush administration has overtly challenged the need for a UN fig leaf, "multilateralism" or any of the other "democratic" trappings that have historically been used to mobilize the population for war. It was the criminal September 11 attack on the World Trade Center that allowed this government, which came to office with an electoral minority, to embark on its designs for global conquest. A *New Yark Review of Books* (26 September) article titled "George Bush & the World" cites a February speech by



New York Times graphic

Current U.S. troop deployment in Near East.

DPA

Reuters

Bush at the UN and Blair in the British Parliament beat the war drums for invasion of Iraq.

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Vice President Richard Cheney to the Council on Foreign Relations. Referring to the collapse of the Soviet Union, Cheney said: "When America's great enemy suddenly disappeared, many wondered what new direction our foreign policy would take.... All of that changed five months ago. The threat is known and our role is clear now." As the article added: "What Cheney was saying, in a slightly more articulate fashion, was that the main purpose of American foreign policy was to confront an enemy—and that a worthy successor to the Soviet Union had finally emerged, in the form of international terrorism."

Indeed, in the name of the "war on terror," this government declares that it can go after whoever it wants whenever it wants. It is this reckless "unilateralism" that has provoked concerns among sections of the U.S. ruling class, including within the Republican Party and the Pentagon. These critics recognize that international institutions like the UN have served American imperialism's interests well. Moreover, despite a propaganda blitz by the administration, popular support for a war is shallow, with opinion poll majorities plunging if the U.S. has no allies or encounters significant American casualties. A number of labor organizations, including ILWU Local 10 in the San Francisco Bay Area, have adopted antiwar resolutions.

Unlike Afghanistan, an invasion and occupation of Iraq, with its built-up population centers, would not be carried out by a few thousand elite "Special Operations" units, but would have to draw on the proletarian and plebeian base of the military. An insightful article in the London *Times* (4 September) captured the seething racial and class contradictions in the U.S. military. Visiting the U.S. aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* in Japan, the *Times* correspondent reported:

> "Boarding one is like entering a time warp back to the former Deep South. In the bowels of the carrier, where the crew are cooped up for six months at a time, manual workers sleep dozens to a room. Most are black or Puerto Rican, paid $7,000 to $10,000 a year to work in the broiling temperatures of the kitchens and engine rooms.
>
> "As you move up the 11 segregated levels towards the pilots' quarters beneath the deck, the living quarters become larger, the air cooler and the skin tones lighter. Officers exist in almost total ignorance of the teeming world beneath them, passing around second-hand tales of murders, gang-fights and drug abuse. Visitors are banned from venturing down to the lowest decks, which swelter next to the vast nuclearpowered engines."

The military itself is a reflection of the class and racial contradictions of civil society. Any number of factors, including a military reversal or significant casualties for U.S. imperialism in its "war on terror," could trigger an upsurge of struggle in the U.S. and ignite the social tinder that has accumulated over the years. The capitalist class enemy is well aware of this, too, as demonstrated by its heavy-handed threats against potential strike action by the ILWU, invoking "national security." The recent increased rumblings within the Democratic Party over the Bush administration's "go it alone" policy on Iraq also speak to fears of what a war could ignite on the home front.

A handful of prominent Democrats, from Al Gore to Ted Kennedy, argue that the government's provocations are not the means to mobilize for war. Declaring that war "is hell" and also "dangerously unpredictable," a full-page ad in the *New York Times* (1 October), signed by a number of prominent Democratic Party liberals, expressed concern that "a war against Iraq could destabilize more than just Saddam Hussein." Worried that the nuclear cowboys in the White House are "reluctant to accept international dissent, even from our closest allies," the ad opines that it is "incumbent upon domestic critics to make their voices heard."

Such Democrats are positioning themselves to get out ahead of and contain any opposition and turmoil that the war against Iraq could generate among working people and minorities. In fact, because of its image as a "friend" of labor and minorities, the Democratic Party has historically been the preferred party of war for the American bourgeoisie. Antiwar youth, labor militants and fighters for black and immigrant rights must understand that any genuine opposition to imperialist war must be based on class struggle and political protest independent of all the parties and agencies of imperialist rule. *Break with the Democratic Party of war and racism!*

London, September 28: Spartacist League/Britain contingent (below) at demonstration of nearly half a million to protest U.S./British war moves against Iraq.

Workers Hammer photos

Fake Lefts Appeal to Imperialism

Such is decidedly not the perspective of various organizations building antiwar coalitions. Among the most prominent of these is the International ANSWER coalition, politically dominated by the Workers World Party (WWP), which is building for protests on October 26 in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco under the slogan: "Stop the war on Iraq before it starts." WWP has a long history of building coalitions aimed at roping in Democratic Party "doves" and bourgeois liberals. The longstanding central spokesman for its International Action Center (IAC) is former Democratic Party attorney general Ramsey Clark, who has now launched an appeal to UN secretary general Kofi Annan to stay the hand of the U.S. While a tiny article buried in the 26 September issue of *Workers World* is headlined: "UN Binds Countries to U.S. Interests," Clark's September 20 letter, which was circulated by the IAC, expressed the real line: "George Bush will invade Iraq unless restrained by the United Nations.... If the United Nations, above all, fails to oppose a U.S. invasion of Iraq, it will forfeit its honor, integrity and raison d'etre."

The "raison d'etre" of the UN from its inception has been to serve as a tool of the imperialist powers, particularly and overwhelmingly at the dictate of the U.S. A partial list of UN-sponsored wars includes the 1950-53 "police action" against the North Korean deformed workers state, which took the lives of upwards of three million Koreans, the 1960 military intervention into the Congo under whose cover the CIA and Belgian imperialists assassinated nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba and the 1991 war against Iraq. The UN presided over the 1947 partition of Palestine and the ensuing Zionist expulsion of some 700,000 Palestinians from their homes. In the last 12 years, the UN starvation embargo and its weapons inspectors (who are in fact spies) have paved the way for the U.S.'s current war moves against Iraq.

For its part, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) has run a series of articles protesting reliance on the UN. *Socialist Worker* (20 September) writes:

> "During the lead-up to the Gulf War, many activists insisted that the antiwar movement should call for the UN to take action of some sort against Iraq—rather than the U.S.
>
> "These activists were disarmed when the UN, despite all the rhetoric about peace, did sanction a war run by Washington.
>
> "Likewise, the call to 'let sanctions work' against Iraq also undermined the fight against Bush Sr.'s war drive by conceding that the U.S. had the right to wage an economic war.
>
> "A decade later, sanctions have 'worked' —by killing many more ordinary Iraqis, just as this newspaper and other opponents of the Gulf War always pointed out."

This is truly shameless considering that in 1991 the ISO helped foster the very illusions it now decries, when it dropped its paper opposition to the UN embargo in order to endorse a January 1991 "Campaign for Peace" march that explicitly called for economic sanctions as a supposedly "peaceful" alternative to war.

For the ISO, such sellouts of their supposed principles always come dressed up in the garb of "unity." As much as the WWP, the ISO's purpose is to build "broad" coalitions that do not offend the political sensibilities of bourgeois liberals. They appeal to antiwar youth that "unity" is necessary in order to mobilize the largest number of people possible on the streets, peddling the illusion that the answer to imperialist war is mass protest on any political basis whatsoever.

To be sure, any dent in the bourgeoisie's "national unity" is welcome. Thus it is not insignificant that in a climate where the "war on terror" is being used to target all manner of dissent and at a time when the Bush administration is using the anniversary of the criminal attack on the World Trade Center to beat the drums for war, more than 4,000 people signed the "Not In Our Name" protest ad that appeared in the *New York Times* (19 September). But unlike the ISO and Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), which is the central force behind the "Not In Our Name" coalition, we do not cater to liberal appeals or moral-witness pacifism. Successful opposition to war must have a proletarian class axis and a revolutionary internationalist perspective, otherwise it will be used by the bourgeois liberals to confine protest within the bounds of the very capitalist system that breeds war. As Trotsky wrote:

> "To condemn war is easy; to overcome it is difficult. The struggle against war is a struggle against the classes which rule society and which hold in their hands both its productive forces and its destructive weapons. It is not possible to prevent war by moral indignation, by meetings, by resolutions, by newspaper articles, and by congresses. As long as the bourgeoisie has at its command the banks, the factories, the land, the press, and the state apparatus, it will always be able to drive the people to war when its interests demand it."
>
> —"Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam" (July 1932)

For Class Struggle Against the Imperialist Rulers!

The depth of opposition to war with Iraq among the working masses of Europe, Latin America and the Arab countries provides significant opportunities for international class struggle. In Britain, Washington's *only* coalition partner, the Blair government, faces a volatile combination of massive opposition to the war and a revival of class struggle unseen in nearly two decades. At recent trade-union rallies, those speakers who attacked the Labour government have elicited the

continued on page 12

Alan Pogue

UN-imposed sanctions have killed over 1.5 million Iraqis.

Iraq...

(continued from page 11)

loudest applause. The annual Trades Union Congress conference held last month passed a motion opposing a war called without UN approval, narrowly defeating a resolution against a war under any conditions. London underground (subway) unions are engaged in a campaign of one-day strikes, including one staged the day after Blair issued his bogus "dossier" on Iraq. And the Fire Brigades Union (FBU) is currently balloting to authorize its first national strike in 25 years, with London underground workers threatening to stop work over safety and workers in the English Channel tunnel also saying they will not work without fire safety cover.

It was a Labour government that called out the troops against the 1977 FBU strike. Now the military is training 12,000 troops for strikebreaking, while the bourgeois press tries to whip up an anti-union frenzy over claims that the country would be without fire protection in the event of terrorist attacks. What is posed is the possibility of a major class confrontation with the hated New Lahour government as it prepares for war. Joint strike action by firefighters and rail workers would deal a massive blow against the British imperialist state's ability to pursue war against Iraq.

But workers actions in any country will immediately come up against the strikebreaking apparatus of the capitalist state—whether the particular government is for or against the U.S.-led war. The working class must be mobilized on the basis of decisive class independence from and opposition to its "own" bourgeoisie. And it is this which the European social democrats and their centrist and left-reformist helpmates act to prevent in trying to hitch the working class and radical youth to "antiwar" sections of the imperialist bourgeoisies.

In Britain, virtually every fake-left group, from the Socialist Party of Peter Taaffe (aligned with Socialist Alternative in the U.S.) to the barely centrist Workers Power (WP) group, has thrown itself into the Stop the War Coalition organized by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), sponsors of the huge September 28 march in London. The effect of this coalition is to submerge working-class opposition to the war in a "broad"—i.e., class-collaborationist—unity with everything ranging from bishops and Muslim clerics to bourgeois parties like the Greens, "left" Labour parliamentarians and trade-union bureaucrats, including those who support the imperialist sanctions against Iraq. A major speaker at the protest was London mayor Ken Livingstone, who screamed for the U.S./British bombing of Serbia in 1999.

Warning against such class-collaborationist "antiwar" alliances, Trotsky wrote in his 1932 article: "Whoever attempts to put all the programs, all the parties, all the flags into one package in the name of pacifism, that is, of a superficial struggle against war in words, performs the greatest service for imperialism." Today, the European fake lefts do not even deign to hide their service for imperialism. From the SWP and WP to Rifondazione Comunista in Italy and Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) in France, a wide array of reformists and centrists joined in a call "To all citizens of Europe and to all their representatives" (reprinted in *Weekly Worker*, 12 September) which declaims:

> "Those who show solidarity with the people of Iraq have no hearing in the White House. But we do have the chance to influence European governments—many of whom have opposed the war. We call on all the European heads of state to publicly stand against this war, whether it has UN backing or not, and to demand that George Bush abandon his war plans."

This is a logical step for the LCR. After years of support to Lionel Jospin's Socialist-led popular front of racist terror and anti-working-class austerity, the LCR moved on to pimping for rightist Jacques Chirac in the recent presidential election in the name of keeping out the fascist Le Pen. The centrist Workers Power, however, strikes a more left posture, proclaiming in a 23 September statement posted on its Web site: "When fighting breaks out we must call clearly and unequivocally for the total defeat of the imperialist invasion and victory for the Iraqi resistance to it." Workers Power indulged in similar "red" rhetoric during the bombing of Afghanistan, but the real substance of its program was captured in its call to "LOBBY PARLIAMENT as it debates the war." Today, WP openly appeals to the capitalist governments of Europe against the U.S.

In fact, the European imperialists had been the historic exploiters of the Near East. Iraq and other Near Eastern countries were creations of the British and French imperialists, who carved out their borders in the sand with the breakup of the Ottoman Empire. The current antiwar posture of the French and German governments is very much a reflection of the divergence of their interests from those of the U.S. These countries are reliant on Near East oil and have substantial investments in Iran and Iraq. Any tightening of U.S. control over the Near East oil spigot—and Iraq's oil reserves are second only to those of Saudi Arabia—would mean not only higher fuel costs for European corporations but even greater reliance on Washington's good graces.

At the same time that Germany expressed overt opposition to a major American military-strategic policy, a no less unprecedented, if less dramatic, move was made by Japanese prime minister Koizumi, who was elected on a platform of resurgent Japanese militarism. Without first getting American approval, Koizumi made the first visit ever by a Japanese head of state to North Korea, a bureaucratically deformed workers state included in Bush's "axis of evil." Meanwhile, Japan is forging ahead with the creation of a regional trade bloc to compete with the German-dominated European Union and the U.S.-controlled NAFTA. While the Japanese bourgeoisie is divided over whether to support a U.S. attack on Iraq, it is united on one thing. Like the Germans, they will not bankroll this war.

The conflicting interests of the rival imperialist powers, subordinated during the Cold War to a U.S.-led anti-Soviet alliance, have increasingly come to the fore since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The Bush administration's bellicose "unilateralism" drives home with a vengeance that the European (and Japanese) imperialists cannot pursue their own national ambitions when those come into conflict with U.S. interests anywhere in the world so long as they remain, relatively speaking, economically powerful but militarily weak.

WV Photo

Spartacist supporters at September 14 L.A. protest against war on Iraq.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The Bush administration continues to ride high in the polls on support for the "war on terror," shamelessly manipulating the 9/11 anniversary commemorations to hype its war aims. But this "national unity" bubble against a putative "axis of evil" can't withstand the pinprick of any examination of the Bush gang's relation to those they now declare the enemy. Bush, Cheney et al. have a long history of working in cahoots with the likes of the Taliban and Saddam Hussein. After U.S. intelligence agencies had for months denied any connection between the Baghdad regime and Al Qaeda, Rumsfeld and others now darkly allude to vague, indefinite and unsubstantiated "visits" by Al Qaeda to Baghdad (never mind that the secular Hussein regime and the fundamentalist Al Qaeda are historic enemies). What is definitely substantiated is Rumsfeld's own visits to Baghdad (and a quiet meeting with Saddam Hussein) as an emissary of the Reagan administration in 1983, during the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War. "In the two years after Rumsfeld's visits," notes the *Los Angeles Times* (15 September), "the CIA began to secretly supply Iraq with intelligence on Iran. That operation soon blossomed into a larger military exchange," continuing right through the 1988 chemical weapons attack on the Kurdish town of Halabja, now hypocritically decried by the imperialists as evidence of Saddam Hussein's brutality. In fact, the CIA helped Hussein's Ba'ath Party come to power in 1963—following the suppression of a revolutionary upheaval in 1958-59—providing lists of workers and leftists to be rounded up and slaughtered.

Now, Bush raises a hue and cry over Saddam Hussein's *desire* for nuclear weapons. For weeks, there were murky reports of Iraq's attempt to import aluminum tubes (which it did not get) supposedly designed (which they were not) for a centrifuge to make weapons-grade uranium (which by all accounts Iraq does not have). As an article in the London *Guardian* (20 September) aptly noted: "It is precisely because he is not now a real threat to the US, nor a real ally of al-Qaida, and nor, probably, in possession of usable weapons, that war is feasible."

The government is trying to sell this war as one to "liberate" Iraq and install American-style "democracy," while on the home front Attorney General John Ashcroft puts the Bill of Rights through a shredding machine. Non-citizens and citizens alike are being rounded up, incarcerated and denied any semblance of Constitutional protections; neighbors are encouraged to spy on neighbors; university presidents slander anyone who defends the right of a Palestinian man, woman or child to exist as "anti-Semitic." More than 600 people were thrown behind bars for exercising their right to free speech and assembly at anti-globalization protests in Washington, D.C. last weekend. Cops were brought in to D.C. from distant states and deputized in order to enable them to gain experience working with federal authorities in suppressing protest.

But the picture is hardly one of seamless reaction and fear. Although the U.S. imperialists trumpet the "death of Communism" and sneer that Marxism has been proven to be a "failure," the laws of the class struggle have not been annulled. Marx's prediction of recurrent economic crises under capitalism is being borne out with a vengeance. The 1991 Gulf War led to a spike in oil prices and a recession, and that war was financed overwhelmingly by America's coalition allies. The bill for this war will come due when a recession has already been underway for over a year. And then this avaricious ruling class—which has been squeezing every last ounce of profit out of the working class—will try to take the cost of Bush's military adventure out of the hides of the workers in the U.S. (while threatening to force the Iraqi people to pay for their own "liberation"). The bourgeoisie's incessant attacks on the working class will necessarily provoke proletarian class struggle.

The key to unlocking labor struggle in this country lies in breaking the class-collaborationist "national unity" pushed by the bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. And that means, first and foremost, breaking the chains forged by the labor tops and the black politicians and preachers that bind the proletariat and the ghetto masses to the "lesser evil" Democratic Party of American imperialism. If there is to be an end to imperialist war, to racist oppression and all-sided, grinding misery, the multiracial U.S. working class must be won, through Marxist education and its own experience in struggle, to the fight to build a revolutionary workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution in the bastion of world imperialism. That is our perspective, and on its outcome hinges the fate of the whole world.■

Crowley/NY Times

UNSCOM

September 18: Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld heckled by protesters chanting, "Inspections, not war!" UN inspections provide cover for imperialist attack. Right: Iraqi building leveled by UN inspectors, 1997.

Northern Ireland...

(continued from page 3)

of [reactionary Protestant] Orangemen to stage their anti-Catholic marches. They (and the SWP) have done their best to give "democratic" credentials within the workers movement to Billy Hutchinson, who is a spokesman for Loyalist death squads. (Here they are playing the same game as union bureaucrats like Mick O'Reilly who recruited Hutchinson into the ATGWU [transport workers union].) Not surprisingly, Hutchinson vehemently condemned workers' struggles against Loyalist death threats, saying: "I am fed up of the unions taking decisions on a whim and which are for one side of the community" (*Irish News*, 2 August).

The SWP also buried all reference to the oppression of Catholics at the Belfast demo. Although the British *Socialist Worker* (10 August) states the 2 August Belfast rally was in response to the "murder of a young Catholic man, Gerard Lawlor, by Loyalist paramilitaries," the Irish SWP distributed a leaflet entitled "Stand Together Against Sectarianism" at the demonstration which completely failed to mention the oppression of Catholics in the North and didn't even use the word Loyalist. It is the hallmark of both the SP and SWP to patronisingly stoop to the lowest consciousness.

While the SWP now headlines "Peace Process Fuelling Sectarianism," until recently they were gushing about the opportunities for "class politics" the imperialist "peace" deal would supposedly provide. Last year they heralded the "tremendous hopes for peace in Northern Ireland following the IRA's announcement that it will destroy its weapons." They claimed that the British Labour government's imperialist "peace" process provides "space" for united working-class struggle:

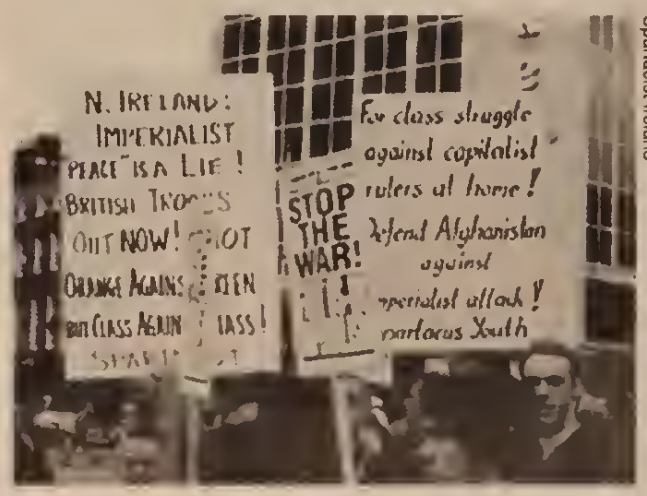
> "It can reproduce the sectarian division that is built into the Northern Ireland state. But it does provide a space for working class people, Catholic and Protestant, to fight for their interests and against sectarianism."
>
> —*Socialist Worker*, 3 November 2001

This is no great surprise coming from the SWP, who in 1969 supported British troops being sent to Northern Ireland (by another Labour government) and claimed they would provide a "breathing space" for Catholics. Less than three years later the British Army murdered 14 Catholics in Derry on Bloody Sunday.

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Anti-Catholic Discrimination!

The London *Independent* (23 August) says: "Recent research suggests housing segregation has become more marked, and certainly the two sections of the working class in Belfast live almost entirely separately. Some, in fact, live behind peace lines to keep them apart." An illustration of life for Catholics behind so-called "peace lines" is the Short Strand area of East Belfast. Three thousand Catholics live in an enclave half a mile by half a mile entirely ringed by a *15-foot* high fence separating them from 60,000 Protestants. Almost every house inside the perimeter has had windows broken by pipe-bombings and stone throwing. According to the *Guardian* (11 June), there are no shops inside and no post office; residents are often afraid to venture outside to collect their benefits, or to get their drugs from the chemist. In one instance a community nurse volunteered to collect the medicines for everybody within, but the pharmacist refused to serve her, saying he had been threatened if he served Catholics. There are printed notices to be found in the area saying no Catholics are to be served. Nearby there's a huge, freshly-painted mural that says, "No Short Strand T---- [Catholics] on Our Road. At your own risk." This situation is not unique—a 1998 book about Catholics in Portadown is aptly titled *Garvaghy—A Community Under Siege*.

The Socialist Party ran an article on the violence in the Short Strand (*Socialist Voice*, May 2002) and managed not to mention *any* discrimination against Catholics! They simply say: "The underlying reason for the violence is the lack of jobs, the decline of services and the lack of affordable housing for people in the inner city working class communities." The lack of jobs and housing is a central issue in Northern Ireland, but communalism cannot be overcome simply by urging workers to "unite and fight" for purely economic demands. Class unity against sectarian terror must be linked to a fight against the discrimination and oppression of Catholics. A prevalent view in Northern Ireland is that this can only be achieved by making the situation worse for Protestants. Under capitalism this is true, which means there must be a fight for what the working class needs, not for what capitalism can afford. Revolutionaries would seek to unite workers around transitional demands—for a sliding scale of wages, work-sharing on full pay, jobs for all and good quality public housing—which transcend the framework of capitalism, as part of a programme for socialist revolution.



Spartacist Ireland

Dublin Spartacists protest Irish government's support to bombing of Afghanistan by U.S./British Imperialists.

Southern Ireland is a clericalist Catholic state where the vast majority of the hospitals and national schools are controlled by the Catholic Church. Divorce, only legalised in 1997, remains prohibitively expensive and requires that the spouses have lived apart for four of the preceding five years. Conditions for women are little better in the North. The British 1967 Abortion Act does not apply in Northern Ireland, meaning that abortion is illegal in most cases. In fact, one of the few points on which the Pope and the Paisleyite fundamentalists agree is opposition to women's rights and abortion in particular. We fight for separation of church and state, and for free abortion on demand, which are critical for advancing women's rights North and South.

Not Orange Against Green but Class Against Class!

Some workers at recent Belfast demonstrations agreed with our comrades that the British Army must get out, but coupled this with the nationalist view that Ireland must be reunited before there can be any hope of workers unity. Withdrawal of British troops does not in itself automatically ensure advance in a revolutionary direction, but it is the necessary starting point for any just solution. As Leninists we uphold the right of self-determination for all nations, but we are implacably opposed to all nationalist ideology. In Northern Ireland both communities are geographically interpenetrated. Therefore "self-determination" for one can only be achieved by denying it to the other, which under capitalism leads to inter-communal slaughter.

We oppose the perspective of forcible imposition of a "united Ireland" upheld by Sinn Féin and other Irish nationalist forces. A united capitalist Ireland would reverse the terms of oppression against Protestants. Indeed Protestant fears of being forcibly incorporated into the southern state serve to compact Protestants behind the Loyalist bigots, making a polarisation along *class* lines all the more difficult. Thus the struggle against Catholic clericalism in the South is essential to breaking down communalism in the North. As we wrote in our 1977 "Theses on Ireland":

> "We struggle for an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. While the establishment of a united workers state on the whole island may be preferable, the above demand is algebraic, leaving open the question of where the Protestants fall. This recognises that the nature of the Protestant community has not yet been determined in history. As such, it is counterposed to calls for a 'united workers republic' or for a 'united socialist Ireland' (where this demand is not simply an expression for left/nationalist or Stalinist two-stage theories). Placing the demand in the context of a socialist federation has the additional advantage of highlighting the essential relationship of the proletarian revolution in the whole area and the virtual impossibility of the resolution of the Irish question on a working-class basis outside this framework."
>
> —*Spartacist* (English edition) No. 24, Autumn 1977

Many Catholics feel betrayed by Sinn Féin's active participation in the "peace" fraud, which put some Catholic faces in high places but did nothing to alleviate the situation of Catholics. Some now look to those nationalists who oppose the "peace" process, such as the "Real IRA."

But, whether using the "Armalite" or the "ballot box," Irish nationalism is a political dead-end which cannot further the interests of the Catholic minority. Marxists reject the strategy of individual terror because it runs counter to the necessary task of mobilising the proletariat against the imperialist and capitalist oppressors. Viewed from the standpoint of the proletariat, nationalist terror ranges from merely stupid—such as the 1972 Official IRA bombing of the Parachute Regiment headquarters in Aldershot which killed six civilian workers, five of them women, and the Catholic chaplain but no soldiers—to downright criminal, such as the 1998 Omagh bombing by the "Real IRA," which killed and injured Protestant and Catholic civilians in a shopping area. This was in no way a blow against imperialism. When Irish nationalists strike a blow against the forces of British imperialism, the RUC/PSNI or Loyalist death squads, we defend the perpetrators of such acts against state retribution. Even when they do hit a military target, their actions are still carried out as part of a perspective that writes off the proletariat in Northern Ireland, both Protestant and Catholic, and also in Britain, which has a significant Irish component.

There is a felt need in Northern Ireland for some form of protection against sectarian attacks, and trade unionists have been acting instinctively in defence of their fellow workers whose lives are threatened. What's needed are anti-sectarian workers militias to combat Loyalist terror as well as attacks by Green nationalists. Political consciousness is critical to organising such workers militias. To be effective, they would require the leadership of cadre with real authority among workers from both communities. That precludes their being led by nationalists, trade union bureaucrats, fake socialists who support the imperialist "peace" fraud, and in fact pretty much any leadership other than one based on the communist programme, including opposition to the imperialist presence. Each militia unit must incorporate both Catholic and Protestant workers and should be based in the trade unions, necessarily requiring a hard struggle against the existing union leadership. Organising marshals at trade union rallies to repel any sectarian provocation could be a starting point for such militias. Under the direction of Leninist cadre, these could become the nucleus of an integrated anti-sectarian militia, which could for instance have made a difference by organising an integrated, trade union-based defence of the Holy Cross schoolgirls in Ardoyne who were confronted by a Loyalist mob last year.

With growing economic recession and redundancies [layoffs], for instance the hundreds projected at Shorts [aircraft components manufacturer], the capitalists will increasingly resort to sectarianism to divide the workers, which could lead to increased communalism. But it is important not to accept what exists at present as the inevitable outcome of history. A revolutionary party must be alert to opportunities that will arise in situations that are poisoned by communalism, especially since such opportunities may be transient. There is the potential for the current round of class struggle in Britain to extend to Northern Ireland, in particular a national strike by firefighters or other public sector workers chafing under Blair's vicious austerity and drive towards privatisation.

The most significant example of united struggle by Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland was the Belfast engineering strike of 1919. One of the most significant class battles in Irish history, it was part of a wave of tumultuous strikes in engineering centres, including Glasgow. The British Army was deployed in Belfast and the trade unions, the majority of whose members were Protestant, shut down the city in a strike that was led by a socialist of Catholic background, Charles McKay. The strike was betrayed by Labour bureaucrats, in Britain and Ireland. A hideous wave of communalism followed in 1920 when 9,000 Catholics and 3,000 Protestants—mainly shop stewards and socialists—were driven out of their jobs. This communalism was the result of an enormous defeat in struggle and the subsequent "ethnic cleansing" laid the basis for partition [between North and South in 1921].

As internationalists, we seek the solution to the sectarian divide not purely within Ireland, but as part of a revolutionary solution of all the national oppression on these Isles—including that of the Scots and the Welsh—through the overthrow of British and Irish capitalism and the establishment of working-class rule. The Spartacist League/Britain and the Spartacist Group Ireland are dedicated to building parties to fight for an Irish workers republic within a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles. ■

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Death Penalty...

(continued from page 16)

cop terror on the streets—is subject to any kind of challenge or review.

Over the past two decades the courts, Congress and state legislatures did all they could to open the sluice gates for executions, from gutting funding to public defenders for those accused of capital crimes to implementing procedures that make it virtually impossible to use evidence not known at the time of trial to challenge a death sentence conviction. In the infamous 1993 *Herrera* case, the Supreme Court proclaimed that executing an innocent man would not be unconstitutional.

But now there is substantial unease about the death penalty throughout the population, generated by the highly publicized exposure of the cases of ***over 100 innocent people*** who were falsely sentenced to death since capital punishment was reinstated in 1976. A July 2000 poll revealed that 99 percent of the population believed innocent people had been condemned to die, while 42 percent believed that 10 percent or more of those on death row were innocent. Significantly, support for the death penalty has not increased despite the "security" hysteria promoted by the government following last year's attacks.

In the Supreme Court opinion outlawing execution of the mentally retarded, Justice John Paul Stevens wrote: "We cannot ignore the fact that in recent years a disturbing number of inmates on death row have been exonerated. As two recent high-profile cases demonstrate, these exonerations include mentally retarded persons who unwittingly confessed to crimes that they did not commit." One of those two people, Anthony Porter, came within two days of being executed before he was finally freed in Illinois in 1999, ultimately prompting Republican governor George Ryan to impose a moratorium on executions in the state. As his term in office is about to expire, Ryan has ordered hearings for the state's 158 death row inmates, at which he is expected to commute most of their sentences to life in prison. Governor Ryan's order is currently being challenged in court by the state's attorney general (and gubernatorial candidate), Jim Ryan. This May, following Illinois' lead, Maryland also declared its own moratorium on executions.

As communists, we oppose the death penalty on principle—for the guilty as well as the innocent—because we do not accord the state the right to say who lives and who dies. We welcome any curtailment of state-sanctioned murder, just as we oppose all moves to expand and intensify the repressive powers of the capitalist state.

While some liberal death penalty opponents have speculated that the new decisions signal the outright abolition of capital punishment, the brutal reality is that the executions have not stopped, although their pace is down from the 1999 peak. Fifty people have already been "legally" lynched so far this year, including three black men executed in Texas for crimes they allegedly committed when they were juveniles—a particularly barbaric practice that is currently exercised in only four other countries: Iran, Nigeria, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

"Legal" Lynching—Legacy of Slavery and Jim Crow

In a third decision released in June, which did not get publicized, the Supreme Court *overruled* a Michigan federal court order that would have opened Justice Department files to enable a black defendant to show that the Feds overwhelmingly use the death penalty against black people. The Court declared that allowing criminal defendants access to the prosecutors' decision-making process is not permissible because it "threatens the 'performance of a core executive constitutional function'." This harks back to the notorious 1987 *McCleskey v. Kemp* case, where the Supreme Court acknowledged overwhelming evidence of the racist application of the death penalty, only to conclude this was "irrelevant" because such bias is an "inevitable part of our criminal justice system." What they meant was that it was all too relevant to the workings of their injustice system. The court turned down McCleskey's death sentence appeal, declaring its premise "throws into serious question the principles that underlie our entire criminal justice system"—the most sacred "principle" of all being "the validity of capital punishment in our multiracial society."

AP

Chicago, November 1998: Conference at Northwestern University Law School featured 30 people who had been released from death row after proving their innocence.

Attorney General John Ashcroft has good reason for keeping his decision-making process under wraps. A recent study by the Federal Death Penalty Resource Counsel Project revealed that Ashcroft, who has the final say on when the Feds will seek the death penalty, is three times more likely to seek execution for black defendants accused of killing whites than blacks charged with killing blacks. Last year, Ashcroft declared that it was white defendants who were disproportionately targeted under the federal death penalty—at a time when blacks and Hispanics made up 18 of the 21 prisoners on the federal death row!

Hull Museums

Slaveholders' dogs sicced on escaped slave. Racist death penalty in U.S. is direct legacy of black chattel slavery.

In the U.S., where the capitalist state enforces the racist oppression that lies at the core of the American profit system, it is overwhelmingly black people, Latinos and the poor that the racist courts put on death row. And it is no accident that the states of the former Confederacy lead the way in legal lynching. Capital punishment in the U.S. is the legacy of slavery, when black slaves were considered chattel, the private property of the slaveowner. Special "Negro Courts" were set up for slaves. The numerous "crimes" for which the Slave Codes prescribed torture and death included rebellion and attempted rebellion, hitting a white man in self-defense or any other act deemed "insolent" or a challenge to the slaveholders. In the 1857 Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court decreed that the black man "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," asserting that freed blacks could not be citizens.

It took a bloody Civil War, in which 200,000 black troops helped turn the tide, to smash the Southern slave system. But the promise of black freedom was betrayed by the victorious Northern bourgeoisie. The Compromise of 1877, under which the last Union Army troops were withdrawn from the South, brought to an end the tumultuous decade of Radical Reconstruction. The black freedmen were again disenfranchised under Jim Crow laws steeped in the spirit, and at times the letter, of the old Slave Codes. In the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* case, the Supreme Court codified "separate but equal" segregation as the law of the land. At the heart of Jim Crow was lynch law terror. With the withdrawal of the last Union troops, KKK terror stalked the South unchallenged. In the 1890s blacks were lynched at a rate of one every other day. By the 1930s, the state carried out executions at a rate of over one every other day. The extralegal terror of the KKK was largely supplanted by the state's "legal" lynching. Between 1930 and 1967 blacks composed more than two-thirds of those executed.

If you want to know what the death penalty is all about, look no further than the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. America's foremost political prisoner, today Mumia still languishes on Pennsylvania's death row nine months after a federal judge threw out his death sentence—and fully 18 months after Arnold Beverly publicly confessed that he, not Jamal, committed the crime for which Jamal was convicted (see "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!" *WV* No. 787, 20 September). Whether through lethal injection or by burying him alive in prison for life, the racist ruling class is determined to silence the voice of this former Black Panther Party member, MOVE supporter and award-winning black journalist. From his teenage days as a Black Panther Party spokesman in the late 1960s, Jamal was in the sights of the Philly police and the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO conspiracy. They targeted Mumia because of his political views as a black radical.

In December 1981, the state went into high gear to frame up Mumia for the shooting death of a Philadelphia cop, buying off witnesses and coercing them to give false testimony, and manufacturing a phony claim that Jamal had confessed. The judge presiding over this kangaroo trial was Albert Sabo, notorious as a "prosecutor in robes" who sent more people to death row—almost exclusively non-white—than any other judge in recent American history. At the death sentencing hearing, the prosecutor argued that Mumia deserved to die because he was a former Black Panther whose use of the Panther slogan "All power to the people!" over ten years earlier showed that he always planned to kill a cop!

In late August, Jamal's attorneys filed an appeal with the Pennsylvania Supreme Court seeking to reverse a court order barring the Beverly confession and rejecting Jamal's second application to reverse his conviction under Pennsylvania's Post-Conviction Relief Act. Central to the new appeal is the sworn account of court reporter Teri Maurer-Carter who overheard Sabo bragging in the courthouse where Mumia was tried: "I'm going to help them fry the n----r." As Jamal's papers state:

> "Judge Sabo's vile racist comment... meant that, in Judge Sabo's courtroom, Mr. Jamal, like Dred Scott before him, was not a citizen with rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution, but rather an inferior being with 'no rights which the white man was bound to respect'."

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now!

The Machinery of Death and the Ministry of God

The death penalty is a barbaric legacy of medieval torture, a system of legal murder that reinforces the brutalization of society in all respects. Over 150 years ago, Karl Marx explained how corporal and capital punishment express a fundamentally ***religious*** impulse to mete out vengeance:

> "This is the Christian means—plucking out the eye if it offends or cutting off the hand if it offends, in *a* word, killing the body if the body gives offence, for the eye, the hand, the body are really only superfluous sinful appendages of man. Human nature must be killed in order to heal its ailments. Mass-type jurisprudence, too, in agreement here with the Critical, sees in *taming* and paralysing of human strength the antidote to the objectionable manifestations of that strength."
>
> —*The Holy Family* (1845)

These points were brought home in an article published last May by Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia called "God's Justice and Ours." Citing no less a "constitutional authority" than St. Paul, Scalia argues that the death penalty is a sacred Christian institution to be defended against godless atheistic enlightenment:

> "Abolition has taken its firmest hold in post-Christian Europe, and has least support in the church-going United States. I attribute that to the fact that, for the believing Christian, death is no big deal. Intentionally killing an innocent person is a big deal: it is a grave sin, which causes one to lose his soul. But losing this life, in exchange for the next? The Christian attitude is reflected in the words Robert Bolt's play has Thomas More saying to the headsman: 'Friend, he not afraid of your office. You send me to God.' And when Cranmer asks whether he is sure of that, More replies, 'He will not refuse one who is so blithe to go to Him.' For the nonbeliever, on the other hand, to deprive a man of his life is to end his existence. What a horrible act!"

Claiming that America's "institutions presuppose a Supreme Being," Scalia concludes that "our people are more inclined to understand, as St. Paul did, that government carries the sword as 'the minister of God,' to 'execute wrath' upon the evildoer."

As Marxists, we fight for the defense of the separation of church and state! "God and Country" has always been the rallying cry of political reactionaries. As we wrote in July after an appeals court struck the words "under God" from the "Pledge of Allegiance," a decision we welcomed:

> "Since the presidency of Democrat Jimmy Carter it has been the policy of

ILWU...

(continued from page 1)

one shift, the PMA announced it was re-imposing the lockout until the union either agrees to extend the old contract, which expired on July 1, or accepts a new one. Negotiations which began in May have stalled over the PMA's determination to break the union by outsourcing jobs generated through new technology to non-union personnel. This is a direct attack on the union hiring hall which is key to defending working conditions.

The Bush administration has been threatening the ILWU for months with government strikebreaking, from invoking a Taft-Hartley anti-strike injunction to militarizing the docks. While the government has not yet intervened, White House spokesman Ari Fleischer warned that if the lockout "goes on for even a short period of time, it's a problem for the economy. We're monitoring it carefully." This is nothing but a thinly veiled threat against the ILWU. The government has also tried to strong-arm the ILWU to agree to federal mediation, another form of state intervention that would hamstring the union and effectively take away its power to struggle.

If the PMA and government are allowed to break the power of the ILWU, every reactionary attack on the working class—from assaults on blacks and working people at home to U.S. imperialism's increasingly aggressive foreign adventures—will be intensified. At the same time, the PMA's lockout, in attempting to punish the workers for their determination to defend themselves through the union, has graphically demonstrated the organized workers' potential power by bringing the ports to a grinding halt. The *Journal of Commerce* (30 September) reported that there were approximately 100 ships paralyzed in the ports or at anchor by Sunday night alone. Robin Lanier, executive director of the West Coast Waterfront Coalition, which represents importers and exporters, complained: "It's bad. In a word, it sucks" (*Oakland Tribune*, 1 October).

Blood and Profit

The initial lockout came the day after the ILWU Negotiating Committee passed a resolution which "calls on longshore workers to follow all safety procedures including speed limits, to refrain from working extended shifts, working through lunch hours, or doubling back" (ILWU Web site, 26 September Weekly Member Update). "Doubling back"—working two shifts in a 24-hour period—results in exhausted workers who are in grave danger of injury. The ten-mile-per-hour speed limit on the docks is critical with the huge equipment used to move containers in tight spaces.

PMA head Joseph Miniace called the ILWU's request that its members follow the employer-sanctioned Pacific Coast Marine Safety Code a "strike with pay." This only underlines that the billions in profits the shipping bosses make are stained with the blood of workers maimed and killed on the job. As the Partisan Defense Committee said in a 30 September protest letter to the PMA: "Your claim that this constitutes a 'slowdown' merely reflects that the PMA-associated stevedoring and shipping companies normally drive the workers on the docks to work long hours, often in double shifts, operating container haulers and cranes at breakneck speeds in total violation of any concern for safety."

In fact, longshoremen have been moving ***record levels*** of cargo through West Coast ports. According to the *Journal of Commerce* (25 September), "The Port of Los Angeles reported a 30 percent increase in loaded inbound containers in August, while imports through Tacoma increased 26 percent." As ILWU spokesman Steve Stallone stated, "The companies have instituted the biggest speedup that ever happened, and it's dangerous."

The ranks of the union have grown increasingly angry with the speedup and provocations of the employers on the docks. Just one week earlier, the PMA threatened to lock out the ILWU in the ports of Long Beach and L.A. over union action at the notoriously unsafe Stevedoring Services of America terminal in Long Beach, where a worker died on September 3 (ILWU statement, 18 September). As ILWU president Jim Spinosa wrote in a letter to the PMA, "The industry has seen five people die from industrial accidents since the start of these negotiations" (ILWU press release, 20 September). But the bosses are utterly indifferent to how many workers die; they want massive speedup, and the union is in the way.

The Need for a Workers Party

The attacks on the ILWU are integrally linked with the current U.S. imperialist war moves. Navy crane operators are already stationed in San Diego and are ready to move into the ports as other U.S. troops are being prepared to unleash war against the Iraqi masses. Today, in the midst of an economic collapse brought about by the capitalist profit system itself, Wall Street and Washington aim to restore profits by driving down the living standards of the workers while they move to secure their domination around the globe. The so-called "war on terror" is in reality a war on the working class and the oppressed, both at home and abroad. Support to flag-waving patriotism only undermines the union's ability to struggle.

In answer to administration threats, the ILWU tops lobbied Democratic Party government officials to intercede with Bush, but Democratic Senators Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein have both "declined to take a stand" (*Oakland Tribune*, 1 October). The union's 26 September Weekly Member Update claims that a letter from the Bush Department of Labor "denied outright in writing that they have any intention of intervening in the ILWU/PMA labor negotiations." The exigencies of preparing the nation for war, including Washington's determination to keep up the flow of trade with Asia, may have temporarily shielded the union from an aggressive government intervention. But whether run by either capitalist party, Democrat or Republican, the government is not neutral—it administers a state machine of repression dedicated to defending capitalist property and profits.

A strategy of relying on Democratic Party "friends in high places" will cripple the union's fight to defend itself. Don't forget that the last invocation of Taft-Hartley against a striking union was Democrat Jimmy Carter's unsuccessful attempt to use the measure against the miners in 1978. As we wrote in "Capitalism USA: Pink Slips and Pension Theft" (*WV* No. 787, 20 September):

> "The Republicans flaunt their close ties to Wall Street and the Fortune 500 corporations while touting the virtues of unfettered 'free market' capitalism. The Democrats are the 'soft cops' of American capitalism. They appeal to a different constituency, using a different rhetoric. The particular role of the Democratic Party in American bourgeois politics is to convince the working class and the oppressed black and Latino minorities that they, too, can benefit from the capitalist system with the right kind of government policies and regulations."

The ILWU can't both maintain the Democrats as "friends" and mobilize the union and its allies in the workers movement for class war against the capitalists.

Labor solidarity is key to the ILWU's struggle to defend its very existence. But that solidarity has been undercut by a jurisdictional dispute between the ILWU and the International Association of Machinists (IAM) over which union's members get mechanics jobs on the docks. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (14 September), in early September the IAM "threatened to cross ILWU picket lines if a strike were called unless the jurisdictional questions were resolved." The same article reports that the IAM and others "torpedoed a resolution of solidarity with the ILWU" at a California Labor Federation meeting in San Francisco this summer. The 1970s organizing battles of the United Farm Workers (UFW) in California, in which Teamsters joined gun-toting company goons to intimidate pro-UFW farm workers, were among the more well-known examples of how such jurisdictional disputes are fatal to the interests of the labor movement.

The PMA's lockout of the ILWU is also an attack on the livelihoods of the heavily immigrant port truckers, many of whom have their own trucks and are paid by the load. The government's "war on terror" was directed in the first instance at such workers, and they are targeted by the proposed "port security" acts which just passed Congress. So, too, are the members of the ILWU. Longshoremen must reject the attempts by the ILWU bureaucracy to set up the truckers for victimization as security risks and instead fight to unionize the truckers and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

Jurisdictional disputes and anti-immigrant bigotry reflect the outlook of the trade-union bureaucracy, which accepts the framework of capitalism with its craft divisions, pitting one group of workers against another in a struggle over a shrinking pool of jobs. What's needed instead is a labor fight to organize the unorganized and for a sliding scale of hours, reducing the workweek with no cut in pay to provide jobs for all.

A victory for the ILWU would be a victory for all the workers and oppressed. It could well spark the kind of class struggle that needs to be waged against the rulers of this country. The social power of labor that is evident in the current conflict on the docks must also be mobilized to fight for the broad social needs of the working masses—jobs, education, housing—and against the racial oppression of black people that is the bedrock of capitalism in this country. That calls for a leadership in the unions that stands independent of the bosses and their parties. To extend the fight beyond defensive trade-union actions requires the construction of a revolutionary workers party that will lead the working class to become, as Karl Marx called it, the gravediggers of capitalism. ***Victory to the longshore workers!***■

DaSilva/NY Times

September 30: ILWU pickets at Oakland docks after bosses declare lockout.

> U.S. imperialism's rulers to erase the opposition to their wars and domestic repression that arose during the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War struggles of the 1950s and '60s by playing to right-wing religious fundamentalism. From then to now everything that makes life enjoyable or tolerable—from sex and drugs to welfare, day-care centers and a good job—has come under attack, replaced by the twin madnesses of the 'born again' and the 'recovered'....
>
> "From Carter to Clinton, the Democrats, no less than the Republicans, have led the campaign to whitewash the machinations of American imperialism and portray as virtuous its attempts to dominate the world."
>
> —"Hysteria Over Pledge of Allegiance," *WV* No. 784, 12 July

Even if the death penalty were eliminated, this wouldn't fundamentally alter the repressive nature of the bloody capitalist state. The death penalty is already outlawed in most advanced capitalist countries (with the exception of the U.S. and Japan), but immigrants and minorities still face brutal oppression and daily cop terror in these countries. Nor would the outlawing of the death penalty guarantee its permanent abolition. In 1972, the Supreme Court declared the death penalty as practiced unconstitutional, only to authorize state-sanctioned murder four years later.

In fighting to mobilize the social power of the multiracial working class in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, we have always sought to emphasize the Marxist understanding that the capitalist state—the courts, the cops, the prisons—is not neutral, but exists to serve and protect the profits and class rule of the greedy capitalists. The struggle to mobilize labor to free Jamal is crucial to imbuing the working class with the understanding that it must champion the cause of black emancipation if labor itself is to be free. Out of such struggles will come the leading elements of a multiracial revolutionary workers party, armed with a program to eradicate the entire system of capitalist exploitation—and all its barbaric practices—through proletarian socialist revolution.■

New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up: Declarations and affidavits of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Arnold R. Beverly, Rachel Wolkenstein and others prove that death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man.

Published September 2001

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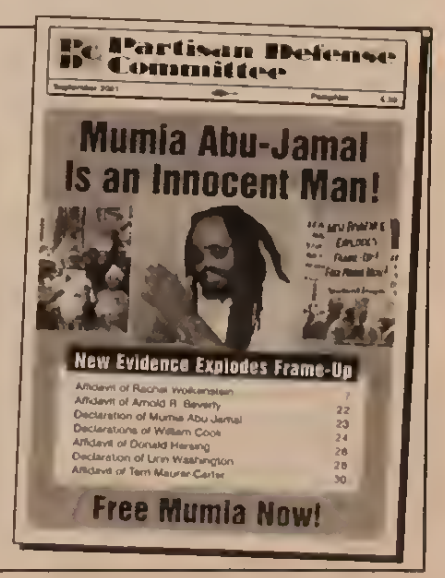
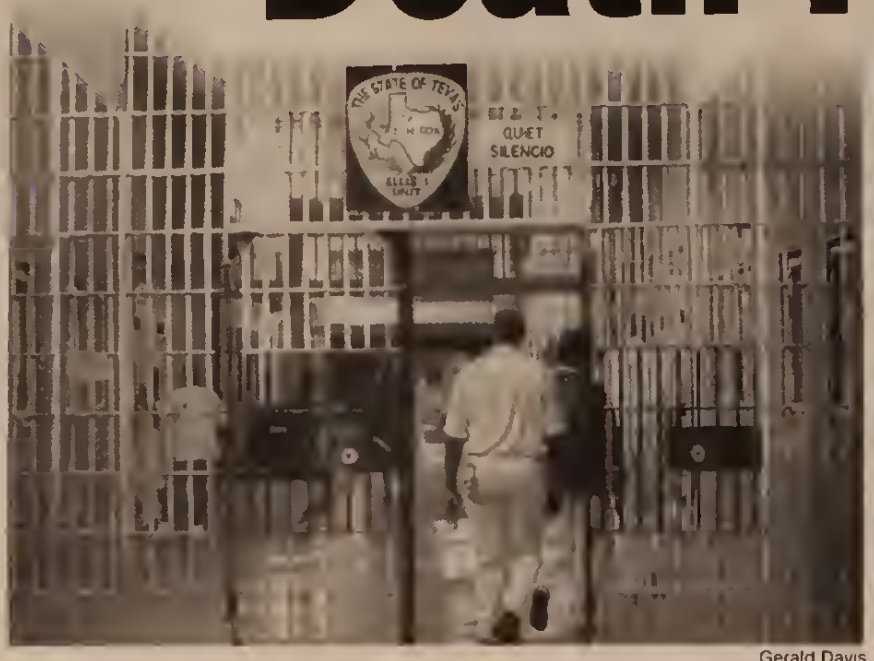


WORKERS VANGUARD

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!



Gerald Davis

WV Photo

Huntsville, Texas death row. San Francisco: Spartacist-Initiated Revolutionary Contingent at May 2001 demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

This past summer, amid mounting public opposition to the death penalty, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down two decisions which mark the first judicial limitation on the capitalist state's killing machine in over a decade. On June 20, the court ruled in *Atkins v. Virginia* that the execution of mentally retarded people is "cruel and unusual punishment," reversing a 13-year-old decision that gave the green light for such state-sanctioned murders. In a second decision four days later, the court ruled that it is unconstitutional to allow a judge, rather than a jury, to make the final decision on whether to impose a sentence of death. Together, these decisions call into question the cases of nearly 500 of the over 4,000 people on death row nationally.

Going much further than the "high court," on July 1 a federal District Court judge in New York, Jed Rakoff, declared the federal death penalty unconstitutional as a whole due to the "undue risk of executing innocent people." Two months later, on September 24, Judge William K. Sessions III, a federal court judge in Vermont, also struck down the death penalty provisions of the 1994 omnibus crime bill. Adopted under the Democratic Clinton administration, this law expanded the number of offenses punishable by death and drastically curtailed the ability of death row inmates to challenge their convictions. Because it provides even fewer protections (such as the right to cross-examination of witnesses during the sentencing hearing) to those facing the death sentence than to defendants in ordinary criminal trials, Judge Sessions held the law to be an unconstitutional deprivation of due process. The government is appealing both rulings.

These decisions are remarkable not only because for 20 years the Supreme Court has led the charge in eviscerating the rights of death row prisoners, but because they come in the context of the massive expansion of the repressive powers of the state in the name of the "war on terror." Exploiting the fear born of last year's attack on the World Trade Center, the government has rammed through legislation and issued executive orders gutting the core provisions of the Constitution's Bill of Rights—the right to a trial, the right to an attorney, protection from unlawful search and seizure, presumption of innocence and rights of assembly and speech. The reigning doctrine for Bush & Co. is that no government action—White House diktats, FBI agents climbing through your window,

continued on page 14

Hundreds Arrested at IMF/World Bank Demonstrations

Drop All Charges Against D.C. Protesters!

Reuters

D.C. police arresting anti-IMF protesters on September 27.

Between September 27 and 29, several thousand demonstrators converged on Washington, D.C. to protest during the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. These demonstrators met with brutal repression at the hands of the D.C. cops, who systematically rounded up hundreds of protesters and bystanders over the weekend in "pre-emptive arrests," i.e., arresting people on the supposition that they *might* violate city laws. On Friday, 649 were arrested, and more arrests occurred on Saturday. Mark Goldstone, a lawyer representing some of the demonstrators, captured the atmosphere in D.C. "Two windows get broken, and everyone in the city loses their rights," he said. "It's very clear these were a lot of pre-emptive arrests" (*Washington Post*, 29 September).

We print below a September 28 protest letter from the Partisan Defense Committee to Mayor Anthony Williams and Chief Charles Ramsey of the Washington, D.C. police.

* * *

We demand the dropping of all charges and the release of all those arrested for protesting against the meetings by the "Group of Seven" ministers, the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in Washington, D.C. beginning on Friday, September 27. Among the at least 650 people caught up in the massive police sweep of the area were bystanders, commuters and reporters. Protesters attempting to exercise their democratic rights to free speech and assembly face charges including failure to obey a lawful order and participating in a riot. Police pepper-sprayed and beat protesters with batons. One woman hit in the face by police required hospitalization. Two *Washington Post* reporters also arrested in the police sweep of Pershing Square have documented the brutal treatment by the police including throwing protesters to the ground without warning and dragging them down sidewalks.

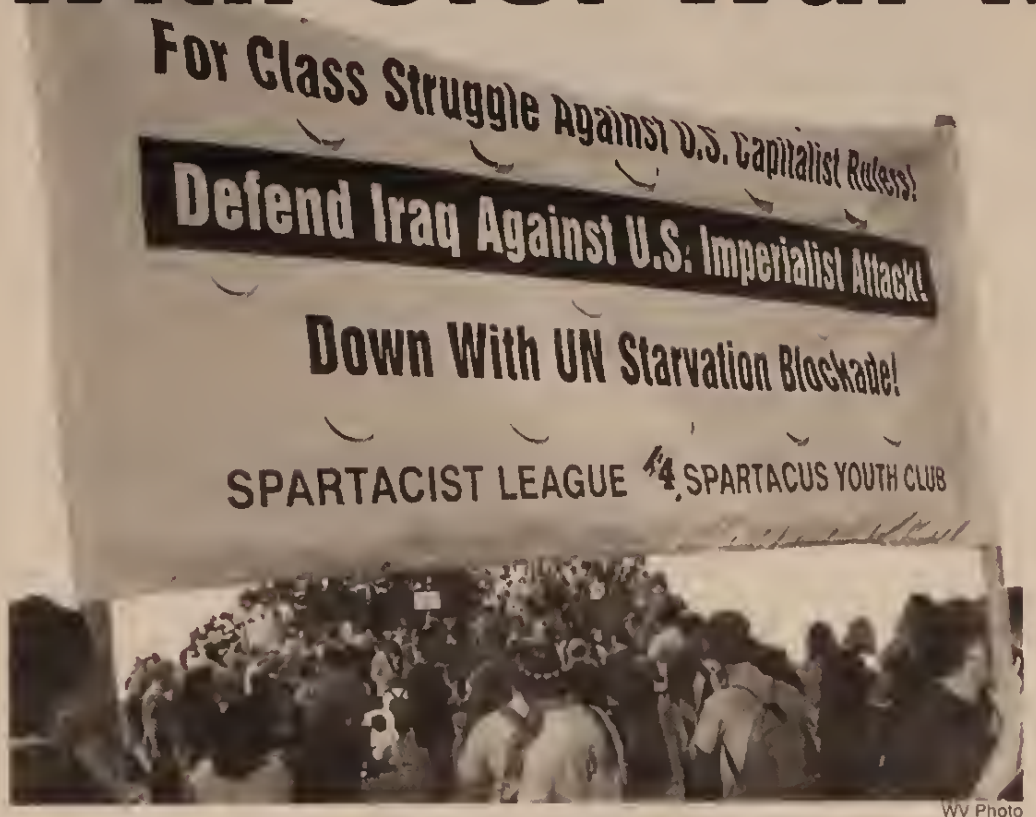
These arrests take place in the context of a massive crackdown on civil liberties in the name of the "war on terror." The U.S. ruling class has cynically wielded the deaths of innocent people in the September 11 World Trade Center attack to back up their lie that more cops and more restrictions on democratic rights are needed to "protect" the population. As the government now prepares for war against Iraq, the virtual state of siege in Washington, D.C. this week only underlines that the massive expansion of state powers under the guise of "anti-terrorism" is clearly a pretext for repression of anyone the government deems to be an opponent.

Free all the arrested anti-IMF protesters! Drop all charges!■

WORKERS VANGUARD 50¢

No. 789 X-423 18 October 2002

Defend Iraq!
Down With U.S. War Moves!



WV Photo

New York City, October 6: Spartacists call for class-struggle fight against imperialist war.

OCTOBER 15—A day after his speech to the nation charting the course for a bloody imperialist war, Bush invoked "the security of our country" in imposing the strikebreaking provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act against the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). And as huge majorities in both the House and Senate gave Bush a blank check for war, the White House revealed plans for a long-term military occupation of Iraq. Bled white by 12 years of starvation sanctions and imperialist terror bombing, the people of Iraq are now threatened with yet more death and destruction and colonial tyranny under the arrogant American overlords.

The events of the last week make it crystal-clear that the multiracial working people of America and the semicolonial masses of Iraq have a common enemy in the unusually war-crazed, labor-hating gang in the White House and the capitalist class it represents. To wage imperialist war abroad, the bourgeoisie demands "class peace" at home. The "war on terror" has meant a racist witchhunt against Arabs and Muslims and a wholesale assault on immigrant rights and the civil liberties of the population as a whole. Its ultimate target, underscored by the attack on the ILWU, is the labor movement, the real "enemy within" in the eyes of the American bourgeoisie.

Following the Congressional vote, Bush declaimed that "America speaks with one voice," sounding like Louis XIV, the 17th- and 18th-century French monarch who said, "*L'état, c'est moi*" (I am the state). Even in Congress, some 150 Democrats and a handful of Republicans opposed the White House. The country at large is deeply divided over this new military adventure. The patriotic "one nation indivisible" hysteria whipped up following the criminal attack on the World Trade Center last year has grown thin under the weight of recession, mass layoffs and grotesque corporate corruption.

In recent weeks, tens of thousands of youth have demonstrated against the war, and even larger numbers are expected to turn out on October 26 in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco, as well as other cities, to demand: "Stop the War on Iraq Before It Starts!" The reformist organizers of these protests, the International ANSWER coalition politically dominated by the Workers World Party (WWP) and the "Not In Our Name" coalition initiated by the Revolutionary Communist Party, seek to channel fear and hatred of imperialist war into illusions that mass protest alone can stay the blood-drenched hand of U.S. imperialism. In the name of the broadest unity against war, these coalitions refuse to take a principled stand in defense of Iraq against the Pentagon war machine.

Those who want to fight imperialist war and the system that breeds it must take up the slogans: *For class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvatian blackade!* March with the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs in the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents on October 26 in Washington and San Francisco.

The military defense of neocolonial Iraq against American imperialism, involving not an iota of political support to the Saddam Hussein regime, is in the interests of working people and the oppressed around the world. Washington's war moves are carried out by the same racist ruling class that has ruthlessly driven down the living standards of working people in the U.S., that fiercely

continued an page 8

Down With Taft-Hartley Slave-Labor Law!
Labor: Defend the ILWU!

Democrats: Enemies of Labor—Fight for a Workers Party!

OAKLAND, October 12—One day after going on nationwide television to whip up support for invading Iraq, President Bush moved against the labor front at home by invoking the anti-union Taft-Hartley Act—one of the government's prime union-busting tools—in the contract battle between the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) and the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). On Octoher 8, after months of government threats to use Taft-Hartley and military personnel against the ILWU, at Bush's instigation federal judge William Alsup ordered the PMA to call off its ten-day lockout of the union from all 29 West Coast ports, setting in motion an 80-day "cooling off period" calculated to impose a legal stranglehold on the union. As ILWU International president James Spinosa said, "Taft-Hartley gives them 80 days of free shots at the union and we expect the employers will be dragging us to court daily, trying to hankrupt the union and throw our leaders in jail" (ILWU press release, 9 October).

The PMA launched its lockout by

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AP

October 2: ILWU picket line at Port Hueneme near Los Angeles stops attempt to move ship out of port during lockout.

Chicago Transit Workers Rally to Defend Arlene Russell

CHICAGO, October 15—Transit workers are mobilizing to defend Arlene Russell, a black bus driver and member of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241. On July 17, Russell was hit with bogus charges of "battery" against a police officer after she was arrested while driving her bus route. Today as well as at Russell's first court date on October 2, ATU officials and members of locals 241 and 308 rose with her when her case was called, in a show of solidarity drawn from the traditions of the civil rights movement. Russell's trial date has been set for December 9 at 9:00 a.m., and transit workers are vowing to fill the courtroom with even larger numbers. ***Defend Arlene Russell! All out for the December 9 trial date, 1340 S. Michigan!***

WV Photo

Arlene Russell (center) with members of Amalgamated Transit Union locals 241 and 308, outside October 2 court hearing.

Russell, driving the number 12 bus, was arrested after she passed an elderly man who was waving from the other side of the street. Police in a patrol car immediately picked him up and pulled in front of Russell's bus, cutting her off. After two cops jumped out, one began hanging on the bus's door shouting racial epithets, calling Russell a "stupid black bitch." When Russell used her cell phone to protest this racist abuse to the city's Office of Professional Standards, the cop hurling racist remarks tried to grab the phone out of her hand and then violently grabbed her arm. She was then arrested on fabricated charges, a ploy commonly used by the cops to cover up their brutal racist actions.

Locals 241 and 308 have both gone on record in defense of Russell, posting calls in bus barns and train yards for union members to mobilize. In a protest letter on Russell's behalf sent to the Cook County State's Attorney, Local 308 president Jerry Williams wrote, "ATU Local 308 and its membership of over 4,000 will not sit by while fellow transit workers or any minority workers continue to be victimized by some racist police officers who violently abuse them."

The case has sparked outrage among many transit workers, particularly women drivers who face this kind of racist, anti-woman abuse on a regular basis. "The police have been a constant problem with the bus operators," a driver from the 77th Street bus barn told *WV* at Russell's October 2 court appearance. And it's not only bus drivers that are targets of the police: Democratic mayor Richard Daley's cops constantly terrorize the black and Latino masses. It is the job of the cops, as agents of the racist capitalist state, to "serve and protect" the interests of the ruling class through repressing labor struggle and terrorizing the ghettos and barrios.

There must be no illusions in the "justice" of the capitalist courts, whose role is to put the stamp of legal approval on the cops' racist terror. The power of the ATU and the rest of Chicago's multiracial labor movement should be brought to bear to demand that the charges against Arlene Russell be dropped now! Many ATU members remember the 1987 union defense of black bus driver Cassandra Seay, who was brutally beaten by the racist cops and then framed up on phony assault charges. It was the fact that the union stood behind Seay, with dozens of transit workers filling the courtroom, that won her acquittal.

Vividly illustrating how the repressive measures adopted in the post-September 11 "anti-terrorism" drive are wielded against workers and minorities, Russell was held for eight hours after her arrest while the cops ran her fingerprints through an international "terrorist" database. "It's like they're flexing their muscles, practicing for something bigger later on," one driver said. But the ATU International supported the passage of the USA-Patriot Act, a keystone in the government's onslaught against immigrant rights, civil liberties and the rights of labor. What is needed is to mobilize the labor movement in defense of immigrants, black people and all working people—at home and abroad—against the all-sided attacks of the racist capitalist rulers. *All out to defend Arlene Russell!*

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a letter to the Cook County State's Attorney protesting this racist outrage. We urge all labor, minority rights, student and community organizations to send similar protest statements to: Richard A. Devine, Cook County State's Attorney, 500 Richard J. Daley Center, Chicago, IL 60602. Fax: (312) 603-3000. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Communist Opposition to Imperialist War

In our military defense of semicolonial Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack, the Spartacist League raises the call for class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home. Writing in the midst of the inter-imperialist slaughter of World War I, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained that the yearning for peace among the working masses must be directed toward a struggle for workers revolution to sweep away the capitalist order, which is based on exploitation, plunder and imperialist war.

The yearning for peace is one of the most important *symptoms* revealing the beginnings of *disappointment* in the bourgeois lie about a war of "liberation," the "defence of the fatherland," and similar falsehoods that the class of capitalists beguiles the mob with. This symptom should attract the closest attention from socialists. All efforts must be bent towards ***utilising*** the masses' desire for peace. But ***how*** is it to be utilised? To recognise the peace ***slogan*** and repeat it would mean encouraging "pompous airs of impotent [and frequently what is worse: ***hypocritical***] phrase-mongers"; it would mean ***deceiving*** the people with illusion that the existing governments, the present-day master classes, are ***capable***—without being "taught" a lesson (or rather without being eliminated) by a series of revolutions—of granting a peace in any way satisfactory to democracy and the working class. Nothing is more harmful than such deception. Nothing throws more dust in the eyes of the workers, nothing imbues them with a more deceptive idea about the ***absence of deep*** contradictions between capitalism and socialism, nothing ***embellishes*** capitalist slavery more than this deception does. No, we must make use of the desire for peace so as to explain to the masses that the benefits they expect from peace cannot be obtained without a series of revolutions.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Question of Peace" (July-August 1915)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

T.I.P.S.— Return of "Snitch Patrol"

With the news that the Ashcroft Justice Department has initiated a new, civilian espionage system, truckers, cabbies, mailmen and plumbers have become unofficial agents in the latest war without end—the war against terrorism. They have been recruited to spy on their fellow citizens, customers and clients, and to promptly report "suspicious" happenings to T.I.P.S. hotlines, and contacts in the U.S. Justice Department.

Under T.I.P.S. (Terrorism Information and Prevention System) every U.S. street corner, and potentially, every American home and hearth, is to be placed under the ever-open eye of public surveillance. And as the "War" against terrorism is to last for generations, will not this surveillance last for generations also?

If such an announcement were made in, say, Cuba, would not the U.S. media be in full-bray-mode about the "police state," where "neighbors spy on neighbors"?

And yet, history, that mistress of long memory, teaches us that there are few new things under the sun.

In the summer of 1917 over a million Americans entered World War I against Germany. As ever, in times of war, (and WWI was not popular in America) the government sought to stifle dissent, and enlist its citizens in a massive "private" spy campaign against other, "disloyal" citizens. In fact, to the Woodrow Wilson administration, "disloyalty" meant anyone who was critical of the War. The U.S. Justice Dept. sponsored what it called the American Protective League, which by June claimed almost 100,000 "patriotic" members.

The U.S. government urged APL members to spy on their neighbors and fellow workers. They rifled through the mails, infiltrated private meetings, and spied on public ones. Criticism of the "European War" was considered a crime. The APL claimed to have found some three million instances of "disloyalty" to the Wilson government, which seemed to please Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer to no end. "It is safe to say that never in its history has this country been so thoroughly policed," he boasted.

The great socialist union organizer, Eugene V. Debs, would be sent to prison for speaking against the War, saying, "Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and plunder.... And that is war in a nutshell. The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles." For these words, 62-year-old Debs was thrown in prison, sentenced to 10 years.

Hundreds of others followed, with the blessing of a unanimous U.S. Supreme Court.

In 80 years, the nation has gone from the A.P.L. to T.I.P.S. Is the nation doomed to repeat the hellish errors of the past?

From snitch-program to snitch-program, how much has changed?

Do you trust your neighbor?

Perhaps more importantly, do you trust your government?

31 July 2002

©2002 Mumia Abu-Jamal

Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal," to: Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Train Driver Killed at JFK

The Bosses Are Responsible

DeBourgh Family

Kelvin C. DeBourgh Jr.

Kelvin C. DeBourgh Jr., a member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 589, was crushed to death on September 27 when the New York City JFK Airport AirTrain he was operating in a test run derailed, sending 2,000-pound concrete ballast blocks in his car crashing forward against him.

Had the company had even the slightest concern for his safety, DeBourgh would be alive today. Instead, they put him in the driver's seat of a deathtrap. The Bombardier company not only failed to secure these one-ton concrete slabs, which were put on the train to simulate the weight of passengers, but placed them on plywood. As DeBourgh's sister June told *Workers Vanguard*, "Even in high school you are taught that such a weight will move due to inertia if the train changes speed, especially when it is placed on plywood, which will let it slide!" For the bosses the only safety rule that matters is the one that protects the bottom line—profits. In the "cost-benefit" analysis of the capitalists, safety measures are too costly compared to the insurance costs of worker injuries and deaths. As June put it, "Are workers' lives really worth that little?"

With a projected opening date of December, Bombardier had been pushing to complete the cars for the $1.9 billion AirTrain, an automated, driverless, light-rail system linking JFK airport terminals with a hub of subways, buses and rail lines at Jamaica Center in Queens and with the subway terminal at Howard Beach. According to *Newsday* (6 October), DeBourgh's co-workers pointed to at least four other incidents since testing on the AirTrain began more than a year ago. DeBourgh was so concerned about a July accident in which two trains grazed each other, injuring a woman friend of his, that hours before his death, he told a friend he was planning on quitting his job. But Port Authority spokesman Pasquale DiFulco adamantly insists, "Was this rushed along? Absolutely not. Absolutely not. No corners were cut. We've been very, very conscientious about doing this the way it's supposed to be done." Tell that to DeBourgh's daughter, Avion, having her first birthday 16 days after her father's death, and to the rest of his grieving family.

Bombardier is notorious for its shoddy equipment. A software problem caused two of the company's driverless San Francisco Airport trams to crash into each other during a test of a similar system in August. This past summer Amtrak took out of service Bombardier's high-speed Acela trains because of cracks in the suspension system. In New York City, Bombardier's computerized "new tech" subway cars have pulled apart *because of missing parts*. At the East 180th Street New York City Transit maintenance facility, one member of Transport Workers Union Local 100 told *WV*, "It takes forever to get new trains running, because we spend so much time repairing and retrofitting defective Bombardier trains, many less than a year old, that have been pulled from service."

Kelvin DeBourgh Sr., a native of Trinidad and 32-year veteran member of the pipefitters union Local 638, told *WV* of his pride in his son's abilities: "Chris was a person who concentrated on what he was doing with great care and responsibility. He is the type of person who will be doing the job according to what the supervisor advised him. I'm very concerned that the company will try to protect themselves and go on with the job and the business" by blaming Chris.

Following DeBourgh's death, there is suddenly a flurry of investigations and re-examinations of testing procedures. The National Transportation Safety Board, the Port Authority, Bombardier and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration are jointly looking into the incident. Even the Queens District Attorney is getting into the act. And an *act* is what this is. Not one of them gave a damn about Bombardier's previous non-fatal injuries—or the hundreds of industrial accidents that take place in this city every day. Just the previous month, on August 9, Christopher Bonaparte, a subway track worker, was killed by a train barreling down a track that was supposed to be out of service because the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and its subsidiary New York City Transit scrimped on the cost of a walkie-talkie that could have notified him that trains were diverted to the track he stepped onto (see "Christopher Bonaparte Killed on Tracks," *WV* No. 786, 6 September). Over the past 20 years, nearly one transit worker per year has been killed in the New York City transit system.

Kelvin DeBourgh's uncle, Hugh Sanchez, a former officer of the United Steelworkers of America Local 8526 at the Hess Oil Refinery in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, hit the nail on the head when he said, "This is gross negligence on the part of the company!" He added, "The union should have made the employees more aware of safety. They should do their own investigation whenever there is an accident. You can't rely on the company. The union has to do its own investigation."

The fight for safe working conditions is not merely for the protection of workers but is of vital importance to the general public as well. Had the AirTrain derailment occurred over the Van Wyck Expressway section, the ten-ton concrete chunks of the railway's sidewall would have rained down on midday traffic rather than a vacant airport yard. To safeguard workers and the public from these time-delayed moving deathtraps requires union action. As we wrote following Chris Bonaparte's death: "The only way workers have ever won anything, including safety in the workplace, is by wielding their power in defiance of the bosses' laws." Workers must fight for elected union safety committees with the power to immediately shut down any unsafe working conditions on the spot. It will take a class-struggle leadership, committed to fighting capitalism, to mobilize workers in defense of their lives and their futures.■

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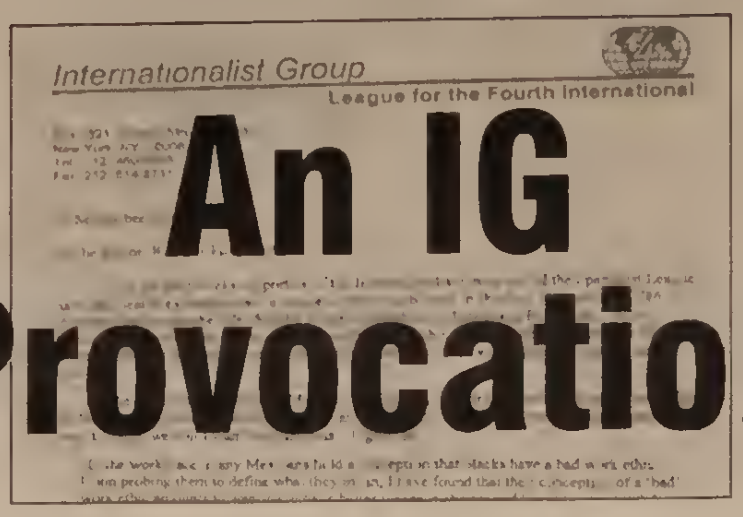
Cynics and Demagogues

An IG Provocation


Internationalist Group
League for the Fourth International

29 September 2002

To the Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Over the past weeks supporters of the Internationalist Group and of the Spartacist League have had heated exchanges over a shameful article published in *Workers Vanguard* No. 786 (6 September) under the title "South Chicago: Snapshots of Latino and Black Life." While bemoaning the very real divisions in the working class, this article echoes and promotes the ideology that the bourgeoisie uses to set different sectors of the working people against each other.

The article states that many Mexican immigrants, "rather than seeking to organize to fight for the same entitlements" as black Americans and Puerto Ricans, say "well, we immigrants want to work, we don't want any handouts." It goes on:

> "In the workplace, many Mexicans hold a perception that blacks have a bad work ethic. Upon probing them to define what they mean, I have found that their conception of a 'bad' work ethic amounts to wanting to have better wages, a shorter and less intensive workday, and better and safer conditions at the workplace!"

What is this garbage about how "many Mexicans" supposedly don't want better wages and conditions? This is no isolated phrase, but a central theme of the *WV* article. It proceeds to lecture: "Mexican workers could stand a whole lot to gain by adopting the very 'work ethic' that many now despise!" As if it's a question of a "work ethic" rather than the brutal realities of capitalist exploitation! The article then presents an anecdote about a supervisor who reportedly stated "that she prefers to hire Latinos because blacks 'don't like to work'" while her Mexican employee, "beaming with pride, just ate up every word she said." Over and over, *WV* keeps repeating the same claims, this time coming straight from a boss's mouth. What it is doing is retailing the very lies and stereotypes that the bosses use to divide the exploited and oppressed.

With all its talk about the so-called "'work ethic' question," *WV* willfully obscures the fact that it is the ***capitalists*** who force undocumented immigrants into low-paying, dangerous and dirty jobs. Just look at this:

> "In the precarious circumstances they live in, undocumented Latino immigrants tend to take comfort in the illusion that, if they just prove to the bourgeois rulers that they are essential to American capitalist society—by doing grueling work for pitiful wages in dangerous conditions and paying taxes faithfully while asking nothing in return in the way of benefits—then the capitalist rulers will somehow be convinced to grant them full citizenship rights."

So according to *WV*, Latino immigrants do "grueling work" and ask "nothing in return" in order to win favor from the bosses.

What a grotesque lie! The chauvinist image you present unmistakably reflects the outlook of the labor aristocrats, who accuse immigrants of undermining the pay and conditions of U.S.-born workers.

Moreover, from the ongoing union organizing campaign of New York City greengrocer workers to the militant janitors' unionization campaign—which tied up the streets of Los Angeles as immigrant unionists resisted wave after wave of brutal police attacks—the class struggle gives the lie to the picture you present. (In case the L.A. janitors' battles have slipped your mind, they are portrayed in Ken Loach's recent film *Bread and Roses*.)

As an immigrant worker pointed out at a recent Internationalist Group forum in New York, it is vital to win this new and often militant layer of the proletariat to the understanding that the fight for black liberation through socialist revolution is central to every aspect of the class struggle in the U.S., a country built on slavery. This latest *WV* article cuts directly against this crucial task.

When confronted with the revolting *WV* article, some SLers try to brazen things out by pretending it doesn't say what it says, while others claim nothing you say could possibly be chauvinist because the Spartacist League has protested anti-immigrant laws. Many resort to what is now your main form of "argument": change the subject, quick.

It is incredible that a newspaper claiming to put forward the outlook and program of communism could print such a piece. The fact that you do speaks volumes about how far *Workers Vanguard* has come since the decades when it upheld the politics of Lenin and Trotsky. From vehemently refusing to call for the defeat of the U.S. and NATO imperialists in their war on Afghanistan (while smearing the IG as pandering to "anti-Americanism" for upholding this Leninist position) to renouncing the demand for unconditional independence for Puerto Rico and all colonies, the common thread is an adaptation to social-chauvinism. In a particularly crass and blatant way, this latest *WV* article shows that the SL is capitulating to the pressures of "its own" ruling class.

Abram Negrete
for the
Internationalist Group

WV Replies

The intent of demagogy is to conceal and deceive. In playing the race card, the most shameful of demagogy, the Internationalist Group's (IG) provocative, cynical and lying letter clearly demonstrates the IG's headlong dive into "people of color" nationalism, giving an alibi to anti-black prejudices among Latino workers.

Evident to anyone who cares to read the article for any reasons other than to defame the SL, the *WV* "South Chicago" article has a threefold thrust: 1) Anti-black racism among layers of workers in the U.S. is real, it exists, it's a fact; moreover, it is the primary weapon of the bourgeoisie to divide the working class. 2) Latino immigrant workers are ***not*** somehow miraculously immune to racist attitudes prevalent in America, simply by virtue of being Latinos. 3) Anti-black racism among immigrant Latinos is a contradiction that goes completely against their own historical interests as oppressed and exploited workers, in the same way that anti-immigrant chauvinism runs completely counter to the historical interests of black people.

The theme of the disputed article is captured in the following excerpt:

> "The central issue here is ***the vital interest*** of black and immigrant workers to unite in common struggle. It is necessary to combat the false consciousness that the black and Latino petty-bourgeois misleadership peddle: that the other worker is the enemy; that blacks will never fight for immigrant rights; that immigrants are nothing but scabs who want to steal black workers' jobs. Combatting such false consciousness is the task of a revolutionary workers party."

Does this sound like "an adaptation to social-chauvinism," as the raging demagogue Negrete charges? Does the SL's struggle to combat racist and anti-immigrant false consciousness constitute "capitulating to the pressures of 'its own' ruling class'"? Since when has it been the "ideology that the bourgeoisie uses" to affirm that the vital interest of black and immigrant workers is to unite in common struggle?

Negrete's ravings are part and parcel of his and IG leader Jan Norden's accommodation to Latino nationalism. As we wrote following their defection from the International Communist League: "In the place of the Leninist party needed to bring revolutionary consciousness to the proletariat, Norden increasingly came to objectify certain political formations and layers—particularly in the former DDR and Latin America—as somehow inherently susceptible to revolutionary politics" ("A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism," *WV* No. 648, 5 July 1996).

For the IG, the mask has increasingly become the face. While they thunder against our polemics against backward consciousness among Latino workers, they have no objections to the article's observation and efforts to combat backward, anti-immigrant attitudes among the black population. Combatting false consciousness among black longshoremen, immigrant port truckers and Latino day laborers was central to our efforts to build the Oakland February 9 mobilization in defense of immigrant rights against the "war on terror" witchhunt. In spite of its tossed-off statements about the centrality of the struggle for black freedom, the IG diminishes the fight to advance the consciousness of black workers, mirroring in its own way attitudes toward blacks among the Latino milieu where the IG plies its trade.

The IG calls the article in *WV* "revolting" for daring to express the ugly truths about racism in America. But it is the ***reality*** that is revolting. The American bourgeoisie has long fomented ethnic and racial hostilities to keep the working class divided and weak. As was noted in the 1890s in a letter from Friedrich Engels to a colleague in the U.S.: "Your bourgeoisie knows much better even than the Austrian Government how to play off one nationality against the other: Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans and Irish, and each one against the other, so that differences in the living standard of the workers exist, I believe, in New York to an extent unheard-of elsewhere."

With the mass migration of blacks from the South to the Northern cities, particularly beginning in the early 20th century, the earlier nativist hostilities against immigrant workers were supplanted by anti-black racism. The color bar became a fundamental dividing line in American capitalist society, a key prop for obscuring the irreconcilable class divide between labor and capital. Every move to the right in the U.S. is always accompanied by the launching of racist assaults, overwhelmingly directed against the black population. The racial oppression of black people, which has its origins in black chattel slavery, is the bedrock of American capitalism.

Branded by the color of their skin, much of the black population has remained at the bottom of society—though strategically integrated into the political economy—while more light-skinned immigrants have historically been able to advance up the economic ladder. As we noted in "Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Blacks, Immigrants" (*WV* No. 653, 11 October 1996):

> "The bosses will do anything to divide foreign-born workers from their class brothers and sisters here. In the 19th century, railroad baron Jay Gould once boasted: 'I can hire one half of the working class to kill the other half.' In racist America, many immigrants learn to adapt to the anti-black racism spread by the white ruling class, to the racist filth that the black masses remain at the bottom of this capitalist society because of their alleged lack of adherence to the 'work ethic,' or because they lack 'positive attitudes' or 'proper genes'."

You cannot change this hideous reality if you deny its existence. But this is all immaterial to the demagogic IG, which prefers to denounce ***not*** the conditions of this society, but rather the Marxist revolutionaries who tell the blunt truth about these realities.

The IG declaims that our "South Chicago" article "speaks volumes about how

Workers Vanguard Polemics	IG Replies
Whatever Happened to "Stalin as Commander in Chief"? **IG Disappears Red Army Fight Against Islamic Reaction in Afghanistan** *WV* No. 772, 11 January 2002	None
IG: Simple-Minded Lies and Simple-Minded Liars *WV* No. 785, 9 August 2002	None
IG on Venezuela **Opportunism Makes Strange Bedfellows** *WV* No. 787, 20 September 2002	None

WV Photos

For class-struggle fight to defend black, immigrant rights! Anti-Klan demonstration in New York City, 23 October 1999 (left). Labor-centered demonstration, Oakland, February 9 to defend immigrant rights, oppose "anti-terror" witchhunt.

far *Workers Vanguard* has come since the decades when it upheld the politics of Lenin and Trotsky." The fact is, however, that our fight for black liberation and our open struggle against false consciousness among the working class have *always* been central to our work in forging a multiracial revolutionary vanguard party.

In 1987, when current IG leader Jan Norden was the editor of *WV*, we published an article that cited our 1983 national conference document, "Struggle Against Reagan Reaction." This document clearly stated:

> "The Hispanic populations in America are widely diverse, encompassing both educated petty-bourgeois layers with the possibility for 'making it' in America and masses of desperate ex-peasants who in many areas of the country live worse than the black masses and see the unions as vehicles for black/white job-trusting and accomplices to the racist deportations.
>
> "Contrary to prevailing opinion in Latin nationalist milieus, Hispanics are on the whole not below blacks on a scale of social oppression but above, and can get out while blacks are locked in as a race-color caste at the bottom of American society. Structurally this is a black-white country, making the black question strategic to the American revolution."

The article itself went on to note:

> "While many Hispanics are as poor or poorer than blacks, this by no means determines that 'black and Latino unity' is the preordained outcome, as Third World nationalists...imagine. Far from it. Lately, racist bourgeois politicians have tried to appeal to Hispanics as a swing group *against* blacks, as in the hotly contested Chicago elections....
>
> "Within the logic of capitalism, the smaller the pie, the more brutal the struggle for a piece of it. And as decaying capitalism's pie shrinks rapidly, the struggle for survival is fiercest among those for whom society makes it hardest to survive."
>
> —"Labor: Smash Racist Immigration Law!" *WV* No. 427, 1 May 1987

The fact that we speak openly about the need to combat retrograde consciousness among workers and the oppressed has always infuriated our reformist and centrist opponents who accommodate to these backward attitudes. These outfits denigrate the need to build a Leninist vanguard party, instead putting forward the notion that the oppressed are inherently revolutionary. It is not the Spartacist League but renegades Norden and Negrete who are now walking on the other side of the political street together with the centrists and reformists.

Negrete's demagogic diatribe is as dimwitted as it is false. He claims that "according to *WV*, Latino immigrants do 'grueling work' and ask 'nothing in return' in order to win favor from the bosses." This is an absurd fabrication. The article is referring to *an illusion peddled by the Latino petty-bourgeois misleoders*. The passage in question states:

> "The 'work ethic' question is closely tied in to the 'Amnesty Campaign,' which is a nationwide campaign to legalize undocumented immigrants through public marches and lobbying politicians. In the precarious circumstances they live in, undocumented Latino immigrants tend to take comfort in the illusion that, if they just prove to the bourgeois rulers that they are essential to American capitalist society—by doing grueling work for pitiful wages in dangerous conditions and paying taxes faithfully while asking nothing in return in the way of benefits—then the capitalist rulers will somehow be convinced to grant them full citizenship rights."

The IG would much rather direct its fire at the Spartacist League than the Latino reformists and liberal Democrats who mislead and deceive the workers.

The struggles of Latino and other immigrant workers, many of whom come from countries with stronger traditions of labor militancy, have been vital for the labor movement in the U.S. But workers struggles and present labor disputes notwithstanding, the reality is that the overwhelming majority of immigrant workers, particularly undocumented workers, *do* perform grueling work and ask for little in return. But why do they do this? It is certainly not to "win favor from the bosses." It is because they have no choice. All it takes to stop an undocumented worker from fighting for better working conditions or "acting up" in any other manner is a quick 1-800 call to the INS. And unlike the IG who seek to bury this material reality, undocumented workers are all too painfully aware of this.

As is plain to anyone who can read, Negrete's letter is a deliberate smear job and a provocation. But in what interest? As we explained in a polemic on the recent French elections titled "IG: Simple-Minded Lies and Simple-Minded Liars" (*WV* No. 785, 9 August): "Lies and slanders are but the opening step to encouraging and justifying violence against political opponents in the workers movement. It was impossible for Stalin to defend his anti-revolutionary doctrine of 'socialism in one country' from any Marxist vantage point. When lying was no longer sufficient to silence political opposition, Stalin brought down the fist of violence." With its tiny handful of followers, the IG could hardly emulate Stalin. But what else could be the IG's purpose in screaming that we are "anti-Latino chauvinists" at immigrant rights demonstrations, if not to incite violence against us? In fact, unable to politically answer criticisms raised by our comrades, the repulsive strutting demagogue and provocateur Negrete has taken to demonstrably pulling off his glasses, as if looking for a fight.

The IG's slanders demonstrate its own political bankruptcy, witnessed in its inability to answer several of our recent polemics. (See: "IG Disappears Red Army Fight Against Islamic Reaction in Afghanistan," *WV* No. 772, 11 January; "IG: Simple-Minded Lies and Simple-Minded Liars," *WV* No. 785, 9 August; "IG on Venezuela: Opportunism Makes Strange Bedfellows," *WV* No. 787, 20 September.) Instead, the IG reverts to demagoguery and outright falsifications. These, too, were the cynical methods of the Stalinists who, stung by Trotsky's polemics, used to rant about Trotsky being an "agent of imperialism," knowing damn well this was a lie. The purpose of this was the cultivation of a whole layer of cynical members immune to the politics of revolutionary Marxism. In replicating this methodology, IG leaders Norden and Negrete likewise seek to seal off their recruits and periphery from the revolutionary Marxist politics of the SL.

The IG's capitulation to Third World nationalist consciousness reveals a lot about the party they seek to build. Their condemnation of us for combatting the anti-black sentiments of many Latino workers echoes the anti-Leninist bleatings of petty-bourgeois nationalists around the world (and the fake leftists who tail them) that you can't criticize the oppressed. This is the language of anti-working-class liberals, of class traitors who preach and practice class collaboration, tying the workers to their class enemy.

It is ABC Marxism that the prevailing ideology in any society is that of the ruling class. The IG's ludicrous belief that Latino workers are somehow immune to the influence and pressure of bourgeois society turns Marxism on its head. It puts the IG on a collision course with the fundamentals of Leninism—that socialist consciousness must be brought to the working class from the outside through the instrumentality of the revolutionary party.

As Marxists committed to huilding such a vanguard party, the Spartacist League seeks to win over to a revolutionary program workers and youth who seek to engage in real revolutionary work among the workers. To these ends, we seek to recruit those who recognize and fight against the prejudices of petty-bourgeois nationalism and of American racist society. As we wrote in "South Chicago: Snapshots of Latino and Black Life" (*WV* No. 786, 6 September):

> "Racial tensions between black people and Hispanics is a nationwide issue, and this must be understood and fought against as we seek to forge a multiracial vanguard party. The fight against black oppression, which is a cornerstone of American capitalism, must be posed pointblank with any and all potential Latino contacts as part of the fight to raise the consciousness of the Latino working class to understand that black liberation is integrally linked to their own liberation." ■

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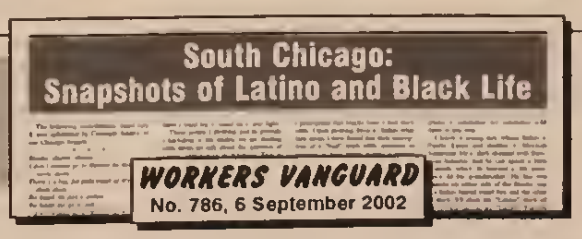

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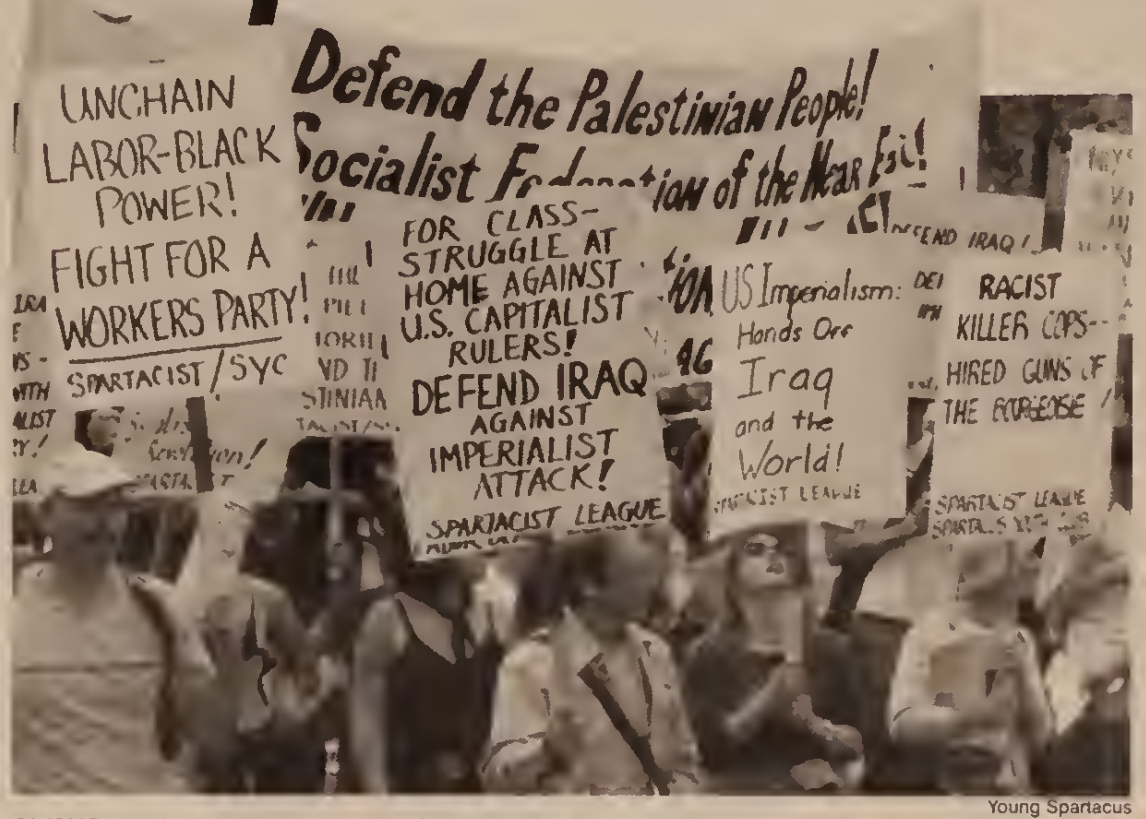


Young Spartacus

SL/SYC contingent at pro-Palestinian, antiwar demo in San Francisco, September 28.

Build the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent on October 26!

The bloody U.S. imperialist behemoth is preparing a new massacre of the Iraqi people. The crazed U.S. nuclear cowboys are seeking to assert their "right" to ride roughshod over all the peoples of the world. Our opposition to this war is based on our struggle in defense of working people and oppressed internationally against an imperialist order in which a handful of rich and powerful states dominate the world and exploit the working masses. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs are calling for a revolutionary internationalist contingent to march in the October 26 demonstrations to "Stop the War on Iraq Before It Starts" in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco based on the demands: *For class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blackade!*

We stand for the military defense of neocolonial Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack, while giving no political support whatsoever to the bloody Saddam Hussein regime. Every unchallenged act of aggrandizement by the U.S., every new easy win further emboldens America's capitalist rulers to lash out against their perceived enemies at home and abroad; any defeat of the imperialist ambitions of the U.S. would be in the interest of workers and the oppressed throughout the world.

The demonstration is being called by the International ANSWER coalition, led by the reformist Workers World Party (WWP). They are mobilizing on the basis of opposition to a war on Iraq, but as the call for the demonstration makes clear, their activities are consciously aimed at enlisting a wing of the capitalist rulers—primarily Democratic Party politicians—to struggle for a more "humane" imperialist capitalism. Thus they write: "The so-called debate that is opening now to public view from within the political establishment presents a necessity for all anti-war forces to become a major factor in generating an authentic opposition to U.S. war plans in the Middle East. The October 26 National March in Washington DC and joint action in San Francisco come just one week before midterm Congressional elections." The Democrats' "opposition" to war is based on their assessment of what course will best serve the interests of U.S. imperialism. The WWP's political accommodation to the capitalist order, including through electoral pressure politics, is a dangerous dead end. It is futile to oppose war against Iraq but not oppose the economic system which generates war and the ideology that legitimizes it. Moreover, pushing illusions in the reformability of the bloody American imperialist state can only result in the *demabilizatian* of the only force in capitalist society that can challenge the rule of the capitalist class: the working class.

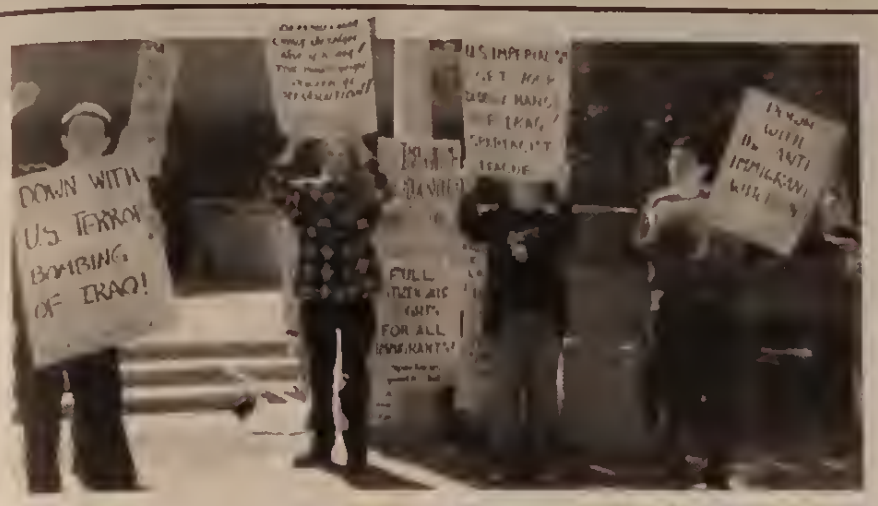
For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers! Every strike, every labor mobilization against the government's war plans and its attacks on workers and minorities, every mass protest in defiance of the assaults on civil liberties is a blow against Bush's war drive. Those opposed to this war must look to the working class, which is the only power in society that has the ability and interest to stop it. Without the working class, society cannot function, a fact amply demonstrated during the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) lockout, which brought trade on the U.S. West Coast to a halt. We look to the example of the Japanese dock workers in Sasebo, who last year refused to handle Japanese military goods destined for use in the war against Afghanistan. We fight to build a revolutionary party that can infuse the working class with an understanding of its historic task to sweep away the capitalist order and reorganize society on an egalitarian socialist basis.

In a climate where the Bush administration is trying to outlaw any kind of dissent, it is very good that thousands have come out already to protest war moves against Iraq. But successful opposition to war must be based on a perspective of mobilizing the social power of the working class against its "own" exploiters and in defense of all victims of U.S. imperialism. War is the concentrated expression of the brutal everyday workings of this imperialist system, which is driven by competition for sources of profits and spheres of influence between rival advanced capitalist countries. As explained by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution which brought the working class to power and pulled Russia out of World War I as the opening shot of the international proletarian struggle against all the imperialist warmongers and the rule of capital worldwide:

> "To condemn war is easy; to overcome it is difficult. The struggle against war is a struggle against the classes which rule society and which hold in their hands both its productive forces and its destructive weapons. It is not possible to prevent war by moral indignation, by meetings, by resolutions, by newspaper articles, and by congresses. As long as the bourgeoisie has at its command the banks, the factories, the land, the press, and the state apparatus, it will always be able to drive the people to war when its interests demand it."
>
> — "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam" (July 1932)

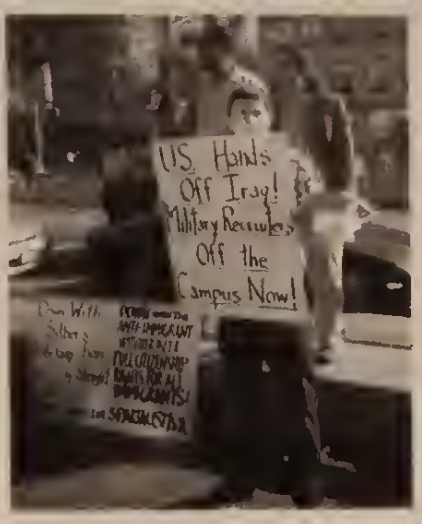
The Bush administration has used the criminal killing of thousands of innocent civilians in the attack on the World Trade Center to declare an open-ended "war on terror" against all perceived enemies, foreign and domestic. The bipartisan cry of "national unity" was used to rally the population behind the murderous military adventure in Afghanistan. In the U.S., the "war on terror," which is enthusiastically supported by Democrats and Republicans alike and is directed overwhelmingly against Muslims and Arabs, is ultimately aimed at organized labor. This is most starkly demonstrated by the government's union-busting injunction against the ILWU, whose members were locked out of their jobs by the bosses for following safety guidelines and defending their livelihoods during the current contract negotiations, in which the very defense of the union is at stake. The all-sided attacks on the population are palpable refutations of the call raised by ANSWER and others for "money for jobs, not for war," which poses the question as if the capitalists just need a change of priorities. As revolutionary socialist Rosa Luxemburg noted in her 1911 speech "The Road to Peace," for the imperialist rulers to abandon militarism, they "would have to begin by disarming in the commercial and political field, by giving up predatory colonial campaigns, by abandoning the international politics of spheres of influence in all parts of the world—in a word, in their foreign as well as domestic politics, they would have to do the exact opposite of everything which the nature of the present politics of the capitalist state demands."

Down with the UN starvation blockade! In the lead-up to the last Gulf War, the call for UN sanctions was raised by liberals and some leftists as an "alternative" to war. The death of more than 1.5 million Iraqis has demonstrated that sanctions are themselves an act of war. The UN is nothing more than a "democratic" fig leaf for imperialist bloodshed and plunder. It was the UN that in 1947 presided over the partition of Palestine and the ensuing Zionist expulsion of some



SYCs Say: U.S. Hands Off Iraq!

As the U.S. imperialists accelerated their drive for war against Iraq, the Spartacus Youth Cluhs organized speakouts last month at the University of Illinois at Chicago (top), Boston University (right) and Columbia University in New York (bottom) around the central demands: "U.S. hands off Iraq!" and "Down with the UN starvation embargo!" We put forward our revolutionary opposition to war in Iraq and its reflection at home in attacks on civil liberties and the crackdown on political dissent.



Young Spartacus photos

700,000 Palestinians from their homes. It was under UN auspices that the imperialists waged the 1950-53 Korean War against the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states. That war claimed upwards of three million Korean lives. And it was under the UN that the first Gulf War was prosecuted. The demand by some antiwar protesters to send UN weapons inspectors into Iraq simply buys the lie that the biggest proliferator of weapons of mass destruction, the U.S., is concerned with anything other than expanding its rapacious rule. Weapons inspectors are nothing more than spies who in 1998 helped the U.S. pinpoint targets for bombing Iraq.

The Marxist understanding we fight to bring to the working class is obscured by supposedly socialist groups like the WWP, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the International Socialist Organization (ISO). The founder of WWP's International Action Center, former Democratic Party attorney general Ramsey Clark, declared in a 20 September letter to the UN: "The most careful analysis must be made as to why the world is subjected to such threats of violence by its only superpower, which could so safely and importantly lead us on the road to peace"! The U.S., which has left a grisly trail of carnage around the globe, became the world's only superpower precisely through violent means—both military and economic—in pursuit of the interests of the ruling American capitalist class.

The RCP, which is the central force behind the Not In Our Name coalition, also caters to liberal appeals and moral-witness pacifism, promoting the myth that American capitalist democracy can be pressured to express the will of those whom capitalism exploits and oppresses. For its part, while the ISO says that "Democrats are just as concerned with bolstering U.S. imperialism," they go on to say "when Washington politicians voice doubts about Bush's war drive, it opens the way for genuine opponents of the war on Iraq to he heard" and that "our protests can put pressure on all of Washington—Republican and Democrat alikc" (*Socialist Worker*, 4 October). The Democrats who voted against Bush's war resolution are positioning themselves to contain any opposition and turmoil generated by the war against Iraq. These politicians quibble with the means but not the fundamental aims of U.S. imperialism. In fact, because of its image as a "friend" of labor and minorities, the Democratic Party has historically been the preferred party of war for the American bourgeoisie. Unless the struggle against imperialist war is based on opposition to all parties and agencies of capitalist class rule, it will be used by the bourgeois liberals to channel discontent back into the very capitalist system that breeds war. ***Break with the Democratic Party of war and racism! Build a workers party to fight for socialist revolution!***

The Spartacus Youth Clubs, student/youth auxiliaries of the Marxist Spartacist League, train young radicals to be professional revolutionaries dedicated to building the workers party that will fight for workers rule. Only workers revolution can break the stranglehold of the imperialists around the globe and open the road to a socialist society of material abundance and genuine equality. March with the SL and SYC in the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent on October 26!■

UIC Lecturer Arrested for Protesting War Against Iraq

The following protest letter written by the Chicago SYC was sent to the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) administration on October 10.

The Spartacus Youth Club protests the University of Illinois at Chicago administration's repression of professor Betty Resnikoff, who was arrested on September 26 on the charges of "trespassing on state property." Resnikoff's "crime" was holding a discussion with students in the Circle Center Cafeteria [CCC], distributing buttons and displaying a sign in opposition to the U.S. imperialist war drive in Iraq. The police slapped handcuffs on her and hauled her off to the police station, where they later dropped the charges and released her.

Like every other university in this country, the UIC administration is cheerfully doing its part to contribute to the sham "national unity" campaign in America; a campaign that amounts to repressive terror against Arabs and immigrants, racist attacks against blacks, the erosion of civil liberties, and a silencing of political protest and dissent.

Two days prior to the attack against Resnikoff, the administration suppressed a united-front demonstration initiated by the SYC under the slogans: "U.S. Hands Off Iraq! Down With the UN Starvation Embargo! Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!" The police confronted our demonstration, which was not approved by the administration, and ordered us to cease using amplified sound and remove our signs from their cardboard poles. Then, a CCC building administrator arrived and we were informed that we had no right to assemble and had no right to approach students at all. The demonstration was then dispersed under threat of arrest.

In its drive to become a more prestigious campus, UIC has not only been carrying out political repression, hut also undergoing a racist purge through massive tuition hikes. Contrary to their facade of heing forums for open discussion and critical thought, universities are maintained hy the ruling class for ideological indoctrination and training of its future functionaries.

Nearly 25 years ago, we filed a lawsuit against UIC's paternalistic "outside agitator" regulation, which was decided in our favor. In *Spartacus Youth League v. Board of Trustees of the Illinois Industrial University*, the court enjoined the UIC administration to respect the First Amendment, declaring, "The present regulations contain the implicit notion that university students are fragile buds which must be nurtured in a controlled and protected environment if they are to blossom. That notion is incompatible with the First Amendment."

The 1980 court ruling upheld that political agitation by "outsiders" (anyone who is not a student, faculty or staff) is not a crime but a *right*, guaranteed in the First Amendment of the Constitution. Both Resnikolf and the participants at our September 24 demonstration had a legal right to assemble and express themselves, *without* having to identify or justify themselves to administrative hacks or armed thugs of the state.

We vigorously fight to defend our constitutional rights, as shown by our successful lawsuit. At the same time we have no illusions that the capitalist class has any lasting interest in upholding them. Increasing efforts to stitle political protest, such as the attack on Resnikolf and university administrations nationwide slandering pro-Palestinian protesters as "anti-Semitic," come in the context of the all-sided attack on constitutional rights carried out in the name of the so-called "war on terror."

While Big Brother Bush admonishes the entire country to speak "with one voice"—his voice—UIC administration officials act as his eager foot soldiers. In McCarthyite fashion, they seek to ensure that not *one* cafeteria table, not *one* cardboard sign, not one public event or leaflet on campus manifest any opposition to the Democrats' and Republicans' plans for war and slaughter in Iraq.

We demand an immediate end to the repression of political activists who seek to assemble on campus and express their views.■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

October 22: **Defend the Gains of the Chinese and Cuban Revolutions!**

UC Berkeley, 246 Dwinelle Hall
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail slbayarea@compuserve.com

BOSTON

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m.

October 24: **Slavery, Black Oppression and the Development of U.S. Capitalism—For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

Boston University, CAS Room 237
725 Commonwealth Ave.
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail bostonsyc@yahoo.com

CHICAGO

Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.

October 29: **The Russian Revolution of 1917**

University of Illinois at Chicago
Room 117 Lincoln Hall
707 S. Morgan St.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail spartacist@iname.com

LOS ANGELES

Saturdays, 2 p.m.

October 26: **The Marxist View of the State**

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Vermont/Beverly Red Line station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail slsycla@cs.com

NEW YORK CITY

Wednesday, October 23, 7 p.m.

Class: For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Organizing Meeting for Oct. 26 Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent

Columbia University, 411 Kent Hall
(116th and Broadway)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail nysl@compuserve.com

VANCOUVER

Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.

October 22: **Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!**

University of British Columbia,
Student Union Building, Room 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail tllt@look.ca

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

oppresses blacks, Hispanics, immigrants and others, that has condemned millions to homelessness and starvation through the axing of welfare. Every easy win encourages America's rulers to launch further military adventures abroad and to intensify attacks on working people and minorities in the U.S. In turn, every reversal, every setback for the American imperialists serves to assist the struggles of working people and minorities.

As they shred democratic rights in the U.S., Bush & Co. proclaim that an imperialist occupation will "liberate" the Iraqi people like the occupation of Japan under General MacArthur's forces at the end of World War II, which was an imperialist and predatory war on both sides. To get a sense of what U.S. occupation of Iraq would look like, one need look no further than the Occupied Territories, where Washington's Zionist junior partners wreak wanton slaughter on the Palestinian people with U.S.-supplied tanks and helicopter gunships. Capturing a sense of the Orwellian cynicism of the Bush White House, Maureen Dowd wrote in her column in the *New York Times* (13 October):

> "Mr. Bush said he needed Congressional support to win at the U.N., but he wants to fail at the U.N. so he can install his own MacArthur as viceroy of Iraq....
>
> "Mr. Bush says he's in a rush to go to war with Iraq because it's so strong, but he's in a rush to go to war with Iraq because it's so weak."

Indeed, if the Iraqi government had the military wherewithal to defend itself, the U.S. would not even be contemplating an attack. Defense of Iraq means, above all, pursuing the class struggle against the imperialist rulers. In a speech given after April 1967 antiwar marches of hundreds of thousands, veteran Marxist and historian Isaac Deutscher said that he would have exchanged the whole huge April mobilization for just one dock strike.

The defense of Iraq against imperialist attack is integrally linked to the defense of the working masses here against increasing exploitation and oppression, which ultimately requires the overturn of the imperialist order through workers revolution. The task is to forge a workers party to educate and mobilize the proletariat to that end. And that requires breaking the allegiance of the workers to their class-collaborationist, nationalchauvinist leaders. Proletarian opposition to the depredations of the imperialist exploiters can, in the words of revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, be pursued "only through the revolutionary mobilization of the masses, that is, by widening, deepening, and sharpening those revolutionary methods which constitute the content of class struggle in 'peacetime'" ("Learn to Think," May 1938).

The social power of the working class was starkly demonstrated by the recent West Coast port shutdown. While the shutdown resulted from a lockout by the bosses of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) rather than a strike, it showed the power of the longshoremen to bring the entire industrial and commercial economy of the West Coast to a grinding halt. Moreover, in mid-September the executive board of ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco unanimously approved a resolution declaring:

> "Whereas, under the guise of 'national security' Bush will attempt to recruit unions to his war drive for big oil companies, and
>
> "Whereas, the issue of 'national security' is being used by the Bush administration and PMA to undermine contract negotiations,
>
> "Therefore be it resolved that Local 10 oppose any new war against Iraq and call on other locals and labor councils to adopt this position."

A number of other union bodies around the country have also adopted antiwar resolutions.

But for such statements to be turned into effective class-struggle opposition to the war requires a break with the flag-waving chauvinism pushed by the labor officialdom, which binds the working people to the imperialist order through support to the Democratic Party and embraces the capitalist government's "war on terror." Against the "national unity" promoted by the bosses and the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats, we counterpose the *class* unity of the proletariat internationally.

Imperialism Breeds War

The Bush administration's naked assertion of Washington's "right," without even a fig leaf of pretext or provocation, to "pre-emptively" attack any country perceived to challenge U.S. power and prerogatives has shocked and horrified people, and governments, around the world. America's rulers rail against the Japanese "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor in 1941. But what the U.S. now promises is a policy for two, three, many Pearl Harbors around the world. For all its cynical braying about "weapons of mass destruction," it is the U.S. which has the largest arsenal of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons in the world, and it is only the U.S. which has used nuclear weapons, incinerating 200,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Baghdad neighborhood devastated by 1998 U.S./British terror bombing.

And the U.S. may well be preparing to nuke Iraq. The "Nuclear Posture Review" issued this year by the Pentagon explicitly allows for an American first strike and lists seven possible targets, including (for the first time) non-nuclear countries—like Iraq. Moreover, it specified a wide range of situations that could trigger a nuclear attack. Warning that "we may be closer to seeing the use of nuclear weapons than at any time since World War II," an article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (11 October) by Eduardo Cohen reports: "The use of American nuclear weapons would be justified: if Iraq attacks any of its neighbors; if Israel is attacked; if U.S. forces are attacked with chemical or biological weapons; if the United States military encounters targets impervious to conventional weapons; and in the event of 'surprising military developments'." The article adds, "All five of these scenarios are not only possible but likely if the United States goes to war against Iraq."

Under the headline "Seeds of Protest Growing on College Campuses," a *New York Times* (12 October) article quoted a student who explained what led him to become active in antiwar protest: "We're talking about attacking Iraq, attacking first, which is something this country's never done before. We're turning into an imperialist power." This student was voicing a sentiment that has become increasingly common in the face of a war-crazed administration that proclaims its god-given right to go after whomever it wants whenever it wants.

But to put an end to this and all imperialist wars, it is necessary to understand that the root cause of such wars lies in the imperialist order itself. The drive to war and conquest is inherent in a system based on competition among rival capitalists and a handful of large capitalist states to secure the greatest possible profits. In reality, the United States has been an imperialist power since the time of the 1898 Spanish-American War, which was fought to seize Cuba and the Philippines. Its purpose in that war was to conquer new markets and new sources of raw material and cheap labor for American capitalism. Retired Marine general Smedley Butler, who served in a series of American imperialist wars from the beginning of the 20th century, put it succinctly when he described himself as "a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and the bankers."

For America's capitalist rulers, workers are mere fodder for profit at home and war abroad. But precisely because it is the working class that produces the wealth of society, it has the social power and class interest to sweep away this exploitative capitalist order and the war, poverty and racism it breeds. Only socialist revolution can end imperialist war once and for all.

Lessons of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement

It is this understanding that the liberal and reformist "socialist" organizers of the antiwar protests seek to obscure. They claim that simply bringing large numbers out on the streets can force the capitalist government to change its policies. The example always cited as a model is the antiwar movement of the 1960s and '70s, when millions demonstrated and students shut down campuses in protest against the Vietnam War. In fact, what brought an end to the Vietnam War was not the peace rallies or the more militant mass civil disobedience actions. Rather it was the military victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, who were fighting not only to expel the American invaders but for a social revolution against the capitalist order.

The effect of the official 1960s antiwar movement, embodied in the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party's National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), was, in reality, to deflect radicalized youth from fighting against the capitalist system and corral them back into the confines of bourgeois electoral politics. Limiting the protests to pacifist demands to bring the troops home, NPAC explicitly appealed to (and succeeded in drawing in) liberal Democratic Party politicians who sought to extricate American imperialism from this *losing* colonial war and to head off a challenge to the capitalist order at home. It was, in fact, the Democratic Kennedy/Johnson White House that launched the Vietnam War.

With the ghettos erupting in upheaval and workers staging a number of militant strikes, some in defiance of both the government and the labor bureaucracy, there were enormous opportunities to weld the fight against war to the class struggle. But this could not be done if the antiwar movement was subordinated to political representatives of the class enemy. The Spartacist League fought to win radical antiwar activists to the proletarian class struggle and away from the bourgeois pacifism—opposition to all war in principle—that served as a screen for capitulation to a wing of the imperialist bourgeoisie. In Trotsky's words, "The essence of pacifism is a condemnation, whether hypocritical or sincere, of the use of force *in general*. By weakening the willpower of the oppressed, it serves the cause of the oppressors."

From the standpoint of the working class, it does not matter which side fires first in a war. We had a side in the Vietnam War. Not only was it a conflict between an imperialist power and a neocolonial country, but one which posed the question of social revolution. We called for military victory to the North Vietnamese deformed workers state and the South Vietnamese revolutionary fighters and raised the slogan, "All Indochina must go Communist!" In an October 1967 leaflet titled "From Protest to Power," we explained:

> "The Vietnamese war is not unique. It is simply the largest in a series of colonial wars that the U.S. and all other imperialist powers have been fighting for the past century and will continue to fight until capitalism is overthrown in its main centers. In brief, the U.S. is in Vietnam to suppress a peasant revolution which challenges the dominance of U.S. business in Asia. It is futile to oppose the intervention in Vietnam while supporting the economic system which generates that intervention and the ideology that legitimizes it."

Democrats—Party of War and Racism

Iraq is not Vietnam. Saddam Hussein is an anti-Communist butcher who was a lackey of the U.S. imperialists until they turned on him when he moved into oil-rich Kuwait in 1990. Nor is destitute Iraq in a position to militarily prevail against the American imperialist juggernaut. But the opposition by Congressional Democrats (and a few Republicans) to last week's war resolution reflects considerable unease within American ruling circles about going to war with Iraq at this time. They fear that Bush's military adventure could not only throw the entire Near East into turmoil but also, if it backfires, ignite the massive social tinder at the base of recession-ridden American society.

Thus black Oakland Democrat Barbara Lee, who cast the sole vote in Congress against authorizing the open-ended "war on terror" a year ago, now warns that "war with Iraq poses enormous risks" and "would divert billions of dollars from our own profound domestic needs, including healthcare, prescription drugs, education, and homeland security." Lee and like-minded black liberals like Congressmen Danny Davis and Jesse Jackson Jr. from the Chicago area are positioning themselves to get out ahead of and contain any opposition and turmoil that could develop among working people and minorities.

And in this they are aided by the reformists. In its newspaper, Workers World writes that "the strategic objective of the anti-war movement must be to reach out to the workers and oppressed" because they are "the class that can put an end to imperialist war by getting rid of capitalism" (*Workers World*, 10 October). But the real strategy of the WWP is to tailor the demands of the "anti-war movement" in order to reach out to liberal Democrats. Thus a call for the October 26 demonstrations by the WWP's ANSWER coalition talks about how they want to be a "factor" in the "so-called debate that is opening now to public view," boasting that the demonstrations "come just one week before midterm Congressional elections." Echoing liberals like Lee, ANSWER focuses on the demand for "$200 Billion for Jobs and Education Not for War in Iraq!"

Both the Democratic and Republican parties, in different ways and with different constituencies, represent the interests of American capitalism. In fact, the impending invasion is the culmination of

over a decade of U.S. military and economic warfare, supported and carried out by both Republicans and Democrats. When Clinton and Gore took over the White House in 1993, they continued the policy of Bush Sr. from the time of the 1991 Gulf War: punishing economic sanctions under UN aegis, supplemented by periodic terror bombing of Baghdad and other Iraqi cities. When asked in 1996 about the half million Iraqi children who had died as a result of the sanctions, Clinton's UN ambassador (and later secretary of state) Madeleine Albright replied: "That is a very hard choice but we think the price is worth it."

All sections of the American ruling class are committed to expanding U.S. military power and global presence. Throughout much of the 1990s, it was the Democratic Clinton administration that carried out one military intervention after another, including the 1999 air war against Serbia. That war was waged in the name of "liberating" the Albanians of Kosovo from the brutally oppressive regime of Slobodan Milosevic. For the American ruling class, Milosevic's real crime (like that of Saddam Hussein) was his refusal to bow to Washington's dictates. Like Saddam Hussein, Milosevic was vilified by the American media and bourgeois politicians, especially liberal Democrats, as "another Hitler." For two months, U.S. warplanes systematically destroyed the economic infrastructure of this small Balkan country.

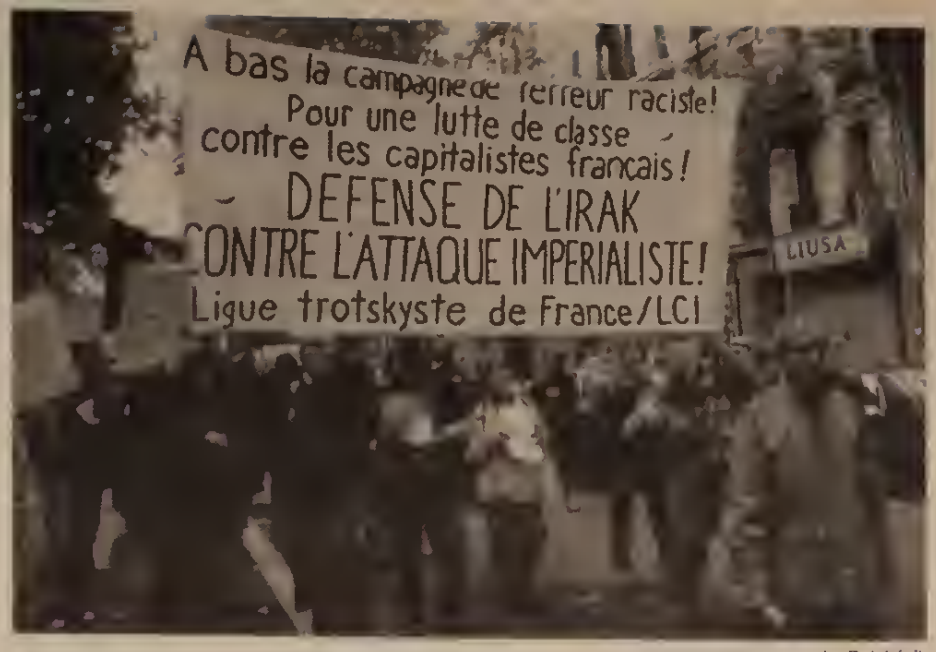
The most fervent advocates and supporters of the war against Serbia were located on the *liberol, not the right wing* ol the American political spectrum. And much of the left marched in lockstep. Thus, the International Socialist Organization, echoing imperialist "human rights" rhetoric over the plight of the Albanian refugees, raised the call, "Money for refugees, not for war!" Unlike the liberals and reformists who mimicked the imperialists' hue and cry over "poor little Kosovo," we have always defended the right of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians. But that democratic question was decidedly subordinated to the military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO attack.

Several years earlier, when the Bush Sr. administration launched its racist military intervention in Somalia in the name of famine relief, Workers World called for "food, not troops in Somalia." Explicitly justifying a "humanitarian" Pentagon expeditionary force, *Workers World* (31 December 1992) declared: "The U.S. Air Force is by far the largest in the world. It could have easily and inexpensively provided famine relief."

Nuclear Cowboys on the Loose

The main argument raised by Democratic Party politicians against an immediate war with Iraq is that it will divert military resources from and weaken international support for the "global war on terror." More broadly, significant elements of the ruling class, including Republicans like Brent Scowcroft, Bush Sr.'s national security adviser, fear that the bellicose "unilateralism" pushed by the Bush administration needlessly and recklessly flouts international conventions and institutions, like the United Nations, that have proved their value to American imperialist interests.

Bush made a bow to such concerns by appearing before the United Nations last month. But only days later, the "Bush doctrine" was proclaimed. Affirming a general policy of "pre-emptive" war, the "National Security Strategy" document warned that the U.S. is militarily "strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military buildup in hopes of surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States." The new doctrine was foreshadowed as far back as 1992 by leading elements of what is now the White House/Pentagon inner circle, like Vice President Richard Cheney and Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. Under the guidance of Cheney, then secretary of defense in the administration of Bush Sr., Wolfowitz authored a draft Pentagon document stating that the



Le Bolchévik

Above: French Trotskyists at October 12 Paris protest oppose racist cop terror, call for class struggle against French capitalists and for defense of Iraq. German Spartacists at September 28 Berlin protest in defense of Palestinians call for German/NATO/UN forces out of Balkans, Near East.

Spartakist

U.S. "must maintain the mechanisms for deterring potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role" (quoted in "George Bush & the World," *New York Review of Books*, 26 September).

This is a potential threat against every current American "ally." But it is particularly directed at China, the largest remaining bureaucratically deformed workers state. A central goal for U.S. imperialism is the destruction of the People's Republic of China through capitalist counterrevolution achieved by a combination of external military pressure and internal economic and political subversion. China is one of the seven countries now listed as potential targets for a U.S. nuclear *first strike*. As revealed by the *Glasgow Sunday Herald* (15 September), the "Bush doctrine" was laid out in a position paper drawn up by Cheney, Wolfowitz & Co. in September 2000, even before the elections. That document specifically called for an increase of "American forces in southeast Asia" and projected "American and allied power providing the spur to the process of democratisation in China." What the American imperialists mean by "democratization" in China (like they meant in the former Soviet Union) is capitalist counterrevolution.

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state albeit bureaucratically degenerated under Stalinist misrule, was a historic defeat for the international working class. The removal of the Soviet Union as a counterweight to imperialist designs has, as we warned, made the world a far more dangerous place. It is no accident that the Cheney cabal, which was a minority voice in the Bush Sr. administration, calls the shots under Bush Jr. The U.S. bourgeoisie has grown dizzy with success after a series of easy wins over the last decade, and Cheney & Co. are a distillation of this arrogant imperialist triumphalism. tn a perceptive article in the *London Review of Books* (3 October), Anatol Lieven writes: "tf the US can demonstrate overwhelming military superiority in the Middle East, there will certainly be groups in the Republican Party who will be emboldened to push for a much tougher line on China."

Nonetheless, the venal Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy has endorsed Washington's "war on terror" in return for a diplomatic okay from the U.S. to Beijing's suppression of Turkic-speaking, Islamic separatist groups operating in the western borderlands of China. Thus, even as it promotes the forces of capitalist restoration within China, the Beijing regime has supported the extension of U.S. military forces to the western border region of China in Afghanistan and the former Soviet Central Asian republics. The gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution—which lifted China from the yoke of imperialist domination, ended the enslavement of women and vastly improved the conditions of life of the worker and peasant masses through the creation of a planned, collectivized economy—are today under dire threat. We Trotskyists fight for *unconditional militory defense* of China—as well as North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, and call for proletarian political revolution to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies.

For Proletarian Internationalism!

The liberal justification for invading and occupying Iraq is to bring "democracy" and "modern civilization" to the Arab/Muslim people of that country and the region. This was clearly and fatuously expressed by *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman, a leading advocate of American "human rights imperialism." In his 18 September column, he declares that "all the Arab-Muslim states" are "failing at modernity."

Since the end of the Cold War, the notion of "failed states" has become an all-purpose rubric for colonial-style military interventions and occupations in the Third World. "Humanitarian" rhetoric aside, what we are seeing today is a throwback to the naked colonialism of an earlier era. And the current administration in the White House dispenses even with the "human rights" fig leal. Liberal Paul Krugman titled a recent column in the *New York Times* (24 September) "White Man's Burden," the racist ideological slogan of 19th- and early 20th-century British imperialism, and noted "the parallel between America's pursuit of manifest destiny a century ago and its new global sense of mission." Indeed, what Washington is now projecting for Iraq is the kind of military occupation routinely carried out by U.S. imperialism in its Latin American "backyard," most recently in Haiti.

A U.S. occupation of Iraq will not bring "democratization" but a more pliant dictatorial puppet and will only reinforce and deepen national oppression and social backwardness. Iraq was a creation of British imperialism, artificially carved out of the Turkish Ottoman Empire after its defeat in World War I for the purpose of concentrating its oil fields within a single state border and denying any access to the French imperialists. To this end, the British colonialists forcibly united the Kurds and Sunni and Shi'ite Arabs, populations that had enjoyed relative autonomy under Ottoman rule. Now the would-be American liberators vow to maintain the "territorial integrity" of Iraq under U.S. rule, setting the stage for bloody internecine conflicts and brutal imperialist repression.

In the face of a U.S. invasion, the Marxist policy is one of revolutionary defensism. This war would be predatory and imperialist on the part of the U.S., but just and defensive on the part of Iraq. While the chief means of defending traq lies in class struggle against the imperialist rulers, the working class and oppressed peoples the world over must defend the struggles of the Iraqi people against the American invaders.

But our defense of Iraq does *not* mean a defense of the bloody and oppressive Saddam Hussein regime. Quite the contrary! In order to fully and effectively mobilize the workers and rural toilers of Iraq against American imperialism, it is necessary that the Iraqi regime be overthrown and replaced by a government of workers and peasants councils (soviets) such as was established by the 1917 Russian Bolshevik Revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. A Leninist-Trotskyist party in Iraq today would thus seek to combine the struggle for national independence against American imperialist militarism with a social revolution against the Iraqi capitalists and landowners.

Zionist Israel openly serves as a gendarme for U.S. imperialism in the Near East. But from Egypt to Iraq, Iran and Pakistan, the various neocolonial bourgeois regimes of the Near East and South Asia also act as local enforcers of imperialist subjugation and backwardness. It is necessary to forge Trotskyist parties based on the perspective of permanent revolution: the chains of imperialist subjugation can only be broken through a workers revolution that shatters bourgeois rule as part of the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution, especially in the imperialist centers of North America, West Europe and Japan. Only within a socialist federation of the Near East can the national rights of all the many peoples of the region be achieved, from the Palestinians and the Hebrew-speaking people to the Kurds.

Ultimately and decisively, the struggle for a socialist world—free of imperialist war and economic depredation—will be fought out in the United States, the bastion of the world capitalist system. That requires breaking the ideological chains that bind the proletariat and the ghetto poor to the "lesser evil" Democratic Party of American imperialism. If there is to be an end to imperialist war, to racist oppression and economic immiseration, the multiracial American working class must be won, through Marxist education and its own experience in struggle, to the fight to build a revolutionary workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution to sweep away the bloody system of capitalist imperialism.■

ILWU...

(continued from page 1)

accusing the union of engaging in a "slowdown" after the union instructed its members to follow all safety rules on the docks in self-protection against speedup imposed by the employers. In returning to work, Spinosa declared: "We're going to continue to work safe" (*Los Angeles Times*, 9 October). ***Seven people*** have died on the docks since March, including five ILWU members: one was crushed by a falling lifeboat, one hit by a 3,000-pound metal ring after a crane broke, one run over by a large forklift, one run over by a 45-ton lift for stacking containers and the last killed by a fall into an open hatch. According to the AFL-CIO, the PMA's own records show the astounding figure of 1,668 injuries on the West Coast for the year through September 6—***one for every six dockers***. Now Judge Alsop's order prohibits any attempt by the workers to defend themselves against speedup and employer provocations on the docks.

This injunction is a declaration of war on the entire U.S. labor movement. The bosses and their government want to break union power and tame the U.S. population to step in line behind the "war on terror." Months before the lockout, Department of Homeland Security head Tom Ridge personally called the ILWU leadership to warn them that any action by the union to shut down the ports would not be tolerated. In the Bush administration's legal brief for the Taft-Hartley Act, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld attested, "The DOD [Department of Defense] increasingly relies upon commercial items and practices to meet its requirements" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 October). By "homeland security" the U.S. government means its intent to make U.S. imperialism "secure" from domestic opposition by the working class as Bush prepares to carry out a bloody invasion of Iraq.

The PMA has more or less openly admitted that the purpose of its lockout was to provide the opening for federal intervention. When a high-ranking Bush administration official got the union to agree to a last-minute, 30-day extension of the contract, seeking to end the lockout without Taft-Hartley, the PMA flatly rejected it. Beginning in May, in the months of negotiations over the new contract, the PMA has repeatedly reneged on supposed agreements in "'bait and switch' had faith bargaining," as the union described it (ILWU Coast Committee Letter to the Membership, 9 October). Now, after 60 days under the injunction pass, ILWU members are to be forced to submit to a government-run vote on the PMA's last offer, which at the time of the court order was a package denounced by the union's negotiating committee as completely unacceptable.

The bosses' aim is simply the wholesale destruction of union power on the docks. The entire labor movement must come to the defense of the ILWU now and protest every attack on the union. ***Down with the slave-labor Taft-Hartley Act—Government hands off the ILWU!***

Capitalist Rulers Target Longshore Workers

Whatever tactical differences they may have, the U.S. rulers are united around the dual goal of maintaining and extending their world dominance abroad while taming the working class at home. The ILWU gets in the way amid increasingly competitive interimperialist rivalry over international trade and markets. Both the Republican Eisenhower administration in the 1950s and the Democratic Kennedy White House in the early '60s went after the Teamsters union because its demonstrated ability to shut down all truck transportation in the country made it a strategic threat to profit. Likewise, the PMA's lockout has made graphically clear that with the growing reliance of U.S. commerce on trans-Pacific trade, the ILWU has enormous potential power to hurt capitalist profits.

As dozens of freight trains were backed up into the Midwest and auto plants from Fremont, California to Tennessee began running out of parts, the ILWU faced a full-court press by all the agencies of the bosses, from the employers to the government to the media. Across the country, a media campaign parroting the PMA's propaganda retailed lying "statistics" refuted by the union months earlier, painting the dockers as greedy, overpaid ingrates (see "Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics," *WV* No. 784, 12 July).

An article in the *Los Angeles Times* (1 October) commented that in going after the ILWU, "Bush can be seen as standing up to union intransigence and doing so in the name of protecting the economy and the nation's security." The article quoted a University of Texas economist who said it was "an opportunity for Bush to look Reaganesque," referring to Ronald Reagan's smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, and noted that the ILWU is "an even more appealing target" as "one of the most aggressive unions left standing after decades of dwindling labor power."

But who wins in any battle between capital and labor depends on the relationship of forces as measured in struggle. In the middle of World War II, against the howls of the whole capitalist order denouncing them as traitors and agents of Hitler, U.S. coal miners defied the wartime no-strike pledge. In response to Franklin D. Roosevelt's threats of military intervention to break their strike, the coal miners pointed out that you can't mine coal with bayonets.

The labor movement has never won anything by playing by the bosses' rules. The government and its cops, courts and army exist for the very purpose of defending the bosses and their property against the working class and the oppressed. The capitalists will always attempt to outlaw any effective action workers take to resist exploitation. Labor's weapons are inherent in its collective organization: picket lines, solidarity strikes, secondary boycotts, plant occupations.

Militant actions and class solidarity have indeed been demonstrated over the past few weeks. *Workers Vanguard* salesmen were present at one location where a scab truck was stopped from leaving a terminal with a container after longshore pickets stationed there were joined by almost a hundred others. Teamsters and railway and postal workers have been respecting the picket lines, as have a number of IAM mechanics, despite the Machinists union tops' declaration of intent to scab.

In marked contrast, as longshoremen manned pickets outside the locked gates, security guards patrolled terminal property from the inside—guards who are organized by the ILWU! Some of the reformist left, like the International Socialist Organization, believe that security guards should be organized. We think it is a matter of elementary union protection that agents of the employers, like the guards and walking bosses, be tossed out.

On the day Bush announced the Taft-Hartley injunction, hundreds of truckers led a honking demonstration through the Port of Oakland with signs that read, "Port Truckers Locked Out by PMA." Mostly non-union owner-operators, the heavily immigrant port truckers have been hit with outrageous fees by the shippers for storing containers they couldn't move because of the shippers' own lockout. The need to unionize these workers is becoming increasingly evident to many rank-and-file longshoremen, despite often palpable tensions between them and the truckers in the past. At an October 5 labor rally at the Port of Oakland, various union officials called for "organizing the unorganized"—but pointedly ***did not mention*** the port truckers!

International solidarity action is especially vital in this struggle. It would do the PMA no good to load ships with non-union labor if they can't get unloaded at the other end. Among those declaring support are the Japanese dockworkers union Zenkoku-kowan, the Maritime Union of Australia and the South Korean maritime unions. ILWU Local 10 secretary-treasurer Clarence Thomas traveled to France; at the Oakland rally, he spoke of support promised by dock workers in the key ports of Dunkirk, Le Havre and Marseilles. Particularly significant for the multiracial workforce on the docks here were letters of protest to the PMA from the Municipal Workers' Union in South Africa and from the nuclear workers union in Mexico.

The Capitalists' "Slave-Labor Act"

While many workers are furious at Bush's invoking Taft-Hartley, others see it as aimed against the employers, who initiated the lockout. This is an illusion. Dubbed the "Slave-Labor Act" by trade unions at the time, Taft-Hartley was passed in 1947 with wide support from both Democrats and Republicans as part of a vicious crackdown against worker militancy as the U.S. turned toward the Cold War and the McCarthyite witch-hunt. The year 1946 saw more strikes than any year before or since, and the capitalists pinned the blame squarely on the militant organizing of the CIO and "Communist" influence in the unions. As the head of General Electric put it, the Cold War had two targets: "the American labor movement at home and the Soviet Union abroad."

Taft-Hartley outlaws as "unfair labor practices" almost every effective organizing tactic in the union arsenal: wildcat strikes, mass picketing, secondary boycotts, sitdowns and slowdowns. It greatly increases the powers of the courts, Congress and the president in acting against the unions, including stiff fines for violations, while specifying minimum punishments for employers. Taft-Hartley also bans "economic" strikers from voting in union certification elections (while scabs can vote!) and allows states the right to ban union shops. The law required that union officials sign affidavits that they were not Communists, a provision later replaced by the Communist Control Act of 1954.

But while the government may try to legislate the class struggle, it doesn't always succeed. In 1948, the ILWU answered the referendum on the company's lousy contract mandated by Taft-Hartley in the following way: Of the 26,965 eligible workers on the waterfront, the total number of ballots cast was—zero. The ILWU also refused to comply with the anti-Communist oaths. When the bosses said they'd no longer bargain with a union whose officers failed to sign the non-Communist pledge, ILWU international president Harry Bridges put it to a vote in a coast-wide secret ballot. The result was 96.8 percent "no" on accepting the contract and 94.39 percent "no" on the anti-Communist affidavit.

Taft-Hartley was last used against the ILWU in 1971—and after the "cooling off" period, the union resumed its strike and faced down the PMA. In the historic 110-day 1978 coal miners strike, miners defied Jimmy Carter's threats of Taft-Hartley, saying: Taft can mine it, Hartley can haul it, and Carter can shove it.

The Labor Bureaucracy and the Taft-Hartley Democrats

By invoking Taft-Hartley, the capitalist government has put the ILWU in a vise, hoping to make the union a surrogate for the whole labor movement. On October 2, Teamsters president Jimmy Hoffa Jr. declared that use of Taft-Hartley "would be viewed as open union-busting by the Teamsters and all of labor." AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Richard Trumka proclaimed, "Bush is setting a new precedent against workers' rights."

But these fine words are being used to drum up more support for the capitalist Democratic Party in the upcoming elections. Bush is indeed a particularly nasty specimen as capitalist rulers go. But ***union-busting is the normal function of the capitalist state***, which is run to defend the interests of America's filthy-rich Wall Street rulers by their dual parties. After vetoing the Taft-Hartley Act to maintain his fiction of being a "friend of labor" and after the veto was overridden, Democrat Harry Truman invoked it no less than ***58 times*** in the first 29 months of its existence.

As if to underscore the point, California Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein was one of the first to demand that Bush invoke Taft-Hartley. The union complained, "We're very disappointed. Bordering on outrage" (*Oakland Tribune*, 13 October). But Feinstein is no aberration. Congresswoman Barbara Lee, the liberal darling of the reformist left and the Bay Area union bureaucracy, said, "Talk of Taft-Hartley is premature" (*Oakland Tribune*, 3 October). In other words, she's not for using union-busting laws *yet*, just as she says that it's not *yet* time to invade Iraq—putting up a resolution in Congress to require the White House to first get the approval of the United Nations, that fig leaf for naked imperialist interest.

The *Oakland Tribune* (13 October) reported that the unions would probably "continue to support Feinstein come election crunch time," and California governor Gray Davis' statement that Taft-Hartley is necessary has not put an end to the union bureaucracy's drive for his re-election. In this they are joined by the misnamed Communist Party, publishers of *People's Weekly World*. The more militant-talking union tops and their reformist waterboys—the Workers World Party and its International ANSWER coalition—implicitly support the Democrats, speaking only of "fighting the right," as if union-busting and imperialist war were unique to the Republicans.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers president Don Hahs explained support to the Democratic Party by saying, "We don't have much choice" (*Oakland Tribune*, 13 October). This lay-down-and-die perspective reflects the political role of the labor bureaucracy, not the actual prospects for struggle before the labor movement. The union bureaucracy is a key component of the Democratic Party, providing the labor cover for these capitalist politicians and *misleading* the workers into thinking they can win at the ballot box. In the voting booth, 10,000 ILWU longshoremen have no more power than any other 10,000 voters. But as workers they have the power to shut down nearly half of the capitalist economy. However, that power cannot be mobilized to take on the capitalists represented by the PMA if the union is out rounding up votes for the capitalists represented by the Democratic Party.

As the *San Francisco Chronicle* (13 October) indicated, the West Coast ports are considered "key links in a wartime supply chain." In this situation, defending one's livelihood can't be restricted to a purely economic battle with the employers. What's required is a political struggle against the aims of the ruling class in its "war on terror," both at home and abroad. Never has it been clearer that the working class needs its own political party. Such a party would not act primarily as an election vehicle but would wield labor power in the interests of all the oppressed and exploited. It would galvanize the labor movement into action, independently of the capitalist class and its government, in defense of the longshore union and of the Iraqi people against American imperialism, the main enemy of the workers of the world. The Spartacist League seeks to build such a multiracial workers party to fight for a workers government that would put an end to this capitalist system once and for all. ■

Israeli Terror...

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daily life of the Palestinians must be rendered unbearable.... This will encourage immigration [sic] and weaken the resistance to further expulsions." The "public debate" over this question, Shlonsky notes, is merely over how many Palestinians to leave behind.

The Zionist state is a racist, exclusivist state, predicated on the expulsion of over 700,000 Arabs at the time of its creation and the displacement of thousands more. The Zionist rulers have long been concerned with the "demographics problem"—another Zionist euphemism—meaning that the growth rate of Palestinians, including Israeli Arabs, far outstrips that of Israeli Jews. An article from *Ha'aretz* (28 June) captured their sentiments:

> "The new interest in demography touches the core of the state's being—its definition as a Jewish state. For the first time in the history of public discourse here, even the most devout leftists are being required to confront their inner truth. It is no longer possible to seek refuge in banal statements like 'there is no contradiction between a Jewish and a democratic state,' or hollow slogans about coexistence. Anyone who clings to the concept of a Jewish state cannot ignore the demographic figures laid out in black and white in dozens of publications on the subject. The character of the state, its identity card, now depends on the definitions derived from these figures."

It is urgently necessary for the working class, in the U.S. and internationally, to take up the defense of the besieged Palestinian masses through demonstrations, protest strikes and other class-struggle actions. The Israeli threat of mass expulsion is real—and the planned slaughter against Iraq could provide the cover for it! All opponents of U.S. imperialism's war against Iraq must take up the cause of the Palestinian people! Defend the Palestinians! All Israeli troops, settlers out of the Occupied Territories! Defend Iraq against U.S. attack! All U.S. troops out of the Near East!

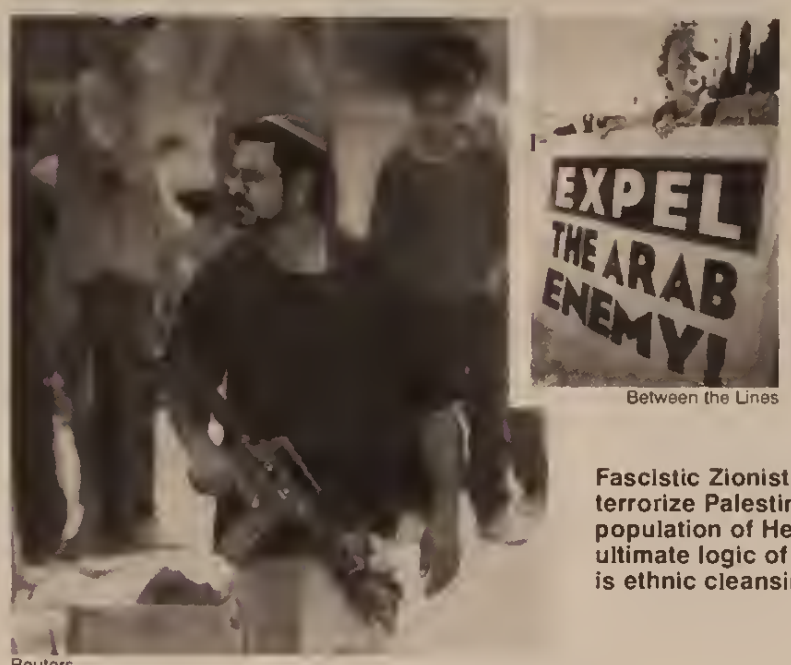
U.S./Israel Axis of Terror

During the first *Intifada*, which began in late 1987, Israel's rulers responded with what then defense minister Yitzhak Rabin described as "force, might, beatings to break bones." By the time it subsided in 1993 with the signing of the Oslo "peace" accords between PLO head Yasir Arafat and Israel, some 1,500 Palestinians had been killed. The current uprising, which began in September 2000, was from the outset responded to with even greater barbarism and brutality. According to the Israeli army's own reports, in the first three weeks of the current *Intifada*, i.e., before any of the Palestinian suicide attacks began, more than *one million* bullets were fired by Israeli troops against Palestinian protesters. Some 2,500 have been killed so far.

The current uprising against Zionist occupation is the result of several years of the Oslo "peace" accords. That shameful betrayal of Palestinian national aspirations, which further worsened conditions for the Palestinians, was in turn conditioned by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. During its existence, the Soviet Union provided a counterweight to U.S. imperialism, allowing petty-bourgeois nationalists like the PLO to jockey for support between the U.S. and USSR. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, this leverage was lost—as well as considerable amounts of financial and military support—and a significantly weakened PLO accepted a sham "autonomy," effectively policing the Palestinian masses on behalf of the Israeli rulers. At the same time, the collapse of the USSR created a far more dangerous "one superpower" world where U.S. imperialism sees no obstacles in its drive to dominate the world.

An example is the Bush administration's response to Israel's continuing onslaught. Despite the occasional call for "restraint," the U.S. has largely given Israel a green light to carry out its slaughter. This, even as Israeli actions threaten to hamper U.S. imperialism's drive for war in Iraq by provoking unrest throughout the Near East.

When Israel threatened mass expulsions of Palestinians during the first Gulf War in 1990-91, U.S. imperialism pulled its leash to maintain the "coalition," which included most Arab states, against Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Bush Sr. even threatened to cut back aid when the Zionists demanded more for settlements, and he intervened to ensure that Israel did not respond to the Scud missile attacks Iraq launched against it during the war. Today, however, Washington is silent even as Israeli politicians threaten to nuke Baghdad. Such threats by the Zionist regime underline the fact that far from being merely a puppet of U.S. imperialism, Israel is a regional power with its own appetites and interests to pursue.



Between the Lines

Reuters

Fascistic Zionist settlers terrorize Palestinian population of Hebron. The ultimate logic of Zionism is ethnic cleansing.

Elements within and around the Bush administration certainly favor a "tougher" policy against the Palestinians. Earlier this year, Emanuel A. Winston, the Middle East analyst for the arch-Zionist Freeman Center, argued for "resettling the Palestinians in Jordan, where 80% of the population already is Palestinian" (*USA Today*, 21 February). According to Anatol Lieven (*London Review of Books*, 3 October), Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld described Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories as "legitimate" products of Israeli military success, while the Republican majority leader in the House, Richard Armey, "has advocated the ethnic cleansing" of Palestinians to Jordan.

Behind all this is the forging of an unholy alliance between Zionist neoconservatives, the staunchest supporters of war with Iraq, and large elements of the Christian religious right. This includes the likes of deputy defense secretary Paul Wolfowitz and Pentagon adviser Richard Perle, who in 1996 called on then Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu to abandon Oslo and wage war against the Palestinians. It also includes bible-thumpers like Jerry Falwell, who recently called the Islamic prophet Muhammad a "terrorist" while proclaiming that "the Bible Belt in America is Israel's only safety belt right now" (*New York Times*, 6 October). But such Christian fundamentalists are hardly "friends of the Jews." It was Falwell who only a few years ago proclaimed that "the Antichrist will, by necessity, be a Jewish male" (*Christian Caurier*, 1 February 1999). For Falwell and many other fundamentalist Protestants, the formation of the state of Israel was a harbinger of the "Rapture." Fundamentalists like Falwell believe that closer to Armageddon is closer to god—and more specifically Jesus.

Combined with the "war on terror," the U.S. alliance with Israel has set a stifling climate on U.S. campuses where pro-Palestinian activists are being witch-hunted. A Web site by Zionist groups has been set up to "track" pro-Palestinian professors and academics. Activists against Zionist repression are threatened with expulsion while pro-Palestinian campus groups are threatened with outright ban. Last month, Harvard University president Lawrence Summers denounced the actions of campus activists opposed to Israel's occupation as "anti-Semitic in their effect, if not their intent" (*Boston Globe*, 20 September). Summers also accused pro-Palestinian student groups of raising funds for "questionable" political groups later found to be linked with "terrorist" organizations. Such attacks on protest set the stage for the crushing of all forms of dissent.

It is manifestly clear that the drive for war with Iraq could set the stage for an even bloodier war against the Palestinians—up to and including expulsion. As proletarian revolutionaries in the belly of the imperialist beast, we say: Down with U.S. aid to Israel! Down with the U.S./Israel axis of terror! It is our purpose to build the revolutionary workers party that is the necessary element to unite and organize the multiracial American proletariat in the struggle to sweep away U.S. capitalist imperialism through workers revolution.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The only salvation for the Palestinian people lies through proletarian revolution and a socialist federation of the Near East. For decades, under both Democrats and Republicans, U.S. imperialism has armed Israel to the hilt. For their part, the European Union imperialists, when they mutter statements against Zionist "excess," are merely trying to re-establish their influence over the oil-rich Near East region. As for the United Nations, it was the UN that partitioned Palestine in 1947, leading to the creation of the state of Israel, and it was a UN expeditionary force that disarmed the PLO fighters in Lebanon in 1982, leading to Sharon's slaughter of some 2,000 Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila.

The venal Arab bourgeois states have neither the military wherewithal nor any interest in challenging nuclear-armed Israel for the sake of the Palestinians. They, too, are enemies of Palestinian self-determination. Between 1967 and '77, over 50,000 Palestinian people were slaughtered at the hands of Arab regimes, including some 10,000 during the 1970 Black September massacres in Jordan. Kuwait expelled over 200,000 Palestinians following the Gulf War in 1991. The Arab rulers' occasional diatribes against Zionism are meant to divert the anger of the toiling masses they exploit and oppress. And the anti-Semitism peddled by the Arab nationalists and Islamic reactionaries serves only to drive the Hebrew proletariat of Israel deeper into the arms of its chauvinist rulers.

A move to expel the Palestinians will spark mass outrage and protest throughout the Near East. It is the task of revolutionaries to intervene into such movements to forge Marxist workers parties to lead the struggle for the overthrow of the Arab regimes through socialist revolution. A workers revolution in one of the Arab countries, proclaiming the international unity of all working people, would have an enormous impact on the Hebrew workers of Israel. But if the workers of the Near East are to break their chains of exploitation, they must be won to a relentless struggle against the Islamic fundamentalists and nationalists who now pose as enemies of Zionism and imperialism.

If the Zionist madmen are not to ultimately unleash their nuclear arsenal and engulf the whole of the region in a holocaust, the Hebrew proletariat must join with Arab workers in sweeping away the entire rotting edifice of capitalist class rule in the Near East. Only then can the right of national self-determination for both the Hebrew and Palestinian people be assured—as well as the rights of the myriad other peoples of the Near East, like the Kurds who are currently oppressed by the Iraqi and Syrian Arab states as well as Turkey and Iran. What is required above all is the construction of internationalist workers parties, sections of a reforged Fourth International, in opposition to Zionism, Arab nationalism and all forms of religious fundamentalism. ***Defend the Palestinians! For a sociolist federatian of the Near East!*** ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Defend the Palestinian People!

Israeli Terror Machine Strangles Palestinians

On October 7, with willful bloodthirstiness, an Israeli helicopter gunship fired a missile into a crowd of Palestinians cheering the withdrawal of Zionist troops from the refugee camp of Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip. Fifteen Palestinians were slaughtered and over 100 injured. The same night, the nearby Nasser hospital, which was treating those wounded in the Khan Yunis attack, was riddled with Israeli automatic gunfire, killing another Palestinian.

As the Bush administration gears up for war on Iraq, the Israeli government of Ariel Sharon has been ratcheting up its war of terror against the Palestinian people. Most West Bank towns are now under direct military occupation enforced by over 1,000 tanks and thousands more soldiers. Israeli forces continue to surround the compound of Palestinian Authority head Yasir Arafat, having already destroyed most of it.

Life is made intolerable by round-the-clock curfews—and those who dare defy them are shot down with impunity. Schools and universities are either closed or unreachable because of a dizzying array of arbitrarily imposed checkpoints. Travel is impossible, not only between the West Bank's nine main cities, but even within them. Numerous people have died from treatable illnesses because they couldn't reach a hospital. Today, the West Bank resembles a wasteland of destroyed buildings, looted offices, wrecked infrastructure; most of the population is without income and more than half the children suffer from malnutrition. And some 400,000 armed Zionist settlers freely rampage throughout the Occupied Territories, stealing land and murdering Palestinians by the dozens.

In Gaza, conditions of life are even more bleak. Palestinian scholar Edward Said wrote a searing indictment of Zionist atrocities and brutality in a recent article titled "Punishment by Detail" (*Monthly Review*, October 2002):

> "Gaza is surrounded by an electrified wire fence on three sides; imprisoned like animals, Gazans are unable to move, unable to work, unable to sell their vegetables or fruit, unable to go to school. They are exposed from the air to Israeli planes and helicopters and are gunned down like turkeys on the ground by tanks and machine guns. Impoverished and starved, Gaza is a human nightmare, each of whose little pieces of episodes—like what takes place at Erez [checkpoint], or near the settlements—involves thousands of soldiers in the humiliation, punishment, and intolerable enfeeblement of each Palestinian, without regard for age, gender, or illness. Medical supplies are held up at the border, ambulances are fired upon or detained. Hundreds of houses demolished, and hundreds of thousands of trees and agricultural land destroyed in acts of systematic collective punishment against civilians, most of whom are already refugees from Israel's destruction of their society in 1948."

Reuters

October 7: Funeral in Khan Yunis refugee camp in Gaza for one of 15 Palestinians killed by Israeli missile attack.

Sharon and his "national unity" government claim all this is to stop "Palestinian terrorism." But in reality, it has been Sharon's policy from the beginning to *provoke* suicide attacks, which have killed dozens of innocent Israeli civilians. Such attacks on civilians, entirely criminal from the viewpoint of the international proletariat, serve to further drive the Israeli Hebrew-speaking population into the arms of the Zionist rulers and to provide the pretext for even bloodier attacks on the Palestinians by the Zionist juggernaut. Ur Shlonsky, an anti-Zionist Israeli professor, notes: "The human bombs in the cafes and buses assure ever broader and deeper support for a project of ethnic cleansing" (*Against the Current*, September/October 2002).

We have warned in the past that the Zionist rulers are entirely capable of carrying out massacres of the Palestinians on a truly genocidal scale. And this could very well be what they have in mind, particularly as a U.S. war against Iraq thrusts the Near East into total chaos. Jordan has already sealed its border with the West Bank in anticipation of a Zionist-induced Palestinian exodus. A *London Review of Books* (3 October) article by Yitzhak Laor notes: "If Blair and Bush go to war against Iraq, then that will be the 'right time' for the Israeli military to expel the Palestinians, or at least a portion of them."

An urgent appeal issued late last month by nearly 100 Israeli academics warns "that the 'fog of war' could be exploited by the Israeli government to commit further crimes against the Palestinian people, up to full-fledged ethnic cleansing." It notes how Israeli chief of staff Moshe Ya'alon, a self-avowed "humanist," described Palestinians as a "cancerous manifestation," the military actions in the Occupied Territories as "chemotherapy" and called for a more radical "treatment." Sharon himself has backed this "assessment of reality."

The overt advocacy of the forcible expulsion of Palestinians—euphemistically called "transfer" in Israel—was once relegated to the fringes of the Israeli ultraright. Today, however, it is common for politicians to rant about driving the Palestinians from their homes. Former tourism minister Benny Elon told Israel public radio earlier this year: "We must not fear bringing up again the idea of a transfer and of open discussion of the various possibilities that it offers." The ultra-chauvinist Moledet party has put up billboards throughout Tel Aviv declaring: "Only transfer will bring peace." Ominously, a recent poll found that *46 percent* of Israelis support the forcible expulsion of Palestinians.

Already, over *100,000* Palestinians have fled to Jordan since September 2001. Within the West Bank, thousands more have been forcibly driven from their villages and "relocated" elsewhere. In Israel, schemes abound for the expulsion of Arab "citizens" of the Zionist state, who constitute some 20 percent of the population. In an unprecedented move, the Israeli government revoked the citizenship of one Nahal Abu Kishaq in September, accusing him of being a member of Hamas. It has also threatened several other Israeli Arabs with the same. In November last year, Azmi Bishara, an Arab member of the Knesset (parliament) had his parliamentary immunity stripped and now faces criminal charges based on speeches he made in Syria defending the right of Palestinians to resist the Israeli occupation.

The strangulation of Palestinian life is part and parcel of a possible move to drive them out. As Shlonsky noted: "The

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AP

Israeli military checkpoint in Gaza. Palestinians are humiliated and terrorized, denied access to jobs, hospitals, schools.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 790 | 1 November 2002

U.S. Troops Out of Korea!

Defend North Korea!

Having demonized the North Korean deformed workers state this February as part of an "axis of evil" along with Iran and Iraq, the Bush administration is now scrambling to deal with the acknowledgment by North Korea that it has a "secret" nuclear weapons program. The acknowledgment, apparently made to Assistant Secretary of State James A. Kelly in a meeting held in the North Korean capital of Pyongyang, came after Kelly confronted North Korean officials with U.S. intelligence information that such a program existed. But Washington's saber rattling against North Korea is markedly different in tone than its outright war threats and provocations against Iraq. After meeting with NATO secretary general Lord Robertson, George Bush had the following statement: "It is a troubling discovery, and it's a discovery that we intend to work with our friends to deal with. I believe we can do it peacefully."

The Bush administration accused the North Korean regime of violating a 1994 agreement to abandon the production of potentially weapons-grade nuclear material in exchange for two nuclear reactors and 500,000 tons of fuel oil a year. Following Pyongyang's announcement, Washington initially declared the agreement "dead" but backed off after the Japanese and South Korean governments refused to follow its lead. In fact, it was the U.S. that violated the 1994 agreement, including by not building the promised reactors. As a 25 October statement by the Pyongyang government declared, the Bush administration's inclusion of North

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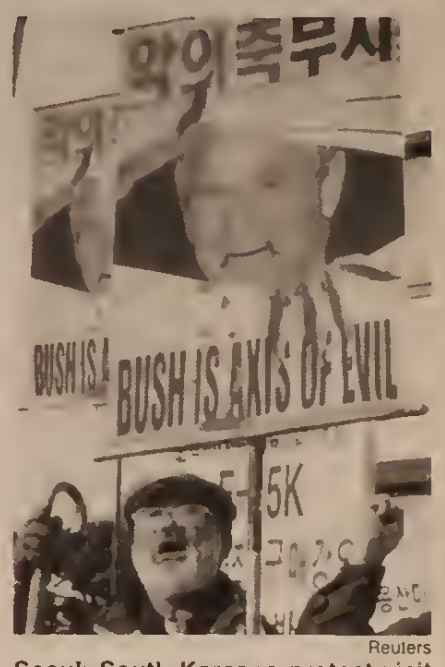

Reuters

Seoul: South Koreans protest visit by Bush in February.

Statement of the International Communist League

Defend Iraq Against U.S. and Allied Imperialist Attack!

The following statement was issued on October 23.

U.S. imperialism is leading the world to war. Tens of thousands of American and British troops are getting positioned for a full-scale attack on Iraq, while other powers from Australia to Turkey elbow each other for a role in the slaughter and a share of the loot. The White House has already revealed plans for a post-Saddam Hussein military occupation of Iraq. Look at the war chest of nuclear weapons the U.S. has and threatens to use today and it's clear that the fate of life on this planet is threatened by the continued existence of this imperialist order.

In the war against Iraq, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) clearly takes a side: We stand for the military defense of Iraq without giving a milligram of political support to the Saddam Hussein regime. Hussein is a bloody oppressor of Iraqi workers, leftists, Shi'ite Muslims, the Kurdish people and others. As such, he was a close ally and client of U.S. imperialism for two decades before he made a grab for Kuwait in 1990. Now the U.S. wants a more pliant regime and tighter control of the oil spigot, not least to put economic rivals like Japan and Germany, who are more dependent on Near East oil, on rations. With its renewed saber rattling over North Korea, Washington makes clear that that country will be next on its hit list in the event of an easy win in Iraq. The fact that the imperialists have not already threatened to bomb North Korea in response to news that it may be developing a nuclear capability only underlines that nuclear weapons are the sole guarantor of a country's sovereignty in today's world. Every victory for the imperialists in their predatory wars encourages further military adventures; every setback serves to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed. .

WV Photo

October 26: Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents, organized by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs, marched in antiwar protests in San Francisco (above) and Washington, D.C.

The colossal military advantage of the United States against neocolonial Iraq—a country which has already been bled white through 12 years of UN sanctions which have killed more than 1.5 million civilians—underscores the importance of *class struggle* in the imperialist centers as the chief means to give content to the call to defend Iraq. Every strike, every labor mobilization against war plans, every mass protest against attacks on workers and minorities, every struggle against domestic repression and against attacks on civil liberties represents a dent in the imperialist war drive. To put an end to war once and for all, the capitalist system that breeds war must be swept away through a series of revolutions and the establishment of a rational, planned, egalitarian socialist economy on a world scale. ***Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack!***

The extent to which Washington's allies in the United Nations, especially Germany, have openly criticized the Bush administration's rabid provocations in the Near East is a measure of the growth of tensions among the imperialist powers in recent years. But while objecting to the rudeness of an American cowboy hoot on their necks,

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Down With the UN Starvation Blockade!

Korea...

(continued from page 1)

Korea in the "axis of evil" and its targeting of the country for a potential nuclear first strike, as outlined in the Pentagon's "Nuclear Posture Review," amounted to "a clear declaration of war."

The statement went on to assert that North Korea "was entitled to possess not only nuclear weapons but any type of weapon more powerful than that, so as to defend its sovereignty and right to existence from the ever-growing nuclear threat from the U.S." In fact, it is precisely because Iraq does not have any nuclear weapons, or even a sizable conventional arsenal, that the Bush administration threatens war against it with impunity. A war against North Korea could lead to substantial American casualties—and poses a serious risk to the South Korean capital of Seoul, which is only 30 miles from the "demilitarized zone" separating North and South. Thus, the veneer of a more diplomatic course.

Nevertheless, the aim of America's rulers, whether of the Democratic or Republican persuasion, remains the overturn of the bureaucratically deformed workers states, mainly the People's Republic of China but also North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. North Korea accepted the 1994 agreement to abandon their nuclear weapons program after Democratic president Bill Clinton moved stealth bombers into South Korea and was prepared to bomb the North Korean reactor site at Yongbyon.

AP

North Korean leader Kim Jong Il welcomes Japanese prime minister Koizumi to Pyongyang, September. U.S. and Japanese imperialists vie for domination of East Asia.

U.S. imperialism's renewed belligerence toward North Korea underlines the duty of revolutionaries to stand for the ***unconditional military defense*** of the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialist attack. Capitalist rule was overthrown in the northern half of the Korean peninsula following liberation from 35 years of Japanese colonialism at the end of World War II, as the power of the local capitalists and landowners was broken under the Soviet military presence and the newly installed regime of Kim Il Sung. In a failed attempt to reverse that social revolution and the 1949 Chinese Revolution, U.S. imperialism devastated the peninsula in the 1950-53 Korean War, killing ***more than three million people*** and obliterating whole cities, including Pyongyang. This was in the service of maintaining a precious military foothold for American imperialism on the East Asian mainland in the aftermath of the victory of Mao's forces. Despite the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, the overthrow of capitalism in the North was a historic defeat for imperialism and a victory for the working people of Asia and the world.

It was another Democratic president, Harry Truman, who launched the Korean War—a "police action" carried out under the auspices of the United Nations. While the U.S. government now rants about "weapons of mass destruction," it was the U.S. that burned people alive and incinerated whole towns in Korea through massive napalm firebombings. Curtis LeMay —an Air Force general who later became infamous for vowing to bomb Vietnam "back to the Stone Age"—boasted, "We burned down *every* town in North Korea and in South Korea, too." And before that, it was the U.S. imperialists who used nuclear bombs against the Japanese civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Following World War II, the Korean peninsula was partitioned between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the North and the Republic of Korea in the South, a capitalist police state under American military occupation. Before the outbreak of the Korean War, the South was swept by massive peasant revolts. And when North Korean forces moved in to reunify the country in 1950, they were greeted as liberators. The South's capital, Seoul, was quickly overrun, and U.S. forces soon found themselves clinging to the edge of the peninsula. They would have been driven into the sea had not the Soviet and Chinese Stalinist bureaucracies refused to deliver necessary military supplies to North Korea's army.

Later, when its forces were massively replenished, the U.S. Army approached the Yalu River, which separates Korea from China, and were faced by one million soldiers of the People's Liberation Army, who had crossed the river to defend China from attack. Again in retreat, the U.S. could only achieve a stalemate at the 48th parallel in what was widely viewed as a defeat for U.S. imperialism in this first battle of the Cold War. The war ended in a "truce," and the U.S. has refused to sign a peace treaty affirming North Korea's right to exist ever since, maintaining a massive military presence in the South, currently numbering over 37,000 troops. ***All U.S. troops out of South Korea now!***

The Truman administration considered nuking China and Korea but was deterred by Soviet military might, including its newly developed nuclear arsenal. Had the Soviet Union not possessed a nuclear arsenal capable of deterring U.S. imperialism, China and Korea would be irradiated rubble, and there would have been no Cuban or Vietnamese revolutions. The international working class must defend the right of the deformed workers states to have nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the imperialist war criminals.

U.S. Plans for World Domination: Deranged and Deadly

It is not simply difficult but impossible for any country to permanently and totally dominate a world composed of imperialist and other nation-states whose fundamental interests are based on the aspirations of each state's capitalist rulers, interests that only episodically coincide with those of other states. In the era of nuclear power, however, it is unfortunately possible to destroy the world. Thus, Bush's openly expressed plan for complete world domination is both deranged and deadly dangerous. The madness lies not simply in this unusually war-crazed administration but in the workings of the decaying imperialist order that sets one power against another in competition for arenas of capitalist domination. Two world wars, millions upon millions of corpses, give testimony that the imperialists' rational judgment quickly retreats before the anarchic conditions of capitalist exploitation and profit realization.

It is interesting to note that Kelly's visit to Pyongyang was inspired by U.S. imperialism's desire to throw a monkey wrench into ongoing moves toward rapprochement between North and South Korea. Increased links between these two countries are seen as a threat to the continued presence of American troops in the South, where there is substantial and growing hostility to the continued semi-occupation. Kelly's visit also came just one month after Japan's prime minister, Junichiro Koizumi, went to Pyongyang and offered substantial economic assistance to North Korea—this without U.S. approval. Japan and South Korea are currently attempting to expand economically into North Korea, and Japanese imperialism is seeking to reassert its domination and influence, as against that of the U.S., over its former colony in the Korean peninsula. To be sure, all parties are "shocked, shocked" by North Korea's admission of a nuclear program, hoping to gain advantage in subsequent negotiations with the North. But no less are these capitalist governments committed to continued efforts aimed at counterrevolution in North Korea. As our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan wrote in *Spartacist* [Japan] No. 26 (September 2002):

> "The common hostility of Japan and the U.S. toward the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states does not moderate the rivalry between these two imperialist powers, but instead serves as an arena for its intensification. While North Korea and China are the immediate targets of Japan's military buildup, Japanese imperialism is also intent on defending its spheres of influence and interests against all threats and competitors, including American imperialism."

Until the 1991-92 counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union, the vast Soviet military arsenal gave pause to the American imperialists. But in the past decade, the conflict in interests among the imperialist powers, no longer united in common hostility to the Soviet degenerated workers state, has come increasingly to the fore. In the last decade, the U.S. has used its economic and military might to impose its interests as against those of its imperialist competitors in West Europe and Japan. The qualitative imbalance in military capability will not persist forever.

Japan's imperialist rulers have used the North Korean "revelation" to press more urgently for the development of nuclear weapons. A leading Japanese government spokesman stated in April that Japan possesses enough plutonium to manufacture

TROTSKY

LENIN

On the 85th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

November 7 marks the 85th anniversary of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the only successful proletarian revolution to date. Despite its degeneration at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which ultimately resulted in capitalist restoration in 1991-92, the Bolshevik Revolution was a world-historic victory for working people and the oppressed internationally. Commemorating the significance of the revolution as the opening shot of world socialist revolution, Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon underlined the importance of sweeping away the capitalist order in the U.S., the bastion of world imperialism. The Spartacist League is committed to the task of building a workers party of the Bolshevik type, the necessary instrument to lead the multiracial working class to power in the U.S.

The Russian revolution of November 1917 showed the workers of the whole world the way to power, to the overthrow of the capitalist property system, to the reorganization of economy on a rational basis. There is no other way to save mankind on an international scale than the Russian way. From that point of view we salute the great revolution tonight, as the initiator and inspirer of greater things to come. Therein lies its greatest significance.

If we view the Russian revolution in the right perspective we must see it for what it really was: an international action of the working class, started in a backward country, the most backward country of the great powers, tsarist Russia; and destined to be concluded in the most advanced and powerful country, the United States of America. That which was begun in the domain of the tsars will be finished in the domain of the American monopolists. And regardless of victories or defeats in one country or another, or even one continent or another, the central issue of our epoch—capitalism or socialism—will not be finally decided until it is decided in the United States of America. [...]

Just as the Russian Bolsheviks gave us the model of a victorious revolution, so also they gave us the model of a party fit to lead and organize the revolution. If we take the Russian Bolshevik party for our model—and there is no other model worth even talking about—this means a party that is orthodox Marxist in its theory, that is firm in principle, and strong in its unity and its discipline. Only such a party is fit to organize and lead a revolution.

—James P. Cannon, "The Russian Revolution—Twenty-eight Years After" (4 November 1945), reprinted in *The Struggle for Socialism in the "American Century"* (1977)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 790 **1 November 2002**

Cory Pearson

1948-2002

Our comrade Cory Pearson died on October 16, eleven days after suffering a heart attack from which he never regained consciousness. Cory was 54 years old. We extend our condolences to Cory's comrade and wife of 20 years, Ellen, to his brother and three sisters, and to his many comrades and friends around the world.

Growing up in a Southern family amid the turbulent civil rights movement, Cory was driven by an abiding interest in the history of black struggle. He was drawn into campus radicalism while an engineering student at Cornell University in the late 1960s, especially affected by the militant black student occupation there in 1968. Cory joined the Revolutionary Communist Youth, the Spartacist League youth group at the time, in the summer of 1973 and became a member of the SL the following spring. Won to Trotskyism while working in Washington, D.C., where we had no branch, Cory moved to New York City in order to be an active member of the organization. A few years later, Cory got a job as a phone worker. He was a member of Communications Workers Locals 1150 and 1101 for more than 20 years.

Throughout his life as a party member, Cory worked with *Workers Vanguard* in one capacity or another, for many years as our chief photographer and member of the production department and more recently in the circulation department. Whatever he undertook was carried out with a keen sense of professional standards and of Lenin's injunction that the press is the scaffolding of a communist organization. The day before his heart attack, Cory was continuing his efforts to get our press into more bookstores in the U.S. and internationally, and he had recently completed a new, updated list of literature available from the International Communist League.

Among the many pictures Cory took for *Workers Vanguard* over the years, he was particularly proud of a 1977 photo of striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky with a hand-lettered sign reading, "Warning: The Stearns Miners Have Determined That Scabbing Is Dangerous to Your Health." Seven years later, a picket at the Phelps Dodge copper strike in Arizona saw Cory's photo and hand-lettered a similar sign.

Cory used his considerable skills not only to get the one picture in any situation that would most effectively illustrate our politics, but to build up a professional photo apparatus and to train other comrades. He organized a darkroom, first in his own apartment and then in the party headquarters. He spent many hours talking or writing to comrades about how to improve their photos and visited other locals and national sections of the International Communist League when he could. Others have been trained by Cory indirectly, through the pamphlet *Political Photo Journalism* which he wrote in the mid 1970s. A comrade currently in the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany recalls how Cory "wove the necessary technical information into the purpose of our photography. He wrote, 'Remember, you will be documenting the revolution.'... And these words echoed in my head more than once in difficult situations, especially during the political revolution in the DDR," the former East Germany, in 1989-90.

Those who worked with Cory even briefly remember his infectious enthusiasm, his generosity and his wide, eclectic range of interests. Cory was equally at ease talking about politics, nature photography, art or music. Over the years, he amassed an impressive collection of jazz recordings, including old reel-to-reel tapes, and photographs he had taken of jazz artists and other entertainers. But it was concern for his comrades that had first claim on what time and energy Cory had aside from carrying out his political work. For many years, he took on the job of "concessions commissar" in the press production department, ensuring that comrades who often had to work late into the night would have their favorite drink or brand of cigarettes available. He also spent many hours taping movies, especially those of political and historical interest, for the informal video lending library he organized for comrades' use.

As an Australian comrade remarked after Cory's death, "He was a talented photojournalist who put his art to the service of the greatest cause." Cory will be remembered by all who knew him, and he will be remembered as well through his photographs and through the many younger comrades he helped train to become, like him, devoted and professional party workers.

Those who wish to join Cory's family and friends in remembering his life at a memorial meeting to be held in New York City on November 16 should call (212) 732-7861.

3,000 to 4,000 nuclear warheads in a matter of months. Now the Koizumi government is using North Korea's admission of the bizarre and senseless kidnapping of Japanese citizens to whip up an anti-Communist, chauvinist hysteria among the Japanese population, which has also set the basis for further repression of the ethnic Korean minority in Japan. As our comrades in Japan wrote: "The endless stories about abducted Japanese and demands that North Korea open its country for nuclear inspection are propaganda campaigns designed to erase Japanese imperialism's crimes before and during World War II and are intended to portray Japan—the second most powerful imperialist country in the world—as the victim."

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

The North Korean government is currently demanding as the price for the cessation of its nuclear arms program that the U.S. recognize North Korea's sovereignty, end the economic embargo and sign a non-aggression pact. If obtained, such a pact would be worth less than the paper on which it was written. Stalin's non-aggression pact with German imperialism in 1939 certainly did not prevent Hitler's Nazis from invading the Soviet Union two years later. Today, Chinese president Jiang Zemin echoes the imperialists' demands for a "nuclear-free" Korean peninsula. Such criminal appeasement, by denying North Korea the right to defend itself by acquiring nuclear weapons, simply emboldens the rapacious U.S. imperialists in their drive to foment counterrevolution in China itself.

Fundamentally, the defense of those states where capitalism has been overthrown requires the extension of proletarian rule to the advanced capitalist countries. Yet it is this perspective that is not only alien but anathema to the nationalist bureaucratic castes that rule in North Korea and China. The cultist, nepotistic Stalinist regime of Kim Jong Il, who succeeded his father Kim Il Sung, undermines the defense of the North Korean workers state. Its appeals to Korean nationalism are rooted in the Stalinist lie that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance—can be built in one country, or even half of one. This nationalist dogma is counterposed to a perspective for international socialist revolution, and particularly to any struggle for workers revolution against the South Korean bourgeoisie. The North Korean Stalinists have long called for "peaceful reunification" with the South—a recipe for reunification on the basis of capitalist wage slavery and annexation of the North by the *chaebol*, the huge industrial conglomerates that control the South Korean economy.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in Pyongyang and Beijing fear that socialist revolution in South Korea and Japan would quickly inspire proletarian political revolutions that would result in their forced evacuation from their positions of privilege and power. Likewise, a political revolution in China or North Korea would have an enormous impact on the workers of South Korea and Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. It would also inspire the workers of Russia and the other former Soviet republics, which have been devastated by ten years of counterrevolution. As was the case in the Soviet Union and East Europe, leading elements of the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies look to the introduction of capitalist exploitation and to imperialist tolerance and support to increase their wealth and privileges. And as was shown in the USSR and the deformed workers states of East Europe, this path opens the road to counterrevolution, with its accompanying societal devastation. ***For revolutionary reunification of Korea through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North!***

Spartacist Group Japan at April 1996 protest against U.S.-Japan military alliance. Signs at center read: "For the Right of Nuclear and Military Testing for Chinese Workers State!" and "Not One Man, Not One Yen to Imperialist Japanese Military!"

What is needed above all is the forging of internationalist proletarian parties around the world. Our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan are committed to the struggle to forge a Leninist vanguard party to lead the fight for proletarian revolution in Japan. For our part, the Spartacist League/U.S. fights to build a revolutionary workers party—part of a reforged Fourth International—that can lead the multiracial proletariat in socialist revolution to sweep away U.S. imperialism, the most dangerous force on the planet. ■

Women and Revolution

AFP

Action Press

Philippine president Arroyo inspecting troops after crackdown against plebeian protesters in May 2001. Manila slum epitomizes wretched state of masses.

Arroyo Regime Bans "Morning After" Pill

Church and State vs. Women in the Philippines

For Free Abortion on Demand!

Contraception and recent legislation to establish a reproductive health care program for women and teens in the Philippines have come under scathing attack by the bourgeoisie led by the right-wing government of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and the Roman Catholic church. The Arroyo government, which was installed in a "People Power" coup in January 2001 by the bourgeoisie centered on the Makati Business Club, the military and the powerful Catholic hierarchy—with the backing of the Stalinist and social-democratic left—recently banned Postinor, a brand of "morning after" oral contraceptive pill on the grounds that it violated the country's draconian anti-abortion laws. This sets the stage for further assaults by the Philippine bourgeoisie on the severely limited access to birth control, reinforcing the horrible oppression of women in the country.

In this 80 percent Catholic country, the woman question is a central and explosive issue. The 1987 constitution includes one of the most severe anti-abortion laws in the world, and when the Philippine bourgeoisie re-introduced capital punishment in the midst of an "anti-sex crime" crusade in the late 1990s, a new anti-abortion law meting out the death penalty—to both the woman and the doctor—was also proposed. Capital punishment, which was temporarily suspended as a result of opposition from abolitionists and civil libertarians, has received the green light from Arroyo, whose government is also seeking the death penalty for those it deems "terrorists." *Legalize Postinor! Free abortion on demand! Abolish the death penalty!*

Arroyo's identification with the church is no surprise. Besides being a faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism and an admirer of former right-wing British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, Arroyo also declared when she was a senatorial candidate: "My position [on family planning] is the position of the Church." Shortly after ousting from power capitalist politician Joseph "Erap" Estrada, a self-styled "man of the masses" whose downfall was sparked by charges of "immorality" and corruption, among Arroyo's first moves was to ban a film exposing the horrid conditions faced by the country's sex workers.

The right-wing attacks on women's rights come in the context of a growing leftist movement, seething anger over capitalist austerity and the threatened displacement of thousands of Filipino workers in the Near East that could result from the invasion of Iraq by the United States, the former colonial power in the Philippines. The campaign to impose social regimentation and conformity is justified as part of Arroyo's crusade to establish a "strong republic" founded on private property, anti-communism and "family values." These positions have served to embolden the Catholic church, whose social weight has grown considerably since its key role in the first "People Power" revolt which overthrew the blood-soaked dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos in 1986.

It was in the 1990s that the church mobilized a million of its followers in opposition to the family planning program pushed by the administration then headed by President Fidel V. Ramos, a Protestant. And, backed by a host of "pro-family, pro-life" groups, the powerful Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines has been able to shoot down bills aimed at legalizing divorce and same-sex marriages. Such moves by the church are aimed at bolstering and strengthening the hold of the bourgeois family, the key institution for women's oppression and the main instrument for social control in capitalist society. Women's oppression is compounded by religious backwardness—whether Catholic, Muslim or any other—which teaches women that their "natural place" is at home slaving over the stove and laundry and being sexually available in the bedroom, while denied the choice of when, whether or how many children they would like to bear.

Currently, the church is targeting the proposed limited-scope Reproductive Health Care Act, which was endorsed by conservative Senator Rodolfo Biazon, a former commander of the Philippine Marines. The bill merely seeks to provide birth control information to women. But in the Philippines, where sex education is not mandatory in schools and where "sex education" programs and literature mainly teach "chastity" and abstinence, even minimal reforms are a welcome departure from the prevailing stifling priest-ridden atmosphere and are thus viewed as a grave threat to social order by the bourgeoisie. Religious leaders have branded the bill's authors "adulterers, fornicators and terrorists." Flouting the constitutional separation of church and state, the Catholic hierarchy has publicly warned politicians against supporting contraception, threatening to campaign against them in the 2004 elections. Hence, only three out of 24 senators and 60 out of 216 Lower House members have signed the proposed bill.

Fight for Women's Rights!

The feminist group Likhaan says that the Philippines has 2.6 million pregnancies each year, more than half of which are "unintended, forced, and unwanted." About 4,000 of these end up in the death of mothers due to complications in pregnancy and childbirth, including from botched abortions. A safe and simple medical procedure when carried out professionally, abortion can become deadly when driven underground. By conservative estimates, 800,000 abortions are performed in the country; at least 80,000 women, according to the Population Commission, have been hospitalized as a result of botched abortions. The survey also found that the use of contraception, which is banned by the Catholic church, fell to 47 percent among Filipino women in 2001, compared to 49 percent in 1999.

In 1999, religious reactionaries campaigned to discourage pregnant women from receiving tetanus injections by raising the bogey that the vaccine caused miscarriages. Apparently having scared mothers away from the tetanus injections, the campaign also succeeded in keeping children away from health centers for their regular immunization. This resulted a year later in the dramatic rise in the number of children getting sick with, if not dying from, measles.

The reactionary partnership of the church and the bourgeois state comes to the fore in the latest wave of budget cuts for public health and social services, combined with moral terrorism and financial pressure by the clergy. Besides the government ban on Postinor, the church has successfully forced the owners of the 7-11 convenience stores in the Philippines to stop condom sales and prevented some *barangay* (village) public health centers from dispensing free oral contra-

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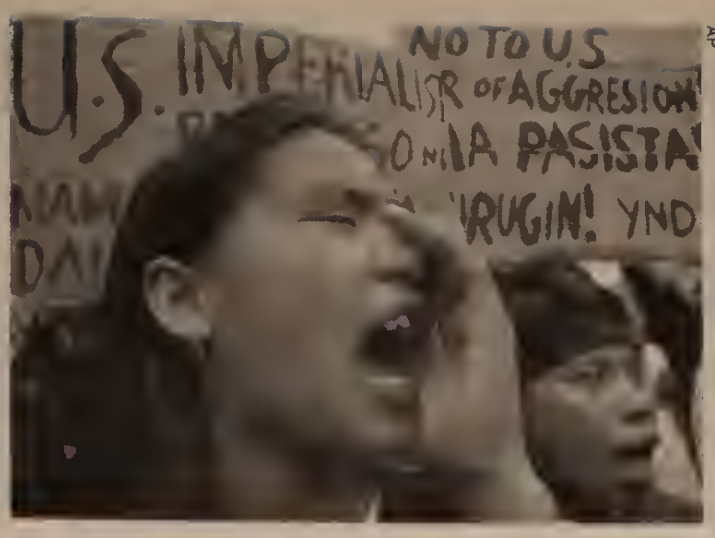
ceptive pills to working women and the poor. In central Philippines, the clergy have torn down posters advertising contraceptives and in Iloilo City threatened to withdraw the lease on several department stores, including the ShoeMart and Gaisano chains, if they continued to sell condoms openly. This campaign of religious backwardness brings to mind the 350 years when the archipelago, then a possession of the Most Catholic Majesties of Spain, was under the sway of the friars.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which for eleven years provided technical assistance and supplies to support birth control in the Philippines, decided in September to discontinue support for the procurement of condom shipments. This is despite increasing concerns by international health agencies over the rise of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases in the Philippines. USAID's decision is part of the U.S. government's current policy of cutting funding to any overseas organization that provides family planning and abortion services. USAID supplies of oral contraceptives will be discontinued in 2003, and the country has enough stocks to last only until September 2004. During a recent action at the U.S. embassy in Manila, protesters fired five condom-tipped skyrockets at the embassy grounds in outrage at the implementation of the gag order by the Bush administration.

All this is happening as the U.S. imperialist rulers continue to maintain hundreds of elite special forces troops and



AP

October 16: Protesters outside U.S. embassy in Manila denounce war drive against Iraq and joint U.S.-Philippine military exercises.

advisers in the country, while funneling tons of war matériel aimed at improving the Philippine bourgeoisie's arsenal of state repression. Under the cover of the "global war on terror," over 100 U.S. troops have joined units of the Philippine Army in its bloody pursuit of secessionists in the historically Muslim southern island of Mindanao. We say: ***Philippine troops out of Mindanao! U.S. troops out of Mindanao and all the Philippines!***

Economist

American troops deployed in the Philippines as part of U.S. imperialism's "war on terror."

Class Collaboration Betrays Workers, Women

The brutal experience under governments headed by two women presidents—the *hacendera* (landlord) Corazon C. Aquino and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, the daughter of a former Philippine president—should disabuse young Filipino leftists and fighters for women's rights of any illusions that installing a woman at the helm of the capitalist state represents a major conquest for the oppressed. In the years since Aquino came to power in the "People Power" revolt in 1986, proletarian women have continued to face hellish conditions in the factories and plants. Women form the vast majority of workers in the garment, textile and semiconductor industries, and these women are overwhelmingly young. In this country, where more than half the population is below 30 years of age, a woman of 25 is considered beyond her prime for work on the assembly lines, and "six-month work contracts" are the closest thing to a permanent job. Twelve-hour shifts in heavily guarded factories, which are little more than sweatshops, are not uncommon. Childcare and health services are unheard of, and women are still fired if found to be pregnant so that the capitalist bosses can avoid paying maternity benefits. What little union rights and benefits workers enjoy—both men and women—are precious fruits wrested in militant struggle against the capitalists, often involving bloody confrontations with company goons and the state.

The capitalist state is not a neutral agency that can be pressured to act in the interest of the masses. Consisting at its core of the cops, courts, prisons and the army—armed bodies of men—the capitalist state is the instrument of bourgeois rule. It exists to impose and defend the "rights" of the capitalists to squeeze profits from the exploitation of the working class. The capitalist state is an instrument of repression against the working class and the oppressed and must be swept away through socialist revolution and replaced with a workers state.

In the Philippines, working women suffer horribly under a triple burden of oppression: as women, as members of the working class, and as people in a semicolony chiefly oppressed by U.S. imperialism. To even begin to lay the material basis for the emancipation of women from domestic slavery and all-sided oppression requires the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order through workers revolution, and the extension of the revolution internationally. This requires above all the construction of a Marxist workers party that fights for the political independence of the working class from all parties and agencies of the capitalist class.

This perspective is counterposed to the Menshevik/Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution" put forward by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) led by Jose Maria Sison and the Socialist Party of Labor (SPP)—co-thinkers of the Australian Democratic Socialist Party—which recently dissolved into the Philippine Workers Party (PMP) founded by the assassinated leftist labor leader Popoy Lagman.

By openly aligning themselves with the Catholic church, the Sisonite CPP mobilized women workers, urban poor and youth to propel the reactionary Arroyo regime to power. At the time, the Sisonites hailed the "People Power 2" coup as a "victory for the people" (see "For Workers Revolution in the Philippines!" *WV* No. 763, 31 August 2001). The Sisonite electoral party Bayan Muna even campaigned for Arroyo's senatorial ticket in last year's elections and were reluctant to oppose her government until Arroyo's military and anti-communist death squads carried out the murderous rampage against the Sisonites which has claimed the lives of at least 23 leaders and supporters.

Unlike the Sisonites and other inhabitants of the fake-left swamp, who treat women as just another sector to mobilize in a popular front with the "progressive" wing of the capitalist class, we adhere to the Leninist position that the vanguard party must be the tribune of all the people in the fight for socialist revolution. Unlike most of the Philippine fake left, which considers women's oppression to be the exclusive concern of women, we as Marxists hold that it is a social question that must be addressed by the entire working class—men included. Abortion, in particular, is not a "petty-bourgeois" or "Western" notion that has no place in the Filipino workers movement. The right to abortion is a very real life and death question in the Philippines, where unmarried mothers face a lifetime of social stigma and desperate poverty.

Women's groups like GABRIELA, which is influenced by the Sisonites, have not adequately addressed the abortion question in the Philippines. This is not simply because the leadership of GABRIELA and the like includes members of the religious orders, but even more because their program stands opposed to socialist revolution. Denying that the fight for emancipation of women could be a powerful motor force for socialist revolution, GABRIELA's predecessor, MAKIBAKA (the CPP's first women's group, founded in 1971), subordinated the fight for women's liberation to the two-stage "national-democratic" struggle in alliance with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. They wrote: "Filipino women cannot work for their total liberation unless the Filipino nation is first liberated from the clutches of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism" (*Liberation*, November-December 1988). Today, capitulation to religious morality and the refusal to challenge the institution of the bourgeois family are demonstrations of GABRIELA's loyalty to their "own" bourgeoisie.

For their part, the Sisonites have balked at openly calling for free abortion (substituting at different times the vague liberal call for "choice" or "reproductive rights") and abstained on the question of divorce (which is even championed by the Democratic Socialist Women, the women's group of the right-wing social-democratic PDSP) and on democratic rights for homosexuals (a matter the Sisonites have relegated to their fellow travelers). The Sisonites together with the SPP and social democrats played no small part in building the pro-Arroyo "People Power 2" mobilizations—composed of the bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeois professionals, the clergy and students from the elite universities—which hurled misogynist and anti-gay slurs at Estrada supporters in the Senate.

Uniquely in the Philippine left, the SPP's predecessor, the Liga Sosyalista, included the demand to "make abortion legal, free and safe" (*Progresibo* No. 4, November-December 1998). But in seeking to forge the "broadest possible unity," the SPP has joined hands with the anti-abortion bigots of Pro-Life Philippines, Catholic religious organizations and Liberal Party politicians like Jovito Salonga and Wigberto Tanada in signing a Gathering for Peace declaration in February that opposed the U.S. military presence and worried about "driving away in the process thousands of potential tourists and investors." Reporting on a Sydney conference sponsored by the Democratic Socialist Party in late March, we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* (19 April):

> "A Spartacist League/Australia comrade challenged SPP leader Sonny Melencio over the SPP's support for the Gathering for Peace declaration—with its concern over imperialist investment—and argued instead for a program of workers revolution to expropriate the capitalist state. In response, Melencio avowed a two-stage program and talked of the need for tactical alliances. But what the SPP leader described as a tactic is in fact a *program* that subordinates the proletariat to a mythical 'progressive' or 'anti-imperialist' wing of the bourgeoisie in the fight for 'democratic' capitalism, leading to a second 'stage' not of 'socialism' but the slaughter of workers and leftists."

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Marxists call for free abortion on demand and strict separation of church and state, opposing any manifestation of

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Aral/Sipa

AFP

Baghdad: Neighborhood destroyed by U.S. missile attack, 1997; women demonstrate against UN starvation sanctions, 1998.

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

all the subordinate imperialist states will acquiesce to the diktats of the master of capitalist ruling classes, U.S. imperialism, because they lack the might to oppose the U.S. and they want to be rewarded with at least a share of the spoils. As an official for the French oil company TotalFinaElf bluntly stated, "We want the oil and we want to be in the game of rebuilding the country. If there were a new regime and we have not been with the Americans, where will we be?"

War: The Continuation of Politics by Other Means

The American ruling class cynically manipulated the grief and horror felt by millions at the criminal and demented attack on the World Trade Center to wage war on Afghanistan. But the patriotic consensus in the U.S. is wearing thin, and elsewhere there is massive opposition to a war against Iraq. War demands civil peace, and from Los Angeles to London the imperialist warmakers are revealed as vicious domestic union-busters and strikebreakers. Declaring that a strike could "threaten national security," the Bush administration has brought down the force of the capitalist state to coerce the powerful American dockers union, the ILWU, to work under the dictates of the union-busting employers association. Across the seas, British firefighters are threatened with strikebreaking by the army. Plunging stock markets rob millions of workers of their pensions while public scandals expose insatiable corporate greed. Tens of thousands of working people, including the entire workforce at a number of Fiat plants in Italy, face a future of being chopped off like a gangrenous limb by owners seeking to protect their own profit margins amid the capitalist economic crisis. Civil liberties have been shredded and the capitalists have intensified their assault on social welfare and other gains wrested through decades of workers struggles.

Everywhere, the anti-immigrant witchhunt has been whipped up to fever pitch in an effort by the capitalist rulers to deflect working-class struggle with racism and xenophobia. The anti-immigrant hysteria provokes a tide of blood as *thousands* of desperate refugees die trying to cross the U.S. border from Mexico or to land a rickety boat in Australia or Europe. Having brought in large numbers of immigrants when their labor was needed, in the face of recession the bourgeoisies of West Europe do not need more immigrants as a supply of cheap labor. All this shows clearly that the capitalist system is the biggest threat to working people everywhere. A decade ago, the rulers crowed about the supposed "death of communism." But capitalism has brought the world to an impasse which the Iraq war illuminates with the terrifying glare of missiles streaking across a night sky. The fight for authentic communism (not its Stalinist perversion) through the instrumentality of revolutionary workers parties is the only way forward.

In the U.S., not even dizzying flag-waving or the heavy fist of state repression has induced the masses to embrace war with Iraq. In Europe, hundreds of thousands of workers and anti-imperialist youth have demonstrated their opposition to this war. The problem is that the anti-war protests in Europe have all been channeled into a national-chauvinist direction of getting one's "own" rulers to stand up to the Americans. In the U.S., antiwar liberals and leftists bleat, "Money for jobs, not for war" and so fuel the lie that fundamental priorities of the capitalist rulers can be altered to serve the interests of working people.

The truth is that this whole capitalist system is based on the extraction of profit for the owners of the means of production through the exploitation and subjugation of the workers who produce the wealth of society. War is a concentrated expression of this, as competing capitalist ruling classes scramble to steal natural resources and to carve out new markets for export of capital and fresh sources of cheap labor. The leader of the Russian Revolution, V.I. Lenin, emphasized the difference between ***bourgeois pacifism***, which lulls the masses into passivity and embellishes capitalist "democracy," and the yearning for peace by the masses. Following the outbreak of the first interimperialist world war, Lenin wrote:

> "At the present time, the propaganda of peace unaccompanied by a call for revolutionary mass action can only sow illusions and demoralise the proletariat, for it makes the proletariat believe that the bourgeoisie is humane, and turns it into a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries. In particular, the idea of a so-called democratic peace being possible without a series of revolutions is profoundly erroneous."
>
> —"The Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad" (February 1915)

In wars between the imperialist predators and plunderers and their colonial and semicolonial victims, the proletariat has a side. As Lenin stressed in his 1915 pamphlet *Socialism and War*: "If tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on [tsarist] Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' and 'defensive' wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slave-holding and predatory 'Great' Powers."

There are palpable opportunities to organize class-struggle opposition to imperialist war and to break the narrow nationalist and economist limits of strikes contained by labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. During the 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia, Italian COBAS unions organized a one-million-strong political general strike against the war. Fiat workers, who today battle plant closings in Italy, organized a campaign of material aid—a campaign which all sections of the ICL actively supported—for their class brothers and sisters at the Yugoslav Zastava car plant, which had been bombed by the imperialists. Last year, Japanese dock workers at Sasebo pointed the way forward by "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) Japanese military goods destined for the war in Afghanistan. Today, courageous Turkish workers at the U.S. airbase in Incirlik, which is planned to be a major launching pad for the Iraq war, threaten a strike.

What's essential is to draw a class line and unshackle the working people and anti-imperialist youth from bourgeois politicians, their agents in the trade unions and their left servants, who seek to channel justified hatred of war into illusory calls for parliamentary reforms of the profit-driven system that breeds war and, in West Europe, into support for their own national bourgeoisie against the Americans. In the heart of the imperialist beast, the Spartacist League/U.S., American section of the ICL, has pointed the way forward with revolutionary internationalist contingents in the antiwar protests. We demand: ***For class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade! All U.S./UN/imperialist troops out of the Persian Gulf and the Near East!***

Spartakist

Spartakist Workers Party banner at October 26 Berlin protest reads: "Down With Racist State Terror! For Class Struggle Against German Capitalist Rulers! Defend Iraq Against Imperialist Attack!"

Bush Doctrine: Nuclear Top Cops of the World

In September, the Bush administration released its "National Security Strategy," a diplomatic bombshell enshrining the principle of "pre-emptive" war, including with nuclear weapons, against anyone who steps in America's way and avowing that no power will ever catch up with the huge military advantage the U.S. has amplified since the Soviet Union was destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. (The U.S. military budget is now greater than that of the next 19 countries combined.) This threat is directed first and foremost against China, as well as against America's imperialist rivals. The new policy represents a significant shift from how America has dominated the world since it emerged triumphant over its rivals in the first and second imperialist world wars. For decades, the

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CHICAGO

U.S. has wrapped its outright brigandage in the guise of "democracy" and "liberating" people from "dictatorship." The United Nations often served as the "humanitarian" fig leaf for the terror and destruction of U.S. imperialism worldwide, from the 1950-53 Korean War to the starvation blockade of Iraq.

Complaints by European social democrats and fake leftists about American "unilateralism" do not represent any *class* opposition to U.S. imperialism, merely the squeals of less powerful states and their apologists who want a bigger cut of the take and would prefer to be treated less rudely. Their maneuvers in the UN are essentially power plays to squeeze the U.S. a bit for their own rival national interests. Lenin called the UN's predecessor, the League of Nations, a "den of thieves," and the UN serves that purpose today: regulating global disputes within the framework determined by the most powerful imperialist powers, covering all its maneuvers as "peace" missions. Now the U.S. feels confident to drop this mask and snarl an overt "Roll over, or you could be next." And they do roll over, acquiescing to exempting the American military from international war crimes tribunals and to U.S. appeals to Iraqis to assassinate their head of state!

The White House policy change is not merely semantic nor an absence of diplomatic niceties. This is the shape of the "new world order" emerging from the demise of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was the homeland of the October Revolution of 1917, the world's first and, to date, only victorious workers revolution. The exploitative capitalist system was overthrown and replaced by a planned, collectivized economy. Yet in the absence of socialist revolutions in Germany and other advanced industrial countries, the young workers state remained impoverished and encircled by hostile imperialist powers, and the Soviet workers themselves were politically expropriated by a conservative bureaucratic caste, akin to the labor bureaucracy which sits atop the trade unions in capitalist countries. Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October Revolution, fought the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin and struggled to return the Soviet Union to the road of revolutionary internationalism. In 1933, Trotsky called for a political revolution to oust the bureaucracy, while continuing to insist that it was the duty of the proletariat internationally to militarily defend the world's first workers state from internal or external attempts at capitalist restoration.

Despite Stalinist deformation, the Soviet Union represented the industrial and military powerhouse for every state that overthrew capitalist rule, from Vietnam to Cuba. Without Soviet military might to stay its hand, U.S. imperialism has been riding roughshod over and expanding its military presence on every continent and on every sea. Interimperialist rivalries that were usually subordinated to the common cause of destroying the Soviet Union have now come to the fore. The re-election of German chancellor Gerhard Schröder on the basis of his anti-American stance in the Iraq conflict, the first time since the end of World War II that capitalist Germany has expressed overt opposition to a major American military-strategic policy, is one indication of the widening rift in the imperialist camp. Japan's wooing of North Korea in September in defiance of Bush's aim to starve and quarantine that "rogue state" is another. Mexican president Fox, who wants to be Bush's man in Latin America, can't even get a diplomatic crumb tossed from Washington's table for his services rendered. During the 1991 Gulf War, Germany and Japan alone paid over 25 percent of the cost of the war, with other U.S. allies (like Saudi Arabia) covering almost all of the rest. Yet Schröder vows not to pay a pfennig this time, and Japan has made clear it does not intend to contribute either. The deepening world economic recession is exacerbating tensions between the West Europeans, the United States and Japan. Economic trade wars between and within the rival blocs for larger shares of the world market will ultimately lead to military conflicts.

Today the U.S. has its sights set on holding and grabbing more of the oil wealth of the Near East, but the ultimate prize it wants is China. Emboldened by capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, the U.S. is mounting military pressure on China—from the expansion of U.S. bases in the Philippines to new bases on the Afghan border. At the same time, the U.S. and other imperialists, as well as overseas Chinese capitalists, promote incursions of the capitalist market in "Special Economic Zones" for free-market exploitation in the heart of the Chinese deformed workers state. China is one of seven potential targets in the cross hairs of U.S. plans for a ***nuclear first strike***, as laid out in the "Nuclear Posture Review" issued by the Pentagon earlier this year. Nonetheless, the miserable Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy endorsed the U.S. "war on terror" in Afghanistan. As well, elements of the bureaucracy seek to become a new capitalist ruling class, assisting the economic penetration of China by the imperialists and the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie. The terrible reversal of human progress by every measure, from infant mortality to life expectancy to literacy, since capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and East Europe is a warning to the Chinese working masses that a sellout to the "free world" means a free fall into capitalist exploitation and misery—and so much the more so for China, with its vast expanses of economic backwardness. The gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which lifted China from the yoke of imperialist domination, ended the enslavement of women and vastly improved the conditions of life of the worker and peasant masses through the creation of a planned, collectivized economy, are at risk. We Trotskyists fight for the ***unconditional military defense*** of China—as well as North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies which undermine the workers states.

The ICL threw every resource at its disposal into the fight to stop capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, and earlier in East Germany. We sought to reimplant the authentic communism of Lenin's Bolsheviks, and to bring to the working class Trotsky's brilliant analysis of the contradictory character of the deformed workers states, in order to build revolutionary internationalist parties as the instrument to defend the old gains and conquer new ones. We did not succeed, but the bitter result of capitalism's victory—a far more dangerous world of unbridled imperialist exploitation and war—makes the struggles at hand all the more urgent and steels our resolve. In contrast, virtually the entire "left" howled along with the imperialist wolves in backing the forces of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. In so doing they expressed their rapprochement with their national bourgeoisies. Thus it is not surprising that, reflecting growing differences among the major capitalist powers, these "leftists" went on to act as "human rights" drummer boys for their imperialist rulers against Serbia in 1999 and today adopt an "antiwar" posture which is nothing but pink window-dressing on the national interests of their own capitalist ruling classes.

Fake Left Marches to the Beat of Their Own Capitalist Rulers

It is correct to oppose American imperialism, but to promote the idea that the European imperialists are more benevolent and progressive than their American rival is nothing but vile social-chauvinism. Yet this is precisely the counterfeit currency of the European "left." Thus the Italian Rifondazione Comunista (RC), the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Workers Power (WP), among a raft of others, signed a call "To All Citizens of Europe and to All Their Representatives" which proclaims:

> "Those who show solidarity with the people of Iraq have no hearing in the White House. But we do have the chance to influence European governments—many of whom have opposed the war. We call on all the European heads of state to publicly stand against this war, whether it has UN backing or not, and to demand that George Bush abandon his war plans."

What a poignant appeal to the German bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, to the French imperialists who soaked Algeria in blood, to the British who pillaged the Indian subcontinent and carved up the Near East and whose imperialist troops enforce brutal repression of the Catholics in Northern Ireland! How about today's minor players, like the Belgians, whose colonial occupation of the Congo was unrivaled in brutality, or the Dutch, who subjugated Indonesia and also engaged in an intercontinental slave trade? Let's not forget it was the Italian bourgeoisie which set up concentration camps in Libya and which used poison gas against the Ethiopian population. Moreover, this bloody colonial past paved the way for the murderous repression of dark-skinned immigrants by West Europe's rulers today, from the racist *Rasterfahndung* (a computerized system for racial profiling of mainly Muslim immigrants) in Germany to the institutionalized racist cop terror of France's "Vigipirate" campaign, Italy's drowning of boatloads of Albanian refugees, Britain's deportations of asylum-seekers, and on and on.

Perhaps the "leftist" signatories of the above-quoted statement feel their imperialist masters "owe" them one. After all, they *did* help install the reactionary governments in place across Europe. The British SWP declared itself "over the moon" when Bush's poodle Tony Blair first became prime minister. The French LCR vigorously campaigned "in the streets and at the polling booths" to "stop

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Castelnuovo/NY Times

Reuters

Devastated Jenin after Israeli blitzkrieg in April. Fascistic Zionist settlers rampage in Palestinian city of Hebron, July.

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Iraq...

(continued from page 7)

Le Pen" and install the right-wing Gaullist Jacques Chirac. The German Cliffite group Linksruck helped put Schröder, who seized on the Balkans War to become the first man to roll Bundeswehr tanks out of Germany since Adolf Hitler, back in office as an anti-American "peace" candidate. Italian RC leader Bertinotti talks out of the left side of his mouth about a "European general strike for peace" (conspicuously excluding the American workers), while simultaneously appealing to the European heads of state, including the right-wing, fascist-allied Berlusconi, to oppose the war. In effect, Bertinotti calls for a "strike for peace" by capitalist governments. *Proposta* and Falcemartello (the Italian offshoot of the British Grantites), nestled inside RC, refuse to take a side to ***defend Iraq*** and promote mobilizations against U.S. military bases in Italy without addressing Italian imperialism. Indeed, *Proposta* supported the previous RC/"Ulivo" government which invaded Albania in 1997. In cyberspace, Workers Power and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) calls to "defend Iraq," but on the streets of Britain they campaigned for Tony Blair, who wages war on Iraq. Workers Power openly campaigned for the defeat of Serbia by the Kosovo Liberation Army—tool of NATO imperialism in the Balkans War—and turned up at a London demonstration which featured the call "Good luck NATO!" WP also issued the demented proclamation that "in the aftermath of NATO's victory in Kosova, a pre-revolutionary situation is maturing" ("The Fight to Overthrow Milosevic in Serbia," 11 August 1999 LRCI statement).

In Britain, the Cliffite SWP froths mightily against "Bush's war," yet it supported the entry of British imperialist troops into Northern Ireland in 1969 and still can't bring itself to call for their immediate unconditional withdrawal! While occasionally denouncing the United Nations in their newspapers, various international affiliates of the Cliff tendency make up the right wing of the antiwar movement and criminally build illusions in the UN, whose sanctions against Iraq are *a murdernus act of war*. In 1990-91, the SWP built the Committee to Stop the War in the Gulf headed by Tony Benn, who supported UN sanctions. Now Linksruck has published a petition on its Web page demanding: "We appeal to the German Federal Government with much concern: To do everything possible in the framework of the UN in response to the U.S.A. to avoid the threatened war!"

In Australia, the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) announces in its 4 October issue of *Socialist Worker* that it backs the Victorian Peace Network (VPN), an antiwar confab which states, "UN resolutions on disarmament and human rights will only work if they are applied equally, without fear or favour. All the nuclear powers and all Middle East states must abolish their stocks of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons." This is an openly pro-imperialist call for the *disarmament of Iraq* in the face of impending U.S./British attack. As for the imperialists, they will only be disarmed when they are expropriated by victorious workers revolutions. Clinging to the coattails of liberals like the VPN, the ISO ends up again in the camp of the imperialists.

National Geographic

British troops march into Baghdad, 1919, amid imperialist carve-up of Near East following World War I.

Similarly, the Marcyite Workers World Party (WWP) in the United States talks a little more left in its newspaper but in practice dedicates its efforts to subordinating the antiwar movement to capitalist politicians in the Democratic Party of war and racism. The WWP promotes Ramsey Clark, who was top cop under the Vietnam War administration of Lyndon Johnson and today demands that U.S. imperialism "lead us on the road to peace"!

U.S. military bases across Europe and Asia, as well as high-tech spy installations such as Australia's Pine Gap, have become deserving targets of antiwar protests by leftists and trade unions. It would be a good thing if the U.S. were deprived of its international launching pads for war against Iraq. For all of German chancellor Schröder's electioneering against war in Iraq, it is highly unlikely that he will interfere in any way with the key American air bases and military installations across Germany which house some 70,000 American troops. What we need is not an "antiwar movement" of social-chauvinist support to one's "own" bourgeoisie, but a revolutionary proletarian and internationalist opposition to the U.S./NATO bases. The Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the ICL, calls for the immediate withdrawal of all German troops from the Balkans, Afghanistan and the Near East. And while much of the left campaigned for imperialist intervention in East Timor in 1999, the Spartacist League/Australia opposed the Australian military presence there from the outset.

The French Lutte Ouvrière (LO) group appears to have set itself apart from the swamp and even denounced "the total hypocrisy of the European states regarding the escalation of Bush's warmongering" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 6 September). Yet LO offers *no* perspective for any class-struggle fight against war, much less against the domestic reflection of this war drive: an escalation of police-state terror against immigrants, *sans-papiers* (undocumented immigrants) and "second generation" youth. LO has swung wildly in recent months, from grotesque support to cop "strikes" and calls for *more* cops in poor neighborhoods to opposing police brutality. Yet where LO is consistent is precisely in their steadfast refusal to fight for anything but the most narrow economic demands in the proletariat. Incredibly, in months of LO factory leaflets you can not find one word against anti-immigrant racism, but plenty of their perpetual reformist babble about "banning layoffs." Thus LO does its bit to tie workers to their exploiters with the lie that the capitalist system can somehow be regulated under a "good" government to be humane.

In Lenin's classic antiwar primer *Socialism and War*, written in 1915 in the crucible of World War I, he wrote:

> "Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same politico-ideological content—class collaboration instead of the class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one's 'own' government in its embarrassed situation, instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments so as to advance the revolution."

Indeed, the pseudo-Marxists' support to their own rulers as somehow more moral and humane than the American bourgeoisie is the same argument used by the German Social Democrats as "justification" for "defense of the fatherland" and voting war credits to the Kaiser in 1914. This renunciation of the fundamental Marxist perspective of class vs. class—encapsulated in the clarion call of the *Communist Manifesto* "Workingmen of all countries, unite!"—impelled Lenin to rip off the dirty shirt of the Second International and build a new, Communist, Third International. The betrayal by the Social Democrats made Lenin realize that opportunism had a material base in the workers movement itself, particularly in the trade-union officialdom which tied its fortunes to the capitalist system. Lenin's greatest contribution to Marxism was his conclusion that a decisive *split* from the opportunists was the *precondition* for the proletariat to fight for its own class interests and its own class rule. Contrast this understanding with the base opportunism of groups like Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers International, headed by the British Socialist Party, which may occasionally make orthodox-sounding statements about capitalism being the root cause of war but is wedded to support to social democrats like the German Party of Democratic Socialism.

Lenin explains in *Socialism and War*:

> "Today ***unity*** with the opportunists *actually* means subordinating the working class to their 'own' national bourgeoisie, and an alliance with the latter for the purpose of oppressing other nations and of fighting for dominant-nation privileges; it means *splitting* the revolutionary proletariat of all countries."

He concludes that the task at hand is:

> "To rally these Marxist elements, however small their numbers may be at the outset; to reanimate, in their name, the now forgotten ideals of genuine socialism, and to call upon the workers of all lands to break with the chauvinists and rally about the old banner of Marxism—such is the task of the day."

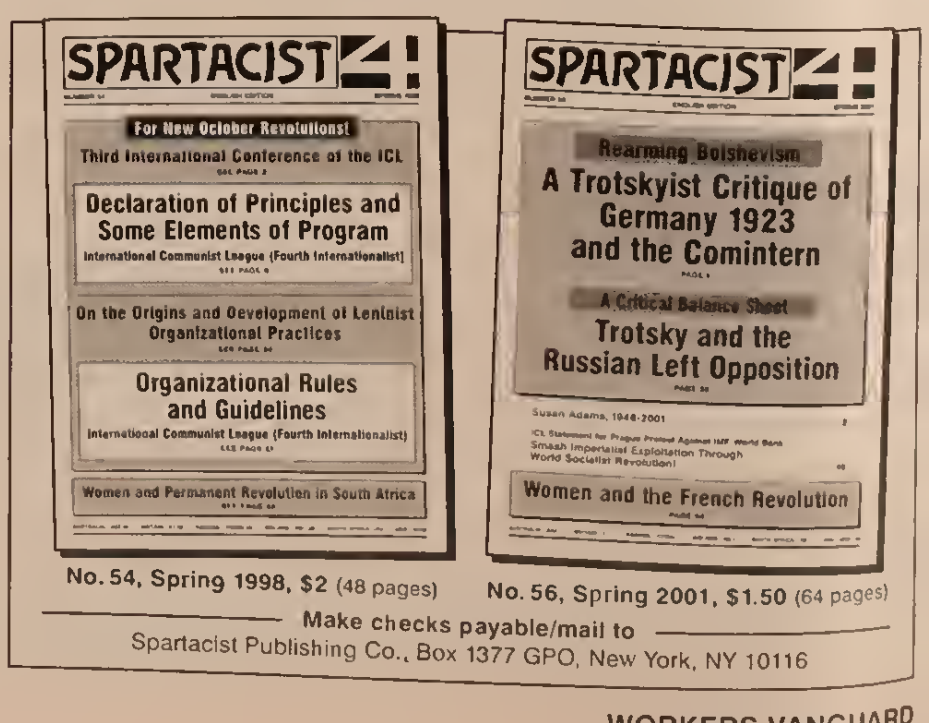
Near East Trip Wire for World War Three

In order to fully and effectively mobilize the workers and rural toilers of Iraq against American imperialism, it is necessary that the Iraqi regime be overthrown and replaced by a government of workers and peasants councils (soviets) such as was established by the 1917 Russian Bolshevik Revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. A Leninist-Trotskyist party in Iraq today would thus seek to combine the struggle for national independence against American militarism with a social revolution against the Iraqi capitalists and landlords. Arab leaders throughout the Near East fear that a U.S. invasion of Iraq will ignite social turmoil in their own countries. Meanwhile, Israel continues to pound the Palestinians, shattering every building block of society in the Occupied Territories and posing the very real possibility of mass expulsion of the Palestinian people. It is the U.S.-led war on Iraq that would provide the "cover" for Sharon's genocidal plans. Turkey fears that the destruction of the Saddam Hussein regime could incite struggle by the oppressed Kurdish people in Iraq—and Turkey—for their national rights. The Near East is a patchwork of artificial states whose borders were literally drawn by the imperialists to suit their colonial appetites, including control of vital oil reserves.

Imperialist domination has *reinforced* social backwardness and the brutal repression of women, of homosexuals, of national, ethnic and religious minorities in the Near East. Not least, it was U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet "holy war" in Afghanistan in the 1980s which, along with the bankruptcy of Arab nationalism and the nationalist betrayals of the Stalinist Communist parties, helped fuel the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the Near East. Where much of the rest of the left marched in lockstep behind the imperialists and against the Soviet Union in

no credit

"Democratic" French imperialists tortured and assassinated Algerians in failed attempt to defeat war of independence.



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Afghanistan, uniquely we took a side *with the Red Army* against the CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries. The Soviet presence brought the hope of liberation to the Afghan peoples, especially the women enslaved by Islamic law and the veil. We proclaimed: Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples! We opposed Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal from Afghanistan and presciently warned of the impulse it would give to counter-revolution, noting "It's better to fight in Afghanistan than in Moscow."

In urban centers throughout the Near East, there is a modern industrial proletariat which has the social power and class interest to transcend ethnic and religious division and sweep away the capitalist order. The task is to render the proletariat conscious of its interests, combatting all variants of nationalism, including the "progressive" nationalism of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and all manner of religious fundamentalism. The key is forging a revolutionary leadership based on Trotsky's program of permanent revolution, which teaches: "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leaders of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses" (*The Permanent Revolution*, 1929).

Trotsky stressed that "the subsequent fate of the [proletarian] dictatorship and socialism depends in the last analysis not only and not so much upon the national productive forces as upon the development of the international socialist revolution." Today in the Near East, the struggle against imperialist war and domination and against oppressive capitalist rule by the despotic sheiks, colonels and Zionist rulers cannot be resolved within the confines of a single country. Justice for the Palestinian people, national emancipation for the Kurds, freedom from the veil and *sharia* (Islamic law) for women, require sweeping away the medieval fundamentalists in Iran and Sudan, the bloody butchers in Syria and Iraq, the reactionary monarchies in Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, and the kill-crazy Zionist rulers of Israel. *U.S./NATO and all imperialist forces out of the Near East! Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinian people! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! For a socialist federation of the Near East!*

Novosti

Soldiers march through Moscow under banner of Communism in 1917. October Revolution pulled Russia out of carnage of World War I, inspired exploited and oppressed around the world.

These struggles must be linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe, North America and Japan. Throughout the imperialist centers, immigrant workers and their children represent a living bridge linking class struggle between the metropolis and the former colonies and linking racially oppressed immigrants to the power of the proletariat as a whole. A struggle against war and against national and racial oppression cannot be waged through the politics of compromise pushed by the social democrats, the ex-Stalinists and their so-called "far left" tails. The struggle against war presupposes a revolutionary instrument of struggle, an internationalist Trotskyist party. This is the task to which the International Communist League is dedicated.

The vast machinery of death in the hands of the imperialists is a measure of the enormous scientific and technological progress made possible by the Industrial Revolution. Today, science and technology are centrally deployed to advance the bourgeoisie's untrammeled pursuit of profit through grinding exploitation of the overwhelming mass of the world's population and threaten the very existence of human civilization. Turning science and technology to the benefit of humanity requires wresting the means of production from the hands of the capitalist imperialist rulers and creating an international planned economy. Only in this way can the needs of the billions of toilers now consigned to dreadful and stultifying poverty begin to be met and the threat of war ended once and for all. *Only socialist revolution can end imperialist war—Reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!* ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

senior partners on Wall Street and in the City of London. The "tripartite alliance" government led by the African National Congress (ANC)—which includes COSATU and the thoroughly reformist South African Communist Party (SACP)—rules over the South African masses at the behest of the white bourgeoisie. Harking back to the days of outright apartheid repression, the bourgeois daily Johannesburg *Star* (9 October) aptly editorialised: "All too often we find ourselves thinking that the more things change, the more they stay the same. If ever there was cause for déjà vu, it must be the headline 'Two Striking Miners Shot Dead'."

In the aftermath of the strike, the ANC trotted out four top SACP ministers to attack the COSATU leadership for calling the general strike. In turn, the COSATU leadership, which is dominated by SACP-ers, claimed that it was the workers who had forced their hand. As the *Star* (4 October) headlined: "COSATU Chiefs Succumbed to Pressure—Union Leadership Wanted to Postpone the Strike but Were Accused of Selling Out." The ERPM strike clearly went beyond the aims of the labour tops to simply have the workers blow off steam. The mining sector has seen a substantial amount of labour unrest in the past year, and the bureaucrats are fearful that such action could threaten "business as usual."

The backdrop to the attack on the miners is a "black empowerment" takeover of ERPM by black capitalists who used a labour contractor to "implement inhuman working and living conditions," as a National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) spokesman put it. Labour contractors are notoriously used to circumvent union contracts on wages, working conditions and retrenchment issues. The miners had been protesting since early April because the bosses had planned to fire 4,000 of them, and the black elite moving in said they'd only rehire 2,800 workers.

The miners' labour struggle is particularly significant as the ANC regime moves to implement a "mining charter" that proposes a target of 26 percent "black empowerment" in ten years' time. Through "black empowerment" moves, the bourgeois-nationalist ANC seeks to create a broader layer of black exploiters to act as a buffer between the overwhelmingly black African proletariat and the white bourgeoisie. Whatever cosmetic changes happen in the corporate boardrooms, the "new South Africa" remains a seething pit of racist rule where blacks are kept at the bottom. The murders on the picket lines are the face of what's to come.

Ruth Motau

ANC-led neo-apartheid regime enforces hellish conditions for the masses at the behest of the white capitalist ruling class.

What conditions in South Africa cry out for is the forging of a revolutionary vanguard party that acts as the tribune of the people. The combative and powerful South African working class, if it is to struggle for its own liberation against capitalist exploitation, must lead the fight against the brutal oppression of women, immigrants, the rural poor and the millions who languish in the country's destitute shantytowns.

As the largest COSATU affiliate, the NUM is a key strategic union that, with its hands on the economy's central resources of gold, diamonds, platinum, coal and electricity generation, has the social power to bring the country to a standstill. But instead of mobilising for a shutdown of all the mines and other subsidiary industries in protest against the outrageous killings of the miners, the NUM bureaucracy appealed for class peace and assured the miners' exploiters that the bureaucrats would contain any protest action and commit themselves to "negotiation." One of the miners at ERPM told *Spartacist South Africa*: "If all the mines had come to a standstill, this would have been resolved in just ten minutes." It wasn't until October 18 that the COSATU leadership, in a press statement touting its "health and safety campaign," made any mention about the attack on the miners at ERPM. The slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all" emblazoned on COSATU banners is treated with contempt by the treacherous union tops.

The labour bureaucracy is made up of lieutenants of the capitalists whose purpose is to maintain class collaboration. In the aftermath of the killings, the SACP sent its general secretary to cool the situation down. The COSATU president and the NUM general secretary had gone to ERPM earlier for the same reason. This string of bureaucrats appealed for calm and sapped the working-class action, calling for "the law to take its course." Two security guards were arrested in order to assuage the workers' anger. But, of course, the master criminals—the owners and managers of ERPM—remain free to exploit the miners and, when they protest, to shoot them down.

As the murders at ERPM show, the battle lines are being drawn against the rising black elite—the *amabhuna amnyama*. Recently, striking municipal workers also faced cops and security goons in a struggle against a layer of black ANC councillors enforcing the privatisation of utilities supplying electricity and water. Cops and security guards are armed thugs of the state whose purpose is to protect private property. Spartacist South Africa says: *Cops and security guards out of the unions!*

Outrage over the killing of the ERPM miners underscores the rapidly growing disillusionment with and hostility toward Thabo Mbeki's ANC regime. As one shop steward at ERPM told *Spartacist South Africa*: "What has changed is the jockey, but the horse remains the same." To protect jobs being shed under the guise of "black empowerment" will take a fight to unleash the social might of the unions. What is needed is a revolutionary leadership in the unions to oust the pro-capitalist leaders in COSATU, who tie the working masses to the cart of bourgeois nationalism. Break with the ANC/SACP/COSATU Alliance! We are for the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party that fights for a socialist society where those who labour rule. ■

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SPARTACIST SOUTH AFRICA
South African Bourgeoisie Backs US War on Afghanistan

Down With U.S. Government "Anti-Terrorist" Hit List!

Hands Off Communist Party of the Philippines!

On August 9, the U.S. government declared the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its New People's Army (NPA) "foreign terrorist organizations," making it illegal to provide any "material support or resources" to the CPP. CPP supporters can be deported from the U.S. or denied entry. A few days later, at the behest of the U.S., the Dutch government froze the personal bank account of CPP leader Jose Maria Sison and denied him the housing and food and medical allowances he is entitled to as a refugee in the Netherlands. Numerous other Filipino leftists in the Netherlands face a similar danger, including Sison's comrade, Luis Jalandoni. These measures are particularly ominous amid threats to extradite Sison to the U.S.

On August 29, the Canadian government also added the CPP, NPA and Sison to its "terrorist" list. With a media hysteria campaign comparing Sison to Osama bin Laden, the European Union is now also poised to ban the CPP.

Sison spent nine years in the jails of former U.S.-backed dictator Ferdinand Marcos, where he was also tortured. In 1986 he was released by Corazon Aquino, Marcos' successor, only to be charged with subversion by the Aquino regime while he was abroad. Repeated assassination attempts, first under Aquino and later under Joseph Estrada, failed.

The witchhunt against Sison and the CPP/NPA comes in the context of a crackdown against leftists and Muslim secessionists in the Philippines by the Arroyo government, aided by hundreds of American troops. Despite our fundamental political differences with the Stalinist CPP, we call on the workers movement internationally to defend them against state repression. The American government's attack on the CPP in the name of the "war on terror" underlines that the assaults on the rights of Muslims and Arabs by the Bush administration are ultimately aimed at the left and labor movement.

Canada, which like the U.S. has a large Filipino population, is threatening a full-scale witchhunt of the Filipino left. A small right-wing biweekly in Vancouver, the *Asian Pacific Post* (September 19-October 9), reported that Canadian cops and spies "are tracking the fundraising activities of several B.C.-based Filipino-Canadian associations to determine if they are pumping money to communist rebels in the Philippines." An unnamed government official told the *Asian Pacific Post*: "We are looking at a variety of issues pertaining to fund raising by the Filipino groups, looking at bank accounts and the extensive remittance system used by the migrant workers to send money home."

Among the groups to be spied on and harassed are the B.C. Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines, SKILAB (an overseas Filipino workers group) and the Filipino-Canadian Youth Alliance-Vancouver. Another group under attack is the Filipino Nurses Support Group, a labor organization representing Filipino nurses in Canada. Showing how widespread this witchhunt is, one of the named groups is the Philippine Women's Center, one of whose programs has been subsidized by the Canadian government.

The government threats to spy on remittances effectively targets every immigrant worker, since virtually all immigrants send money to their families back home. An estimated four million Filipinos work as seamen, toil in the oil fields of the Near East, or work as domestic servants, garment workers or nurses in Europe and North America. Their remittances, as much as $4 billion per year, make up about 6 percent of the Philippine economy and are a major source of hard currency in this terribly poor U.S. neocolony.

An example of how devastating a clampdown on remittances can be is last year's shut down of the Somalian-connected al-Barakaat, one of several *hawalas*, or informal money-transferring networks, used by Somali immigrants. In the wake of September 11, al-Barakaat was put on the "terrorist" list and closed down in the U.S., Canada and elsewhere, as U.S. authorities claimed that it was a conduit for moving Al Qaeda money. In Somalia—devastated by hunger and imperialist depredation, without banks, post offices or other infrastructure—such networks are used by 80 percent of the population to conduct daily banking and, most of all, to receive the overseas funds on which many rely for their existence. Less than a year later, as the U.S. added the CPP to its "terrorist" lists, it *de*listed al-Barakaat because...it had "no terrorist links"!

Seizing on the U.S. banning of the CPP, the Philippine government broke off "peace" negotiations with the CPP/NPA guerrilla forces and declared the CPP "terrorist." The Philippine military, with the aid of hundreds of U.S. "advisers," has used the campaign against the unsavory Abu Sayyaf guerrillas as a pretext to go after dissidents, leftists and secessionists among the oppressed Muslim minority in Mindanao and other southern Philippine islands. "Disappearances" and attacks on leftists and trade-union leaders sharply increased since the U.S. troops arrived early this year. Arroyo has also intensified the campaign of vilification against the NPA, calling it worse than Abu Sayyaf in order to set the leftist guerrillas up for liquidation.

There have been protests in the Netherlands, Canada and the U.S. against the deadly witchhunt of the CPP. It is vital that the working class take up the fight against the government's attacks on the left and democratic rights; the laws that now target mainly immigrants will be used against the whole working class. The same government that has outlawed the CPP has also invoked the anti-union Taft-Hartley law against the West Coast ILWU longshore union. In Oakland, California on February 9, ILWU Local 10 was an instrumental force in the united front protest initiated by the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee in defense of immigrants and against the "anti-terror" laws. Among the many organizations endorsing the protest was the Filipino Workers Organization, and one of their leaders addressed the rally.

The defense of the CPP and other Filipino leftists is a crucial task of the international workers movement. ***Fight the "anti-terror" witchhunt! Hands off the CPP and Jose Maria Sison! Full asylum for Sison! U.S. troops out of the Philippines!*** ■

AP

October 21: Manila demonstrators burn effigy of Gloria Arroyo in protest against government's plan to impose draconian "anti-terror" measures.

Philippines...

(continued from page 5)

discrimination against women, homosexuals and ethnic, national and religious minorities. Marxists fight to end patriarchal practices oppressive to women, like polygamy, based on the subordination of women, and the imposition of the *kumbong* (headscarf) on Muslim women. While the Catholic Philippine bourgeoisie wages bloody civil war against Muslim guerrillas in Mindanao, it also recognizes *sharia* (Islamic law) in the region, further reinforcing the horrible oppression of Muslim women.

The struggle for women's emancipation is tied to the proletarian class struggle to overthrow the system of capitalist exploitation. As in the 1917 Russian Revolution, women workers will be at the forefront of the fight against capitalist and semi-feudal enslavement in the Philippines. The Bolsheviks recognized that in backward regions, the fight for the emancipation of women was a great motor force for revolution. In 1924, the revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote about Muslim women of the Soviet East:

> "The Eastern woman, who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak, will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress. She will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas and new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution and for ideas of Communism than the awakened woman worker."

For the Filipino working class and plebeian women and youth, workers revolution in the Philippines is a question of life and death. However, the gains wrested by a victorious socialist revolution will be short-lived in the face of hostile imperialism. Moreover, it will be impossible, especially in the impoverished Philippines, to build socialism and therefore realize the full emancipation of women without the extension of the revolution internationally. The fight for proletarian power in the Philippines must be linked to a perspective of international proletarian revolution, particularly in the imperialist centers of the U.S., Japan, Australia and West Europe. The millions-strong diaspora of Filipino workers around the world provides a living bridge between the class struggle in the archipelago and those in the Near East, North America and elsewhere. The key to victory lies in the forging of an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party against all variants of nationalism and class collaboration.

The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, fights against every depredation of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, in Iraq and throughout the world. As part of our struggle against imperialism and in defense of working people and the oppressed around the globe, we stand for the unconditional military defense of social gains under the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. Join the ICL in the fight for new October revolutions, for the liberation of women and all the oppressed! ■

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NYC...

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with" the jogger's hair. This is a standard ploy by the cops when they don't have an iota of physical evidence to back up their case. "Consistent with" is meaningless; there could be countless millions of people who had hair "similar" to the jogger's. But the prosecuting attorney then baldly told the jury at the trial that the forensics expert "found on Kevin Richardson's underpants a hair that matched the head hair" of the jogger. DNA tests performed earlier this year revealed conclusively that the hair did not match.

Northwestern University Law Professor Steven Drizin, an expert on false confessions, pointed out, "It is almost an absolute certainty they were not involved in this rape. That would require a scenario so unlikely, it's impossible to believe. You also have to explain how five teenage boys could sexually assault a woman and not leave a shred of physical evidence at the scene. Why is there no DNA? Teenage boys can't make peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwiches without leaving a mess behind" (*Newsday*, 18 October).

New York 1989: A City on the Edge

At the time the jogger's bludgeoned body was discovered lying in the park, Ed Koch was in the middle of a tightly contested mayoral primary race with black Democrat David Dinkins. Koch, who rode into office appealing to the white "ethnic" vote, seized on the jogger case to once again play to the racist vote, giving fuel to lynch mobs on the street. Four months after the rape, a gang of white punks in Bensonhurst blew away 16-year-old black youth Yusuf Hawkins, who was in "their" neighborhood to visit his white girlfriend. The neighbors excused this coldblooded murder by pointing to the Central Park rape.

New York had long been a city on the edge, a trail of horrors punctuated by the names of those many black people killed by Koch's cops—among them 67-year-old grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, 25-year-old artist Michael Stewart, 17-year-old black honor student Edmund Perry. In 1987 alone, Koch's killer cops gunned down 24 people—21 of them black or Hispanic.

Emboldened white thugs on the streets had for years engaged in a wave of pogromist attacks. In 1982, black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death after he stopped into a bagel shop in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn. In 1986, a Howard Beach lynch mob chased 23-year-old Michael Griffith to his death on the Belt Parkway. In 1987, a bus of mostly black passengers was attacked by a gang of 20 white punks with ax handles, baseball bats, spiked clubs and tire irons, while white homeowners in Flushing torched a building which the city had leased to house black and Latino foster care infants.

The raw racist nightmare that defined New York was replicated in cities across the country. With the devastation of whole swaths of industrial plants, America's capitalist rulers came to see the residents of the inner-city ghettos which used to provide a reservoir of unskilled labor for the auto plants and steel mills—a "reserve army" of the unemployed to be tapped when the economy needed them—as a "surplus" population. The coldblooded policy of starving black welfare mothers and their kids was augmented by a "war on crime" which snatches young men and women from the streets and throws them into prison hellholes. One statistic sums it up: As one million assembly line jobs were lost in the 1980s, one million people were added to the prison population. In the decade since, on the heels of what was hailed as U.S. capitalism's greatest economic expansion, ghetto conditions have only worsened and the prison population has continued to skyrocket.

An article in the *Boston Review* (April/May 2002) by Loïc Wacquant noted:

> "The United States far outstrips all advanced nations in the international trend towards the penalization of social insecurity. And just as the dismantling of welfare programs was accelerated by a cultural and political conflation of blackness and undeservingness, so, too, the 'great confinement' of the rejects of market society—the poor, mentally ill, homeless, jobless, and useless—can be painted as a welcome 'crackdown' on *them*, those dark-skinned criminals from a pariah group still considered alien to the national body."

The Central Park jogger case played a critical role in feeding a climate where ghetto youth are portrayed as inveterate criminals. From the moment the victim was taken to the hospital, the black and Latino youths were being lynched in the press. The obligatory "alleged" was not used when describing them as rapists. Even before they were coerced into giving their statements, the *New York Times* (21 April 1989) ran the headline, "Youths Rape and Beat Central Park Jogger," while the right-wing gutter rag *New York Post* the same day screamed, "Wolfpack Rapes Jogger." Liberal columnist Pete Hamill disgustingly added, "I think this is an insult to animals in general and wolves in particular" (*New York Post*, 25 April 1989). Even today, after their innocence has been proven, one of the lead cops on the case continues to refer to them as "mutts."

Citing Family Court chief prosecutor Peter Reinharz as authority, the *Times* wrote of hundreds of "wolfpack" attacks a year. Of course, this didn't include the white mob that murdered Michael Griffith in 1986, who were always politely referred to as "Howard Beach residents."

The immediate aftermath of the Central Park attack was renewed calls to bring back capital punishment to New York State, which at one time had been the death penalty capital of the U.S. A *Post* (26 April 1989) editorial demanded, "Channel Your Outrage: Demand the Death Penalty." Donald Trump paid $85,000 for full-page ads in the city's four major newspapers declaring: "Bring Back the Death Penalty, Bring Back Our Police." Trump demanded: "Let our politicians give back our police department's power to keep us safe. Unshackle them from the constant chant of 'police brutality' which every petty criminal hurls immediately at an officer who has just risked his or her life to save another's." Pataki's support to the death penalty played a large role in his 1994 election as governor over Democrat Mario Cuomo, who had repeatedly vetoed death penalty legislation. In 1995, the New York legislature voted to bring back capital punishment, a law enthusiastically signed by Pataki.

In a recent column in *Newsday* (22 October), Jimmy Breslin nailed Trump: "If the woman jogger had died and the young men were convicted of murder and executed, and the evidence of being not guilty suddenly came out now, it would be murder by the state and Trump would be as good as an accomplice. The most you'd get out of him would be a shrug. Calling for the police to be let loose meant exactly what it said. Louima, Diallo. Let's go. Break their heads. Slam 'em." In fact, dozens of death row inmates have been released in recent years after DNA evidence exonerated them.

Shortly after the rape, Family Court prosecutor Reinharz declared: "I think that kids like this, given what I would call their predatory nature, are people who, given the chance, would do something like this again. There really isn't any way to control them—at least we haven't found it in the juvenile justice system" (*New York Post*, 25 April 1989). He was echoed by Pete Hamill: "Jail does not cause them fear. They come from a world where jail is just another puberty rite. And in jail they will only continue the education that brought them to Central Park. And we know one more thing: atrocities like this will go on and on.... We know why. There aren't enough cops. There aren't enough jails. There aren't enough judges" (*New York Post*, 23 April 1989).

This view of black youth as inherently "predatory" has been the ideological cover for Democratic and Republican administrations putting tens of thousands of killer cops on the streets; for the passage of stiffer mandatory sentences and the vast expansion of prison construction; for the drastic reduction of funding for public defenders; for the gutting of *habeas corpus* appeals and the death row speedup. Largely due to the "war on drugs," the prison population has more than doubled over the past 20 years, with over two million behind bars, more than half of them black and Hispanic.

As the government continues to starve the ghettos and barrios, the Bush administration set up its Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in order to funnel government funds to church groups. John DiIulio was hand-picked by Bush last year as the first head of this office. As a Princeton professor, DiIulio, the exemplar of "compassionate conservatism," wrote in the *National Review*: "All that's left of the black community in some pockets of urban America is deviant, delinquent and criminal adults surrounded by severely abused and neglected children, virtually all of whom were born out of wedlock." Together with right-wing ideologues William Bennett and John Walters, DiIulio warned in the 1996 book *Body Count* of a "rising tide of juvenile superpredators." Although the "rising tide" was actually plummeting, with youth crime in 1999 at its lowest level in 25 years, their rantings provided inspiration for "The Violent Youth Predator Act of 1996," under which juveniles are housed in prison with adults. Increasingly, children as young as 12 are being tried as adults.

The American Injustice System

The damage done to the lives of the five young men and their families is immeasurable. As Yusef Salaam's mother pointed out, "Every time he shows up someplace, he goes and he applies for a job, people can look on this list and see he's a felon and a sexual predator. Would you hire someone like that?" Speaking of her son Kharey, who is now 30 years old, Dolores Wise poignantly said: "He was raised in prison" (*Newsday*, 22 October). Her other son was attacked by a teacher upon learning he was Kharey's brother.

Among the fears city officials have in agreeing to overturn the frame-up convictions is opening themselves up to million-dollar lawsuits. No amount of money can mend what has been done to their young lives, or to their families. But we welcome any money the five can wrench out of the racist city fathers—selling off Trump Plaza and giving them the proceeds would be a start.

Frame-ups by the cops and prosecutors, whose role in society is to protect the class rule of the bourgeoisie, are endemic to the American capitalist justice system. In the typical case, the cops find a suspect, usually black or Latino, and suspend further investigation to pin the crime on him—coercing confessions, concealing evidence, intimidating witnesses, bribing links. And then there are those cases in which the political ends served by a false conviction enormously magnify the duplicity of the cops and prosecutors. The jogger case is one example, used to whip up a climate of racist hysteria to further the ends of a ruling class that has condemned a whole generation of black youth to unemployment, poverty and prison.

The case of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is another kind of example, an overt frame-up aimed at silencing a man feared by the state for his eloquent and outspoken defiance of the capitalists' racist rule. A former spokesman for the Black Panther Party, a supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was railroaded to death row on charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in December 1981. One year before Matias Reyes came forward to absolve the Central Park defendants, Mumia's lawyers presented to the courts a sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Jamal, shot and killed Faulkner. But to date the federal and state courts have refused to even consider Beverly's confession and Jamal remains under the shadow of death in Greene County, Pennsylvania. Another example is the frame-up of Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), a former Black Panther who spent 27 years in prison for a crime the government ***knew he did not commit***. The murder he was accused of took place in Santa Monica, but the FBI had wiretaps showing that he was in Oakland at the time, 400 miles away.

The hysteria whipped up around the Central Park jogger case was a not-so-distant echo of the lynch mob "justice" of the Deep South. That this one played "up North" is simply a measure of the increasingly genocidal impulses of the rulers of this country toward the black population, whose segregation at the bottom of this society has always been a linchpin of American capitalism. Critical to maintaining this state of affairs has been the role played by black Democrats.

David Dinkins came to office in 1989 assuring Wall Street that the working people and minorities "will take it from me." At the time, admitted FBI fink and all-purpose hustler Al Sharpton was posturing as the voice of the increasingly destitute and desperate black masses of the city. Today, Sharpton opines that at the time of the Central Park jogger case, "All we had was our outrage. Now the feelings are the same but the expression is different. We have proven that we can take the system on and win." What Sharpton is saying is that he has made it as one of the main spokesmen for the Democratic Party in New York City, and in this role wants to contain any expression of outrage in the face of the demonstrative proof of the innocence of the five black and Latino youths who were vilified as "animals" and thrown behind bars.

The case of these youths illuminates the racist frame-up machine of American capitalist "justice." It will take a workers revolution to put the state's machinery of repression and death out of business once and for all and bring to justice the hired thugs who have committed untold crimes against the working class and minorities in the name of "law and order."■

Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste/
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WORKERS VANGUARD

NYC: Racist Frame-Up of Black, Latino Youth

Central Park Jogger Case

On 19 April 1989, two particularly heinous crimes were committed in New York City. The first was the bludgeoning and brutal rape of a 28-year-old woman who came to be known as the Central Park jogger. The second was the launching of a racist frame-up of five black and Hispanic teenagers who were rounded up by the cops. Everyone from the bourgeois media to racist pig and then-mayor of New York Ed Koch and billionaire real estate mogul Donald Trump clamored for a lynching. All pretense of "innocent until proven guilty" was tossed out the window amid screams over "wolfpacks" of black youth, "animals on a feeding frenzy." The not-so-subtle message that black and Hispanic ghetto youth are subhuman was brought home in a full-page ad by Trump howling: "They should be forced to suffer and, when they kill, they should be executed for their crimes.... CIVIL LIBERTIES END WHEN AN ATTACK ON OUR SAFETY BEGINS."

The five youths—Anton McCray, Raymond Santana, Kevin Richardson, Yusef Salaam and Kharey Wise—were all convicted and served their full terms, ranging from nine to twelve years. They were consistently denied parole for refusing to admit to the rape, ***which they did not commit***. Last January, serial rapist Matias Reyes confessed that he, and he alone, committed the rape. DNA testing corroborated his account. But the District Attorney's office still refuses to exonerate its victims. At a court hearing on October 21, the D.A.'s office was given until December 5 to complete its "investigation" and advise the court whether it is joining in the defense application to overturn the convictions.

The conviction of these youths was a racist frame-up in the best American style. The centerpiece of the prosecution's case was coerced "confessions"—four of them videotaped—extracted after hours of interrogation, threats and false promises of leniency. Police only managed to extort a statement from 15-year-old Yusef Salaam after unlawfully denying requests by family members and close friends to see him. Among them was Salaam's "Big Brother" counselor, who happened to be an Assistant United States Attorney. Throughout the trial, the five recanted the "confessions" and maintained their innocence.

Even in the forced "confessions," not one of the youths ever admitted to actually raping the jogger. Instead, they told stories of being part of a group attack in which others committed the rape. In the basic details as to the location of the attack, the description of the woman, the number of people involved and the weapons used, the stories told by each of the five were so disparate from each other—and the known facts—as to have cast significant doubt that they were anything but the product of scared kids trying to tell the cops what they wanted to hear so they could go home.

October 21: Dolores Wise (at left), mother of framed-up youth Kharey Wise, at rally outside Manhattan Supreme Court.

AP

The cops and prosecutors always knew there was no physical evidence linking the five to the attack. Although the jogger lost 75 percent of her blood during the brutal beating, not a drop of it was found on them. The tabloids dutifully reported days after the attack that the cops believed not only that the jogger was raped eight times but that the attacks came in shifts. But only one semen sample was ever discovered—which turned out to be Reyes'. It has recently been revealed that the cops knew that a similar rape had occurred in the park two nights earlier, which Reyes has also since confessed to. But they never told the teens' lawyers about the earlier attack—information which would have been vital to the defense—because it didn't jibe with the frame-up that had been concocted.

The police department's forensics expert testified that hair found on one of the youths, Kevin Richardson, could be described as "consistent with and similar

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South Africa: Striking Miners Killed on the Picket Line

The following article was written by our comrades of Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League.

JOHANNESBURG—In the first two days of October, the powerful Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) called a general strike/stayaway action against the drive to privatise government assets, which has already resulted in massive job losses and hikes in payments for basic services like electricity and water. The two-day action was widely effective, with the auto and transport sectors hardest hit.

But when mine workers at the East Rand Proprietary Mines (ERPM) in Bokshurg extended the strike by an extra day to protest low wages, ERPM bosses responded by threatening to terminate these striking workers if they didn't return to work by Sunday. By the time the workers returned to the mine shafts the following Monday, the company had already brought security guards to enforce a lockout. As the workers gathered to protest the lockout, the guards opened fire with shotguns, killing two and seriously wounding scores of others. One of the wounded later died in the hospital. We stand in solidarity with those victimised miners and the injured, and share our grief with the families of those killed.

This coldblooded killing was an attack on the whole of the South African labour movement. Indeed, Thabo Mbeki's regime is intent on waging war against the working class and poor in order to please the white capitalist class and their

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AP

Cape Town, October 1: Mass union rally at start of two-day nationwide general strike against privatizations.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 791

15 November 2002

Mass Protests Against Bush's War Moves

For Class Struggle Against Imperialist War!

Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Party!

On November 8, the United Nations Security Council gave its fig leaf to the pending military assault on Iraq by U.S. imperialism. The ballyhooed opposition by France and Russia, among others, pointed to widespread fears of Washington's increasingly bellicose "unilateralism." At the same time, the unanimous vote simply underlines that it is the "world's only superpower" that calls the shots in the UN and that the other members of this den of imperialist thieves and their victims all have their price. Criminal, but hardly surprising, was the Chinese government's support for the UN resolution, with one of its representatives at the UN crowing: "The sunlight of unity is about to come." The "unity" proffered by the traitorous Stalinist bureaucracy in Beijing to the imperialists helps pave the way for the U.S. to realize a central ambition—reconquering the Chinese deformed workers state for imperialist exploitation.

The UN vote came a mere three days after the American midterm elections, which gave the Republicans control of the House and Senate. The Bush gang, which rode into office on a minority of the vote, seized on the criminal killing of thousands of innocent civilians in the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center to get a lock on power, declaring a "war on terrorism" against any perceived enemy, domestic or foreign. Bush & Co. view their midterm victory as giving them something like the "divine right of kings"—the "right" to do whatever to whomever.

It's more tax cuts for the rich and increasingly no rights for anyone else, as the Constitution is put through the shredder of "homeland security." The Bush administration now sees smooth sailing in appointing such federal judges as Priscilla Owens, the virulent anti-abortion bigot currently seated on the Texas Supreme Court, and Mississippi's Charles Pickering, whose credentials include a 1959 law review article advocating that the state's laws against interracial marriage be strengthened. And with the wind in the sails of these nuclear madmen, the rest of the world had better watch out, too.

Among supporters of the Democratic Party there is much hand-wringing over its poor showing in the election, with recriminations flying over the absence of any stand that would have indicated even nominal opposition to the Republican agenda. Indeed, it is notable that the Democrats didn't even make a pretense of fighting for the "little man" when polls showed that voters were far more concerned about jobs, pensions and health care than about the "war on terror" or Iraq. But the policies being pursued by the Bush administration are in many respects simply the hardcore extension of policies that were implemented under the Clinton White House, from the abrogation of constitutional rights such as *habeas corpus* for death row defendants and the destruction of welfare programs to bombing raids against Iraq. The only difference is that Clinton claimed to "feel your pain" while the Bush administration revels in it.

The idea that the Democrats are the "friends" of labor and blacks has long been used to keep the working class, black people and the oppressed locked into the electoral shell game, through support to the capitalist Democratic Party. Such illusions are also strengthened by putative left organizations such as those that organized and endorsed the October 26 protests against war on Iraq in Washington, D.C. and the Bay Area. We print below an edited version of a presentation at a November 2 Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club forum in New York City given by *Young Spartacus* editor Michael Davisson.

* * *

Nearly a quarter million protesters from across the country took to the streets of Washington, D.C. and San Francisco in demonstrations to "Stop the War on Iraq Before It Starts" last Saturday, with solidarity rallies taking place in many other cities. Traveling to D.C. from all over the Midwest, Northeast and South, protesters filled the streets for several blocks on a march around the White House. With the crazed U.S. imperialists in the advanced stages of planning a mass slaughter of the Iraqi people, it is a welcome development that large numbers of youth are actively protesting against U.S. military action in Iraq. But on what basis were they mobilized by the demo organizers? The dead ends of moral-witness pacifism and electoral pressure politics.

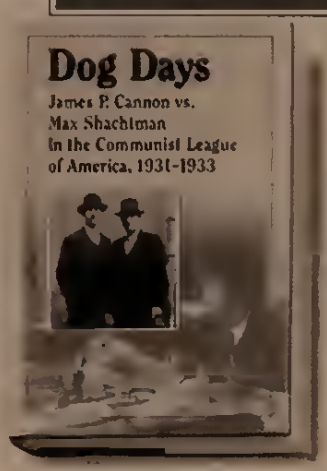
In Washington and San Francisco on October 26, we Marxists in the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs mobilized revolutionary internationalist contingents with banners and signs based on a counterposed set of demands: "For class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade!" We sold our press, soaphoxed

continued on page 9

WV Photo

Washington, D.C., October 26: Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent organized by Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs offered alternative to pro-Democratic Party politics of demonstration organizers.

Prometheus Research Library Book



Dog Days

James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Build PDC Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners!

"All through history those who have fought against oppression have constantly been faced with the dungeons of a ruling class. The greater the cause has been, and the deeper it has been rooted in the needs and suffering of the masses, the more it has been menaced by the tortures of prison cells. The number of victims taken from among the ranks of those who have fought for a cause has been the measure of its greatness. No cause is a great one which has not produced fighters in its ranks who have dared to face arrest and trial and imprisonment. The fear of a ruling class, and the effectiveness of those who struggle against them, can always be measured by the number upon whom they wreak revenge in this way....

"The victory of the class-war prisoners is possible only when they are inseparably united with the living labor movement and when that movement claims them for its own, takes up their battle cry and carries on their work."

—James P. Cannon, "The Cause That Passes Through a Prison" (September 1926), reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* (Pathfinder Press, 1958)

In this spirit of class solidarity, evoked by the founder and early leader of the International Labor Defense, the Partisan Defense Committee is launching its 17th annual Holiday Appeal fund drive to help maintain our program of monthly stipends for 16 class-war prisoners and to provide extra funds and holiday gifts for them and their loved ones.

The fight for these class-war prisoners is all the more urgently posed today as a defense of all of us against a ruling class which aims its military arsenal against Iraq and its arsenal of state repression against any perceived opponent of its vicious class rule at home. The "war on terror" is wielded as a cover for gearing up the government's power to spy on the population, jail activists and trade-union militants, and indiscriminately round up immigrants. In a frontal attack on basic constitutional rights, the government has declared that anyone, immigrant or citizen, deemed an "enemy combatant" can be imprisoned indefinitely with no right to a trial or an attorney. That these attacks, initially targeted in the main against Muslims and Arabs, will ultimately be directed against organized labor was vividly demonstrated by the government's use of a Taft-Hartley injunction against the ILWU longshore workers.

All this underscores that opposition to U.S. imperialist military adventures must be linked to defense of the interests of workers and the oppressed in the U.S. It was with this understanding that in San Francisco last February, the PDC and Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense initiated the first labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrants targeted under the U.S. rulers' "war on terrorism" and in opposition to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act.

We urge you to contribute to and help build the Holiday Appeal. This is not an act of charity, but rather the duty of fighters against injustice to those inside prison walls as we struggle for their freedom.

Mumia Abu-Jamal, award-winning journalist, former Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth, supporter of the MOVE organization and defiant opponent of racist state terror. In 1982 Mumia Abu-Jamal was railroaded to death row at the hands of Philadelphia's notorious cop and court frame-up machine on demonstrably false charges of killing Philly police officer Daniel Faulkner. The PDC pamphlet *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* reprints the sworn confession of the man who actually did shoot and kill Faulkner, Arnold Beverly. Beverly's account is affirmed in accompanying declarations by Jamal and his brother William Cook, who was at the scene of the shooting.

The pamphlet also features the affidavit of PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, who was a member of Jamal's defense team from 1995 to 1999. It compellingly marshals the evidence of his innocence and powerfully documents the struggle waged against Mumia's former attorneys, who worked overtime to ensure that this exculpatory evidence was never introduced in court.

Last December, a federal court overturned Jamal's death sentence while affirming the conviction, condemning Jamal to life in prison. This ruling is being challenged by the prosecution. Jamal's new legal team has filed appeals against the refusal of both federal and Pennsylvania state courts to even consider Beverly's testimony. This December marks 21 years of Mumia's imprisonment. The PDC calls on working people, minorities, youth and all opponents of racist capitalist oppression to raise the cry: *Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!*

Jerry Dale Lowe, United Mine Workers member framed up on federal charges in the July 1993 shooting death of a scab contractor in Logan County, West Virginia. The scab was part of a convoy leaving the mine, shot in the back of the head from the direction of the bosses' thugs. Lowe was singled out by authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. For the "crime" of defending his union, Lowe was sentenced to nearly eleven years in jail in Ashland, Kentucky with no possibility of parole. Last year, his appeal based on new ballistics evidence was turned down in federal court.

Ed Poindexter and **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa**, former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism. Victims of racist FBI COINTELPRO operation, framed up for an explosion in 1970 which killed a cop. Both were convicted on the basis of perjured testimony, sentenced to life and have now spent more than 30 years apiece in jail. Nebraska Board of Pardons refuses to lessen sentences so that they can be considered for parole. Poindexter is at Lino Lake, MN and Mondo is at Lincoln, NE.

Jaan Laaman and **Ray Luc Levasseur** were arrested in 1984 and '85 as part of the Ohio 7. They are radical activists with a shared history of opposition to racism and imperialism. Sentenced to 45 years to life under RICO conspiracy laws on allegations of bank expropriations and bombings targeting symbols of U.S. imperialism in the late '70s and '80s. Jaan Laaman was transferred to South Walpole, MA. Ray Luc Levasseur is in Atlanta, GA.

Jennifer Beach

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Hugo Pinell, the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. Militant anti-racist, leader of prison rights organizing along with George Jackson, who was murdered by prison guards in 1971. In prison for over 37 years. In January Pinell was again denied parole and he continues to serve a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay Security Housing Unit in California.

Eight MOVE members, **Chuck Africa, Michael Davis Africa, Debbie Sims Africa, Janet Holloway Africa, Janine Phillips Africa, Edward Goodman Africa, Delbert Orr Africa** and **William Phillips Africa**, are in their 25th year in prison. They were sentenced to 30-100 years after the 1978 police attack on their Philadelphia home, falsely convicted of killing a police officer. The PCRA petition to overturn their frame-ups was denied last year.

Jamal Hart, Mumia's son, was sentenced in 1998 to 15½ years on bogus firearm possession charges, targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania laws, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton's Justice Department intervened to have Hart thrown in prison. He is not eligible for parole. Hart is at Fairton, NJ.

WV Photo

Jerry Dale Lowe

Contribute Now! All proceeds from the Holiday Appeal will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund. Send your contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013; (212) 406-4252.

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization that champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. ■

Internal Struggle in the Leninist Party

TROTSKY

LENIN

Writing in 1932, as factional turmoil racked the Communist League of America, Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon underlined the crucial importance of internal political struggle for the education and steeling of the membership of a Leninist vanguard party. The CLA was part of Leon Trotsky's International Left Opposition, which fought the Stalinist degeneration of the Third International, at that time as an expelled faction of that body.

What is the primary purpose of a discussion in a communist organization? It is not to discredit one another, not to exalt some and push others down, not to present matters as prosecution on the one side and defense on the other. No, the primary purpose is to clarify the principled questions, to educate the comrades on the meaning of the dispute of the moment, to teach them to penetrate the essence of a question and draw their inferences accordingly, so that the lessons are firmly gained and remembered for the future, when similar problems will arise in different forms. In other words, the primary aim of a discussion conducted by communist leaders is to teach the comrades to think and to fight politically, to grasp the main aspects of a question, to go by principle and not to be sidetracked by incidental matters. The acquisition of this method is the condition sine qua non for our comrades to fulfill their mission as the vanguard of the vanguard, not only in future disputes within the ranks of the Left Opposition, but also, and especially, in conflicts with the other party factions, and beyond that in the broad class struggle and in the general labor movement, where they will encounter all kinds of demagogues who are masters of all kinds of tricks.

—James P. Cannon, "Draft on the Internal Struggle," July 1932, printed in *Writings and Speeches: The Communist League of America 1932-34* (1985)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is 12 November.

No. 791 **15 November 2002**

Benefit for Class-War Prisoners

Organize for Jamal's Freedom

New York City	Chicago	Bay Area
Friday, December 6	**Sunday, December 8**	**Sunday, December 8**
6 to 10 p.m.	**3 to 7 p.m.**	**1 to 4 p.m.**
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Transgender Youth Murdered in Brutal Attack

San Francisco Chronicle

Gwen Araujo (with niece), transgender youth murdered by anti-gay bigots.

On October 3, 17-year-old Gwen Araujo, a Latina transgender woman whose birth name was Eddie, was savagely beaten and strangled with a rope after attending a party in Newark, California. Her body was found almost two weeks later buried in a shallow grave 150 miles away in the Sierra Nevada foothills. Three men, ages 19 to 24, have been arraigned and await trial for murder. Youth around California have been mobilizing to protest the hideous attack and show their support for gay rights, from demonstrations in the Bay Area at schools like Berkeley High to Los Angeles, where a multiethnic crowd of about 60 people, mostly transgender youth, marched in honor of Gwen Araujo on November 3.

Araujo's lynching comes four years after gay Wyoming student Matthew Shepard was left to die following a sadistic attack that provoked protests around the country and abroad. Far from isolated incidents, these cases are the demented and concentrated expression of the bigotry faced by gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgenders in this brutal capitalist society. Transgenders are particularly vulnerable given that the difference between their chosen gender identity and their biological one could be visibly recognized. So far this year, 25 transgender people have been killed, according to the National Transgender Advocacy Coalition. Since 1990, 38 transgenders have been murdered in California alone. In 1999, Alina Marie Barragan was strangled to death in San Jose after a man found out she was biologically male. In 1993, Brandon Teena, a biological female who lived as a male, was kidnapped, raped and murdered in Nebraska, a case made famous by the movie *Boys Don't Cry*.

Newark, a conservative working-class town just north of San Jose, is not exactly part of the mythical "liberal" Bay Area, where more open social attitudes toward sexuality are in fact restricted to areas of San Francisco, Berkeley and Oakland. But even in the so-called gay haven of San Francisco's Castro district, gays and others are targeted by fascist scum and anti-gay bigots. According to Community United Against Violence, a group that monitors anti-gay violence, in 2001 there were over 300 anti-gay attacks in San Francisco alone. Meanwhile in West Hollywood, a heavily gay town in the Los Angeles area, a spate of assaults on gays since September has put the gay community on high alert. At least five gay men have been attacked with bats, metal poles and knives on the streets.

Following the news of Gwen Araujo's murder, evil-incarnate Reverend Fred Phelps and his disgusting Kansas-based Westboro Baptist Church cohorts threatened to picket her memorial in Newark, just as they did at Matthew Shepard's funeral four years earlier with signs reading "God Hates Fags." Nearly 1,000 youth and gay rights activists came to support Araujo's family and protest this provocation; although Phelps did not show up at the funeral, he and his ilk picketed in front of Araujo's house. Phelps has now announced he will picket performances of *The Laramie Project*, the powerful play about Matthew Shepard's murder, at Newark Memorial High School, which Gwen had attended, and Bishop O'Dowd High School in Oakland on the weekend of November 15. When Phelps and his filthy handful of followers came to San Francisco in 1994 to picket and disrupt the memorial of Randy Shilts, a gay reporter and writer who had died of AIDS, a Spartacist contingent joined hundreds of angry counter-protesters in routing these vile anti-gay bigots, making them run for cover like cockroaches exposed to light.

Phelps is not just a nut case, but is one of the shock troops of right-wing reaction, seeking to exterminate gays and drive women back into the home. His anti-gay filth is an incitement to murder, just as the bible-thumping, anti-woman, anti-abortion reactionaries incite terrorist attacks against abortion clinics and the murder of the increasingly few doctors who perform the operations. It is no coincidence that the KKK fascists attack both blacks and gays, as well as union militants and Jews. These bigots go after those they perceive as deviating from their retrograde model of human society.

At a November 8 candlelight vigil for Gwen at Newark Memorial High School, religiosity dominated the crowd as priests and other members of the church passed out candles and held signs that read, "God Loves Everybody." But religious backwardness is one of the central moral props for the oppression of gays in capitalist society. Furthermore, government enforcement and promotion of "family values" moralism gives reactionaries a green light for carrying out terrorist murders and attacks against gays and transgenders.

It is a real measure of the reactionary political climate in the U.S., fostered not least by Christian fundamentalists, that the Democrats can posture as protectors of the rights of women and gays. Bill Clinton slashed welfare for millions of women and children, and under his presidency access to abortion for poor and rural women actually decreased. He enacted the "don't ask, don't tell" policy which ushered in a widespread anti-gay witchhunt in the military. Clinton also signed the Defense of Marriage Act, which enshrined marriage as the union between one man and one woman and blocked access to federal benefits for gay partners indefinitely.

This whole "family values" reaction is aimed at regulating sexual activities for all, especially youth. From the dangerous state-sponsored "abstinence only" campaigns to the rollback of abortion rights, the capitalist rulers are intent on regimenting youth and the population at large. The guiding principle for sexual relationships between *all* people must be one of effective consent. ***Government out of the bedroom! Down with reactionary "age of consent" laws! For full democratic rights for gays!***

Groups around the nation have been calling for the expansion of existing "hate crimes" laws to prevent further murderous attacks. This strategy disarms the victims by fostering illusions that the capitalist state will somehow bring justice to those it oppresses. This is the same state that sends cops to smash picket lines, arrests prostitutes on the streets, terrorizes blacks and Latinos in the ghettos and denies gays their civil rights, while protecting fascist scum from anti-fascist demonstrators. If implemented, such laws would only give cops and the courts added power for increased repression against minority communities and those they deem enemies by allowing the racist state to pass judgment on what is and is not motivated by "hate."

Bigotry against gays and transgenders is not just a matter of personal values or lack of education about "differences." It flows from the entrenched gender roles decreed by the sexual division of labor in the family—the root of the oppression of women in class society—and is reinforced by religious moral codes. The capitalist order is built upon private property and the class domination of the capitalists over workers and all the oppressed. Capitalist society needs the family, a bedrock conservatizing force and the mechanism by which private property is passed down and a new generation of workers raised, and so it *cannot* ultimately "legitimize" those who fundamentally deviate from its restrictions, not least gays and transgenders.

While we fight for an end to all laws that oppress gays and others deemed "deviant" by the American bourgeoisie's Christian anti-sex moralism, we recognize that it will take a more fundamental transformation to change deeply rooted attitudes toward sex roles and sexuality. A socialist revolution is necessary to lay the basis for replacing the family and creating a society in which all individuals are free to fully express themselves. We seek to win the working class to the understanding that workers must take up the fight for gay and women's rights as their own, which means breaking away from religious obscurantism, male chauvinism and anti-gay bigotry, which only serve the bourgeoisie.

When in 1982 the Nazis wanted to march on Gay Pride Day in Chicago, the Spartacist League initiated a united-front labor/black mobilization which drew support from dozens of trade unions and black, Latino, Jewish, gay, student and leftist organizations. Although the Nazis thought that no one would try to stop an attack on a vulnerable section of the population, 3,000 people came out to stop them. This demonstration was an example of the kind of action that would be undertaken by a revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat acting as the "tribune of the people," like the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. We need a proletarian revolution to sweep away the system that spawned the bigotry of the depraved killers of Gwen Araujo, Matthew Shepard and all the countless other victims of reactionary and fascistic terror. We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win youth to the fight to build a party to lead the working class and all the oppressed to victory. ■

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Dog Days

James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America, 1931-1933

The Prometheus Research Library (PRL), archive and central library of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, is proud to announce the publication of its third book, *Dog Days: James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America, 1931-1933*. This 752-page volume, available in both paperback and hardcover, includes 118 documents that chronicle a factional polarization which rent the American section of Leon Trotsky's International Left Opposition (ILO) from 1931 to 1933. This was a period of stagnation that Cannon later aptly called the "dog days of the movement." Pitting supporters of James P. Cannon against the generally younger followers of Max Shachtman, who were less experienced as workers' leaders, the fight in the Communist League (CLA) presaged the defining split in American Trotskyism which occurred in 1939-40. Yet the 1931-33 struggle has never before been well documented.

Tamiment Library

CLA contingent in May Day demonstration, New York City, 1934.

The PRL's new volume, which includes an exhaustive introduction that situates the CLA fight in the context of the political sorting out that occurred in the early ILO, sheds new light on the history of the Trotskyist movement. It also provides a lively picture of the membership and work of the Trotskyists during this early period, documenting the political and organizational growth of a small, fighting propaganda group which went on to lead one of the decisive American class battles of 1934—the great Minneapolis Teamsters strikes.

In the book's Editorial Note, the genesis of the volume is explained: "In the political youth of James Robertson, co-editor of this compilation, the subject matter of this book had a somewhat mystical and mythical quality, wherein might be found the origins of the profound 1940 scission in the Trotskyist (i.e., the authentic communist) movement." In 1939-40, Max Shachtman and his supporters departed decisively from a revolutionary proletarian and internationalist perspective, abandoning the unconditional military defense of the world's first workers state, the Soviet Union. Cannon and Trotsky led a six-month-long struggle against Shachtman's petty-bourgeois opposition, which composed some 40 percent of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—then the U.S. Trotskyist organization—and its youth organization.

The fight coincided with the outbreak of World War II, and many of the European Trotskyist organizations were functioning in conditions of illegality. The fight in the SWP "became in effect a discussion for the entire Fourth International and was followed with passionate interest by the members of all sections" (*Fourth International*, May 1940). Trotsky's writings from the struggle were collected in *In Defense of Marxism*; Cannon's were published in *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*.

Shachtman and some of his supporters went on to establish the Workers Party, developing the view that the USSR was a new form of class society, "bureaucratic collectivist." For a period, Shachtman's organization claimed to adhere to the Fourth International (FI) and acted as a rival to the SWP, the FI section in the U.S. But under the impact of the Cold War, the Workers Party moved rapidly to the right and changed its name to the Independent Socialist League (ISL) in 1949. In 1958 the ISL liquidated into the pathetic dregs of American social democracy. By the 1960s, Shachtman was supporting the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and U.S. imperialism's bloody war against the Vietnamese national and social revolution. His path of renegacy has been well chronicled by the Spartacist tendency, most recently in "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories—Tony Cliff and Max Shachtman: Pro-Imperialist Accomplices of Counterrevolution" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 55, Autumn 1999).

Cannon remained National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party until he retired in 1953. He was then SWP National Chairman until his death in 1974. But by the late 1950s, the party began to succumb to the consequences of the Cold War anti-Communist witchhunt, including lack of recruitment and an aging cadre. By 1960, the party had given up on the struggle for revolutionary proletarian leadership, hailing Fidel Castro as an "unconscious Trotskyist" and tailing the liberal-pacifist leadership of the civil rights movement. The Revolutionary Tendency, forerunner of the Spartacist League, fought the party's degeneration and was expelled from the SWP in 1963. The SL today stands on the heritage of Cannon's revolutionary SWP, which has less than nothing to do with the increasingly quirky reformist sect around Jack Barnes that today calls itself the Socialist Workers Party.

The material published in *Dog Days* documents that there was a deepgoing polarization between supporters of Shachtman and those of Cannon already in the CLA, posing the possibility of a split in early 1933. But unlike in 1939-40, there was no decisive principled or programmatic difference. Trotsky intervened sharply in the spring of 1933, warning that the two sides "anticipate a lot by sharpening the organizational struggle between the groups and the members without any connection with the development of political work and the questions it raises." He sought to get the two factions to dissolve so that their members could direct their energy into expanding the League's mass work. Trotsky's intervention coincided with an upturn in the class struggle in 1933-34, which provided the objective basis for the CLA to break out of the impasse and go forward.

Prelude to 1939-40 Faction Fight

In his *History of American Trotskyism* (1944), Cannon correctly called the CLA dispute "the premature rehearsal of the great, definitive struggle of 1939-40." At the same time, he described only a "sea of petty troubles, jealousies, clique formations and internal fights." The extent of the polarization was later downplayed or dismissed by many of the leading participants interviewed by the PRL in the 1970s and 1990s. Some of the old-timers were embarrassed by their positions in the early fight. (For example, Carl Cowl, later a follower of the ultra-leftist Hugo Oehler, supported Shachtman in the CLA, a fact which he never mentioned when the PRL interviewed him.)

The exception was Albert Glotzer, a key leader of the Shachtman group, whose memory was fueled by anti-Cannon passions which burned as hot in later decades as they had in the early 1930s. By the time the PRL interviewed him in the early 1990s, Glotzer was a confirmed "State Department socialist" with ties to the imperialist secret services. (Richard Valcourt, editor of the *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence*, spoke at his 1999 memorial meeting.) Yet Glotzer obscenely continued to insist that Cannon had never been a true Bolshevik! The PRL introduction to *Dog Days* makes use of the PRL's interviews with former CLAers, as well as of interviews with Cannon and Shachtman conducted by others in the 1960s and 1970s.

In 1939-40, the factional lineup among SWP National Committee members who had been part of the early CLA was almost identical to that of 1931-33. Shachtman, Martin Abern and Glotzer were pitted against Cannon, Vincent Dunne and Carl Skoglund. (The one exception was Morris Lewit—later known as Morris Stein—who supported Shachtman in the early fight but became a key collaborator of Cannon's in 1934 and a stalwart of the Soviet defensists in 1939-40.) The magnum opus of the Shachtman side, the lengthy June 1932 "The Situation in the American Opposition: Prospect and Retrospect" (referred to hereafter as "Prospect and Retrospect"), harps on the same organizational themes of Cannon's so-called "bureaucratic conservatism" that dominated the petty-bourgeois opposition in 1939-40. When Cannon sent his *Struggle for a Proletarian Party* to Trotsky in 1940, he noted, "Its length must be excused on the ground that the dam of ten years patience has been broken down."

"Prospect and Retrospect," signed by Shachtman, Abern and Glotzer, is the source of all subsequent accounts of Cannon as an unreformed Zinovievist and bureaucrat with little interest in Marxist theory or international questions. Submitted just before a June 1932 plenum of the CLA's National Committee (NC), "Prospect and Retrospect" was withdrawn by its authors at the plenum and then resubmitted a month later. Carbon copies of the document circulated extensively in the CLA through private factional channels, but "Prospect and Retrospect" never appeared in the CLA *Internal Bulletin*

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Left: James P. Cannon and Red Army soldiers at time of Comintern Sixth Congress, 1928. Max Shachtman, Berlin, 1930.

because Cannon never completed the reply he was mandated to write by the National Committee majority. In *Dog Days: James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America, 1931-1933*, "Prospect and Retrospect" is published for the first time.

The new volume draws together representative documents, motions and correspondence from both sides of the factional divide, as well as all of Trotsky's correspondence and interventions into the CLA fight. But it does not reproduce Cannon's major documents and factional correspondence, most of which were published by Pathfinder Press in 1985 as part of Cannon's *Writings and Speeches: The Communist League of America 1932-34*. That volume includes Cannon's partial, draft reply to "Prospect and Retrospect" as well as "Internal Problems of the CLA," which Cannon co-authored with Arne Swabeck in March 1932. Cannon's 1932-34 *Writings and Speeches* is an essential companion to the PRL's new book; Pathfinder's earlier volume, Cannon's *Writings and Speeches: The Left Opposition in the U.S. 1928-31*, also provides important background information and context. *Dog Days* includes eight Cannon pieces not in the Pathfinder collection, all of which circulated in the minutes of the CLA's leading committee resident in New York and in *Internal Bulletins*.

Most of Trotsky's written interventions into the CLA fight were published in English as part of Pathfinder's *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series. But they are spread over several volumes, and the bulk of them appears only in the *Writings Supplement 1929-33*. *Dog Days* gathers them together in one book for the first time, putting them in the context of the CLA's internal disputes so that their full import is clear. The new volume also includes seven never-before-published letters by Trotsky, most of them from the section of the Trotsky papers at Harvard University covering his period in exile. This section was opened to the public only in 1980, after Pathfinder's Trotsky *Writings* series was compiled. Trotsky had no English-speaking secretary at the time of the CLA dispute, so most of his letters were written in German, and a few in French and Russian. The PRL prepared new translations for *Dog Days*.

Dog Days includes letters and documents by many other CLA cadres, including Arne Swabeck, Carl Skoglund, Albert Glotzer, Martin Abern and Maurice Spector. PRL researchers searched the papers of leading CLAers in archives around the United States, unearthing in all some 600 items relating to the CLA dispute and the preceding organizational tensions and disputes on international questions. The 118 documents selected for the book give a representative picture of the faction fight as it unfolded. Short introductions by the editors give necessary background material. Extensive footnotes provide additional information and a 40-page glossary identifies people, institutions and publications that might be unfamiliar to the reader. There are 16 pages of photos—many never before published—of leading CLAers and the class-struggle events in which the Trotskyists participated, as well as reproductions of the organization's publications. The volume contains an extensive index, and the paperback as well as the hardcover have durable smyth-sewn bindings.

The documents in *Dog Days* reveal just how profoundly Cannon was shaped by the CLA's early factional struggle and especially Trotsky's intervention, which completed Cannon's education as a Leninist. Destroying the Shachtmanite myth that Cannon was simply a "hand-raiser for Trotsky," this volume illustrates that the relationship between Trotsky and Cannon was forged over time—not least in fights against Shachtman. *Dog Days* is a kind of manual of the dos and don'ts of Leninist internal party struggle. As the PRL introduction notes:

> "The documents reveal the myriad tensions that can tear apart a small communist propaganda nucleus. How the CLA overcame the 'dog days' to become one of the strongest sections of the Fourth International is an important lesson in the struggle to forge a revolutionary party and its cadre. The Prometheus Research Library, central reference archive of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, is unique in understanding the importance of the CLA fight and making its history accessible to our own and future generations. The ICL, like the ILO, is a fighting communist propaganda group with the goal of forging parties of the proletarian vanguard to lead to victory new October Revolutions internationally."

It is not a propitious time to bring out a specialized and detailed volume of communist history such as this. Interest in the history of revolutionary Marxism is currently at a low ebb as bourgeois ideologues continue to peddle "death of communism" triumphalism born out of the demise of the Soviet Union. But it was Stalinism that died when Stalin's epigones gave the USSR back to the capitalist world economy in 1991-92, not communism. A crystallizing bureaucratic caste under Stalin usurped political power from the Soviet working class in early 1924. In the aftermath, the Stalinist propaganda machine at the top of the world's first workers state perverted Marxism. To justify its policies, which oscillated between abject conciliation of imperialism and stupid adventurism, the Stalinist caste insisted that it was possible to build "socialism in one country" and to peacefully "co-exist" with imperialism. These dogmas belong on the garbage heap of history; they have nothing to do with genuine Marxism, i.e., Trotskyism.

Whatever the fads and fancies of bourgeois social sciences, the dynamic of the class struggle is built into the nature of the capitalist economy. The working class has the power and the interest to overthrow this decaying social order and to replace it with an internationally planned economy. The leap in development that comes with a planned economy—even a bureaucratically deformed and nationally limited one—has been made patently obvious by the devastation of infrastructure, industry, education and health that have accompanied capitalist counterrevolution in the old Soviet Union and East Europe. Future generations of proletarian revolutionaries will need to assimilate the indispensable legacy of the Russian Revolution. They will find much to instruct them in the pages of the PRL's new volume. It is unfortunate that this book presently appears only in English.

The Impasse of the CLA

The American Trotskyist movement was founded in October 1928 when Cannon, Abern and Shachtman were expelled from the Communist Party (CP) for attempting to organize support for Leon Trotsky's Left Opposition. Born in struggle against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, the Left Opposition fought, in both the Soviet party and the Communist International (CI) as a whole, to continue Lenin's fight for international working-class revolution.

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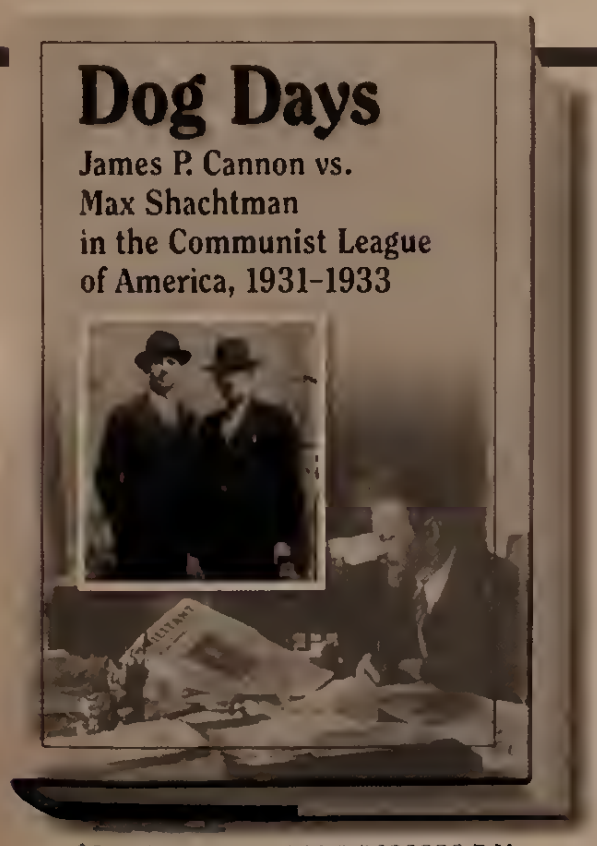
From left: Martin Abern, Vincent R. Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck, Max Shachtman, all full members of 1931-34 CLA National Committee. Full members not pictured: James P. Cannon, Albert Glotzer, Hugo Oehler.

against Stalin's revisionist insistence on building "socialism in one country." Cannon was won to the Left Opposition in 1928 while attending the Communist International's Sixth Congress in Moscow, where he read the two parts of Trotsky's Critique of the Comintern's draft program that were distributed to members of the Program Commission. (The whole of the Critique, which consists of three parts, was later published as *The Third International After Lenin*.) Cannon and Canadian Communist Party leader Maurice Spector, also a member of the Program Commission, smuggled a copy of Trotsky's manuscript out of the Soviet Union and began organizing support for the Left Opposition in their respective parties.

Working of necessity in great secrecy, Cannon managed to win over only a very few of his compatriots—centrally his companion, Rose Karsner, as well as

continued on page 6



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PRL Book...

(continued from page 5)

Shachtman and Abern—before being expelled from the CP. However, the fledgling Trotskyist group immediately began publishing a newspaper, the *Militant*, to propagate its views. The group quickly won adherents. Cannon had been the co-leader, along with William F. (Bill) Dunne, of the smallest of the three major groups that vied for leadership in the factional wars that dominated the Communist Party in the 1920s. Cannon had a great deal of authority as a founding Communist with a history in the pre-communist workers movement, going back to his days as an itinerant organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World in the 1910s. He was elected chairman of the Workers Party when it was founded in December 1921 as a legal organization parallel to the underground Communist Party. While many members of the CP's Cannon faction—including Bill Dunne—went along with Cannon's expulsion, many others opposed or at least questioned it. These questioners, too, were unceremoniously expelled by the CP leadership, which was at the time in the hands of an opportunist faction led by the unprincipled, ambition-crazed adventurer Jay Lovestone (who later evolved into an imperialist secret service operative). After reading Trotsky's Critique, the majority of the expellees declared for the Left Opposition and began distributing the *Militant*. The ILO considered itself an expelled faction of the Communist Party, fighting to return the Communist International to the program embodied in its first four congresses.

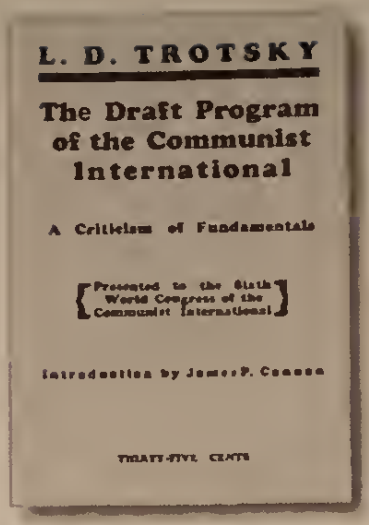
The Communist League of America, which initially included the Canadian comrades in a Toronto branch, had some 100 members at its founding convention in May 1929. The former Cannon faction members were joined by a handful of former adherents of the third CP faction, which was led by William Z. Foster. At the time the Trotskyists were expelled, the Cannon and Foster factions were in a bloc against the opportunist Lovestone leadership. Disgusted by the continued and sharpening rightward course of the CP under Lovestone, disaffected Fosterites gave the fledgling Trotskyists a hearing and some were recruited. But this source of new members was soon cut off, as the *Dog Days* introduction recounts. Lovestone, failing to accurately judge the winds blowing from Moscow, did not break early enough with his main Moscow sponsor, Nikolai Bukharin. He was expelled from the CP the same month the CLA was founded. Lovestone took his closest supporters with him, but Stalin had managed to isolate him from the vast majority of his faction, which remained in the party.

The expulsion of Lovestone was part of a wholesale left turn in the policies of CI parties decreed by Moscow in 1927-28. Stalin moved against the Soviet party right wing, led by Bukharin, which had advocated a series of economic concessions that were made to the well-off peasants who could hire labor (the kulaks) from 1925-28. Stalin and Bukharin had stood together in the fight against the Left Opposition, but the concessions made to the peasantry proved a horrible disaster (as the Left Opposition had predicted). By 1927 the kulaks were hoarding grain, threatening to starve the Soviet cities. In an abrupt about-face, Stalin moved to brutally and forcibly collectivize the peasantry and implement a planned, but adventurous, rate of industrialization. At the same time, the Comintern declared that a new "Third Period" of post-World War I political life had opened up in which revolution was just around the corner. Bukharin and most of the leaders of the right in the Soviet party soon capitulated to Stalin, but internationally Bukharin's supporters were expelled from most communist parties. The Bukharinites congealed into an international Right Opposition which included the Lovestone group in the U.S.

The international turn toward "Third Period" ultraleft rhetoric—which was often combined with adventurist actions—assuaged many communists previously disaffected with the Comintern's growing opportunism. The new policy further undercut the LO's appeal by seeming to co-opt its call for a more rapid pace of Soviet industrialization. In Cannon's words, the Third Period was "a devastating blow." In the early '60s, Shachtman recounted:

> "We could no longer speak of the Party going further and further to the right. We could no longer speak of the Lovestoneites ruining the Party. We could no longer speak of the Fosterites having illusions that they would get the leadership of the Party. If anything resulted from that, it was a counteroffensive by the Fosterites—in the ranks, to be sure, unofficially, to be sure—to get us to return to the Party. They didn't succeed in convincing a single one of our people, but not even the possibility of success existed any longer for us in recruiting dissident Fosterites."

Just a few months after Lovestone's expulsion, the stock market crash inaugurated the Great Depression. The CLA sank into the dog days. Not only were the Trotskyists cut off from the vast majority of class-conscious American workers organized in the Communist Party, but the CLA's already meager financial resources all but disappeared as its members were laid off or forced to work for reduced wages. Class struggle in the country was at a low ebb. Moreover Cannon, whose first wife died just before the CLA was founded, leaving him responsible for their two children, had to get a job outside the organization. He underwent a period of evident demoralization, absenting himself from the CLA office for weeks at a time. The personal frictions and organizational grievances born in this period fueled the later faction fight and dominate Shachtman, Abern and Glotzer's "Prospect and Retrospect."



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In 1929, CLA published the first two parts of Trotsky's 1928 Critique of draft program of Communist International. Trotsky (right) with (from left) Jan Frankel, son Leon Sedov, wife Natalya Sedova and Czechoslovakian Trotskyist Jiri Kopp in Prinkipo, Turkey, 1930.

The Cannon Faction in the CP

The PRL introduction to *Dog Days* deals extensively with the 1929-30 frictions. Some of the tension grew out of the fact that Cannon recognized early on that the Third Period had shut off the CLA's possibilities for immediate substantial growth. Shachtman and Abern resisted this conclusion, insisting on taking the *Militant* weekly in late 1929. Other tensions arose as the American Trotskyists avidly assimilated Trotsky's writings, realizing the depth of the political deficiencies of the old Cannon faction in the Communist Party. Cannon explained in a 1974 interview referenced in *Dog Days*:

> "As we began to get the writings of Trotsky, it opened up a whole new world for us. And they [Abern and Shachtman] discovered, this is my assumption, that while they had always taken what I said for gospel, they discovered there were a lot of things I didn't know. That I was just beginning to learn from Trotsky. What they didn't know was that I was learning as well as they were. Shachtman at least, I think, had the idea that he had outgrown me."

Shachtman, Abern and Glotzer took great exception to Cannon's 1930 statement that the CLA's cadre had been "'prepared by the past' for our place under the banner of the International Left Opposition" (*Militant*, 10 May 1930). Labeling Cannon's assertion a "theory of gestation," they disparaged the record of the Cannon faction in the CP, insisting that their being won over to the Left Opposition was some kind of historical accident.

The PRL's first book, *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism: Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928*, which was published in 1992, covered Cannon's years as CP leader, documenting the political evolution of the Cannon faction. The Cannon faction was motivated largely by national concerns and did not break fundamentally with the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." At the same time, the faction's record proves that there was much in their worldview that led them to the ILO's door. As the PRL noted in the introduction to *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism*:

> "When, in 1932, Shachtman and Abern led a rebellion against Cannon's leadership of the Communist League of America, they were only interested in telling one side of the story. The material presented here also tells another, one that *predisposed* a deliberate and considered workers' leader like Cannon to turn away from high office within the American party in favor of remaining true to the revolutionism that had animated his youth and continued to animate the program of the Left Opposition."

The introduction to *Dog Days* notes that in particular Shachtman et al. underplayed the importance of

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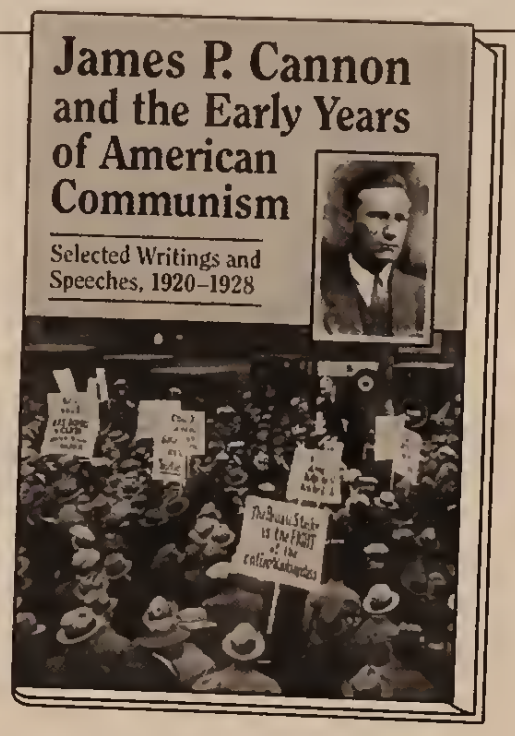

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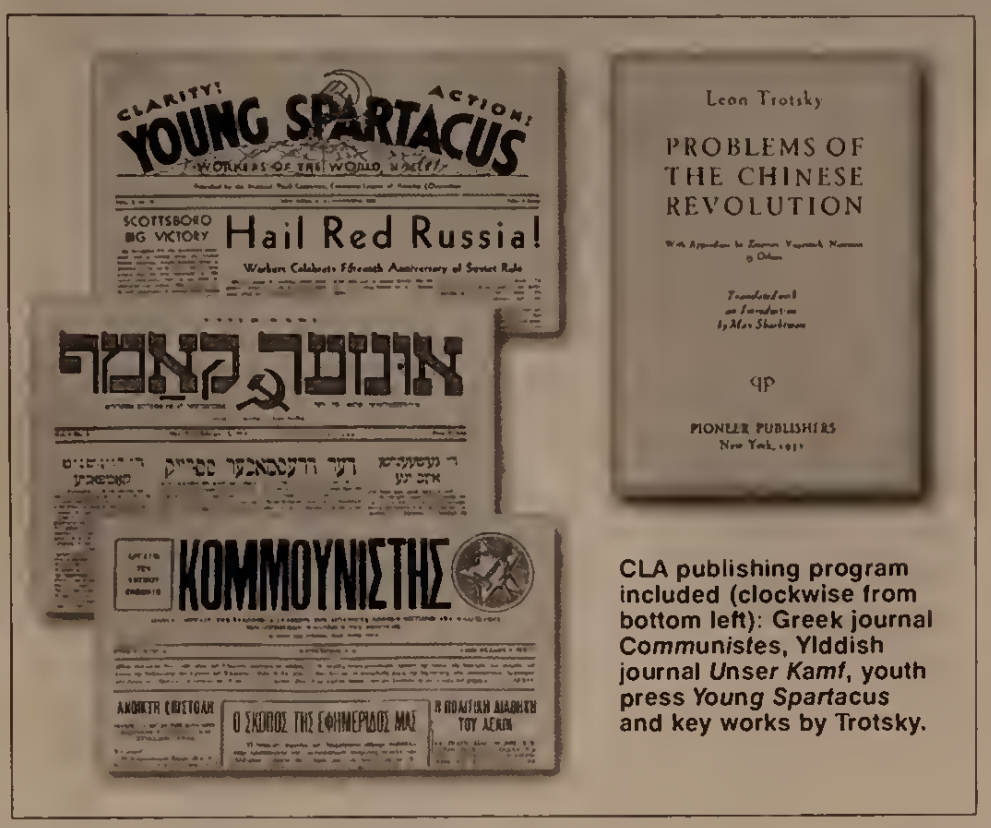
Cannon's history of hard opposition to the opportunism of Lovestone, the American version of the Right Opposition. Trotsky fought many battles in the early ILO against those, like Spanish Opposition leader Andrés Nin, who sought to merge banners with the Right Opposition. It was a particular strength of the American League that its members, in general, were not disposed to make common cause with the Right Opposition.

The CLA's extensive publishing program was key to the assimilation of its cadre into the international Trotskyist movement. Besides the weekly *Militant*, which often included articles by Trotsky, the CLA published an array of Trotsky pamphlets, including his major articles on the rise of fascism in Germany and on the unfolding revolutionary situation in Spain. They also published in book form a selection of Trotsky's writings on the lost opportunity for proletarian revolution in China from 1925 to 1927, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*. In letters included in *Dog Days*, Trotsky praised the quality of the CLA's translations and publishing efforts, and he sought to get the North American Trotskyists to produce a theoretical journal (which they began only in 1934).

In late 1930, leading CLA member Arne Swabeck moved from Chicago to New York to help overcome the tensions in the CLA national office. Cannon was again fully politically engaged by this point, and he and Swabeck began an axis of collaboration which was key to the stabilization of the CLA and the expansion of its publishing program throughout 1931. In late 1931, the CLA began publishing a monthly youth press, *Young Spartacus*, as well as an episodic publication in Greek and a somewhat more regular publication in Yiddish. As the *Dog Days* introduction notes, Shachtman, Abern and Glotzer objected far more to Cannon's revival than they had to his absence. Shachtman in particular had grown used to treating the CLA's relations with Trotsky and other ILO parties as his personal fiefdom. He bridled at Cannon's attempts to get the National Committee as a whole to take responsibility for international work. This was the issue that precipitated the factional polarization. In documenting the key role that international questions played in the CLA fight, *Dog Days* breaks new ground.



CLA publishing program included (clockwise from bottom left): Greek journal *Communistes*, Yiddish journal *Unser Kamf*, youth press *Young Spartacus* and key works by Trotsky.

The International Questions

Shachtman was the first CLA leader to go to Prinkipo, Turkey, to meet with Trotsky in exile, after which he went to Europe and took part in the first ILO international gathering in April 1930. He was subsequently co-opted onto the ILO's leading body, the International Bureau. In Europe he developed close relations with Kurt Landau, a leader of the ILO's German section, and with Pierre Naville of the French Ligue Communiste. Trotsky subsequently waged sharp political fights against both men.

Shachtman treated his correspondence with Trotsky about the political struggles in Europe as "personal." Moreover, he did not seek to get the CLA to take positions on the questions at issue. After a series of skirmishes in 1931, this issue finally broke out into the open in early 1932, when Cannon sought—over Shachtman's opposition—to put the CLA on record in support of Trotsky's positions in the internal ILO struggles involving Landau, Naville and others. The PRL introduction explains the basis for the ILO's many political disputes:

> "Many dissident Communist elements who sought to regroup under the ILO's banner did not fully grasp the significance of the struggle in the Russian party. All were attracted to the Left Opposition's struggle against bureaucratism in the Soviet party and state. But many saw this as a simple 'democratic' issue, misunderstanding or disagreeing with the underlying programmatic basis—the fight to forge the politically homogenous revolutionary proletarian vanguard in opposition to all varieties of centrism and reformism. Political softness toward the Right Opposition was common.... Trotsky's primary task was the systematic education of the ILO cadre and the weeding out of opportunist, sectarian, accidental, and dilettantish elements. This entailed almost constant internal political struggle."

The PRL introduction sketches out Trotsky's arguments with Alfred Rosmer and Pierre Naville on the trade-union question in the French section, his fight against the cliquism of Kurt Landau, and his struggle against Andrés Nin's centrist orientation toward unity with Joaquín Maurín's Workers and Peasants Bloc in Spain. All these issues figure in the documents published in the volume.

Dog Days is divided into three sections—"Shachtman in the International," "The Fight" and "The International Intervenes"—with documents presented chronologically within each section. The first section consists mostly of Trotsky and Shachtman's correspondence on problems in the European ILO sections from 1930 to '31. Those who know the ICL and its work will be struck by the familiarity of Trotsky's concerns, especially his struggle to create a centralized political and administrative apparatus for the ILO. Trotsky's aim was to forge a politically homogenous democratic-centralist tendency, even if it consisted at first of small propaganda groups. This aim, carried forward today by the ICL, separates us from all manner of fakers who (used to/sort of) pretend to be the continuators of the Left Opposition.

Trotsky fought against the Bordigists and others who wanted the ILO center to be simply a political clearing house for nationally delimited (and therefore necessarily centrist) parties. He fought for an early delegated international conference to establish an elected leadership, and he condemned the leadership of the Spanish section in particular for not paying enough attention to international questions and for not translating the ILO discussion bulletins for its membership. The CLA, it should be noted, took the responsibility early on for publishing the ILO discussion bulletin in English. Thus the North American membership was able to follow the disputes in the international movement.

The Trotsky-Shachtman correspondence illustrates Trotsky's growing impatience with Shachtman's refusal to make programmatic considerations primary, starting with Shachtman's first foray into Europe in the spring of 1930, when (despite explicit instructions from Trotsky) he failed to ensure that the ILO's first conference issue a political manifesto. Shachtman attempted to blunt the fight against Landau's disastrous leadership of the German section, and he encouraged Nin in Spain and Naville in France. After Shachtman made a second trip to Europe in the fall of 1931, Trotsky was so alarmed that he wrote to the CLA National Committee to inquire if Shachtman represented the views of the CLA leadership as a whole. These documents expose Shachtman's lying assertion, made later in the CLA fight, that he had never had significant differences with Trotsky. They also (in the words of the PRL introduction) "explode the image of Shachtman as Trotsky's happy international commissar, a myth spread by Shachtman and his supporters in later years and more recently purveyed by Peter Drucker in his biography of Shachtman [*Max Shachtman and His Left: A Socialist's Odyssey Through the "American Century,"* Humanities Press, 1994]. In fact, Trotsky's opponents in Europe invoked Shachtman's name in defense of their own actions."

The Fight

After returning from his second trip to Europe, Shachtman refused to vote for Cannon's 1931 draft NC statement supporting Trotsky's positions in Europe. He resigned his post as *Militant* editor and attempted to deflect the discussion from the international questions by making an issue of Swabeck and Cannon's supposed harshness toward a supercilious and scholastic group of petty-bourgeois youth in the New York local (the "Carter group"). Abern and Glotzer, who claimed to disagree with Shachtman on the debates in Europe, aided and abetted Shachtman in deflecting the discussion, co-signing "Prospect and Retrospect" and submitting it on the eve of the June 1932 NC plenum. The documents reveal that Spector and Glotzer privately prevailed on Shachtman to capitulate on the international question, which he did at the plenum. The two sides also managed to work out a joint motion on the New York local and the "Carter group." Under pressure from Cannon and his supporters, who promised a reply if "Prospect and Retrospect" remained in the record, Shachtman et al. withdrew their document.

Yet the "unity" thus achieved exploded just a few weeks after the plenum. Over the next year, the two groups fought over a myriad of organizational issues, from the co-optations to the National Committee proposed by Cannon, to Cannon's proposal to accept only working-class activists for membership in the New York local, to the date for the CLA's third national conference. Documents from both sides of these disputes are published in the section of the volume titled "The Fight," as well as representative internal factional correspondence from the Shachtman side. (Cannon's letters to his supporters were published in the Pathfinder volume of Cannon's writings from 1932-34.) As the PRL introduction notes, there is a sharp contrast between the correspondence from both sides: "Where Shachtman, Glotzer, and Abern are politically vague and gossipy, Cannon is programmatic and forward-looking. The same contrast can be drawn between Shachtman and Glotzer's lengthy letters to Trotsky and Swabeck's terse, informative correspondence."

Organizational tensions were exacerbated by the League's utter financial poverty as well as by some non-Leninist organizational practices. When Trotsky received a visa to visit Copenhagen in the fall of 1932, Shachtman and his supporters refused to send Swabeck—who was born and raised in Denmark—to Copenhagen immediately to take part in ILO deliberations. Although he missed the ILO gathering in Copenhagen, Swabeck was able to go to Europe in early 1933 to attend an important ILO meeting. He traveled on to Prinkipo, where his discussions with Trotsky played a great role in resolving the CLA's polarization. The trip was possible only because funds were raised privately by the Cannon faction.

Cannon rightly saw the root of the problem as the petty-bourgeois basis of the Shachtman faction, concentrated in the New York local. As the *Dog Days*

continued on page 8

PRL

Associated Press

***Militant* (10 September 1932) hailed founding of Progressive Miners of America. Left: Gerry Allard, a PMA leader and member of CLA. October 1932: 15,000 Illinois miners rally for PMA union recognition, Springfield.**

PRL Book...

(continued from page 7)

introduction notes, Cannon "was desperate to find an entry point into a mass proletarian movement and thus recruit a way out of the factional impasse caused by the political weight of the League's literary recruits." Cannon's younger supporters like George Clarke and Sam Gordon went out into the field as itinerant party organizers. When Skoglund and Dunne began their work organizing the coal drivers in Minneapolis, Shachtman's supporter there, Carl Cowl, branded them as "opportunists."

The cavalier attitude of the Shachtman faction toward the CLA's fragile roots in the proletariat was amply demonstrated by its periodic obstruction of the CLA's work in the Southern Illinois breakaway from the United Mine Workers, the Progressive Miners of America (PMA). For most of the period covered by the book, the CLA's best opportunity to recruit real working-class support appeared to lie with the PMA. A CLA member, Gerry Allard, was the editor of the PMA paper, *Progressive Miner*. The PRL introduction deals in detail with developments in the PMA, providing essential background for the reader. The volume includes a never-before-published letter by Cannon to Trotsky requesting advice on relations with Allard.

Throughout the period of the greatest organizational tensions, however, the two sides remained united on the League's fundamental political tasks. When Hitler was appointed Chancellor of Germany in January 1933, the decision to take the *Militant* from weekly to triweekly to champion the expected resistance of the German working class was not controversial. Neither did the two sides fight about the CLA's work in the unemployed movement.

The polarization began to take on an embryonic political character only in early 1933, when Shachtman and Abern objected strenuously to Cannon's raising the possibility of a role for the Soviet Red Army in a proletarian offensive to beat back Hitler's rise to power. Shachtman and Abern were at the time capitulating to the prevailing "socialism in one country" opinion in the CP milieus to which the CLA oriented. The Shachtman faction's opposition to posing the use of the Red Army outside the borders of the USSR presaged their 1939 abandonment of the defense of the USSR when the Red Army entered Finland and Poland. But in 1933 they dropped their objections after Trotsky intervened to support the thrust of Cannon's position. Trotsky's statement on this dispute, "Germany and the USSR," has long been available as part of Pathfinder's Trotsky collection, *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*. But its import is much clearer when it is read along with the documents from the CLA fight.

At the time of the Red Army dispute, Shachtman and Abern labeled Cannon an opportunist because he delivered a speech to a trade-union conference in Southern Illinois—in which the PMA was heavily involved—as a representative of a group of left-wing workers in New York instead of as a member of the CLA. But political groups had been banned from speaking at the conference, and the alternative would have been to cede the field to reformist and anti-Communist PMA leaders. Trotsky's comments on the CLA's work in the PMA—centrally "Trade-Union Problems in America" (previously published in *Writings of Leon Trotsky Supplement 1929-33*)—have a much bigger impact when read in the context of documents from both sides of the CLA divide. "Trade-Union Problems in America" is published in the new volume's final section, "The International Intervenes."

Shachtman and Cannon during 1934 Teamsters strike in Minneapolis, where both were arrested. Pickets confront scabherding deputy in key strike battle.

Minnesota Historical Society photos

Trotsky's Role

In many ways, "The International Intervenes" is the most powerful section of the book. Trotsky's experience in internal party struggle was brought to bear, first in discussions with Swabeck in Prinkipo and later in his letters to CLA leaders on both sides of the factional divide. In addition to Trotsky's correspondence, the section includes letters written by Swabeck to Cannon reporting on further discussions in Prinkipo. Criticizing both factions for drawing harsh organizational lines in the absence of programmatic differences, Trotsky pointed out that the Cannon group, as the majority of the NC, bore central responsibility for the tenor of internal discussion. As the documents reveal, Cannon immediately took Trotsky's criticisms to heart, making substantive organizational concessions to the minority.

Under pressure from Trotsky to intervene sharply and prevent a split, the International Secretariat (I.S.) scheduled a plenum in May 1933 where the situation in the CLA would be thoroughly discussed. Swabeck was scheduled to attend on his way home from Prinkipo, and the I.S. requested that a minority representative also attend. Drawing on funds lent by Mexican muralist Diego Rivera, then a Trotskyist sympathizer, Shachtman once again went to Europe. On the boat to Europe, Shachtman wrote to Glotzer, insisting that he would not dissolve their faction. However, he quickly changed his tune. In Paris he cosigned a resolution with Swabeck calling for dissolution of the factions and he traveled on to Prinkipo for discussions with Trotsky. His letters home to Abern and Glotzer—mimeographed for distribution to his faction in the League—are included in the book. They amplify and elaborate on Trotsky's thinking about the situation in the CLA.

The CLA National Committee adopted a resolution in June calling for the cessation of the internal struggle and for turning the League outward to take advantage of new opportunities opening up before it. The campaign for a united-front working-class offensive against Hitler in Germany had a strong impact on the CP cadre and the CLA was again recruiting from the party. It was able to intervene to great effect in conferences called by the CP of the unemployed movement and legal defense organizations.

Yet the documents reveal that tensions continued to run high over Cannon's proposal to move the CLA headquarters to Chicago. Aiming to take advantage of the proletarian nature of the city (as compared to New York) and the greater openness of CP milieus in Chicago, Cannon's proposal was eventually supported by Trotsky, who saw it as part of turning the CLA outward toward the working class. While not campaigning against the move, Shachtman and Abern quietly planned to remain in New York and produce a theoretical journal. This was a recipe for a "cold split" in the CLA, and in late 1933 Cannon wisely shelved the idea of moving the organization's center. This aspect of the fight has never before been dealt with in print.

Hard on the heels of the international attempts to mitigate the CLA struggle came Trotsky's initiative for a bold political turn for the ILO as a whole. Already in May 1933 Trotsky had noted that the German Communist Party's failure to organize any opposition to Hitler's consolidation of power meant that it was dead as a revolutionary force. He called for a new party in Germany and in July 1933, after it was clear that no organized opposition had emerged within the Communist International as a whole, he proposed that the ILO reorient itself away from acting as a faction of the CI. Trotsky advocated the call for a new, Fourth International and suggested that the Opposition attempt to regroup with subjectively revolutionary elements who were now organizing outside the CI. The new orientation was endorsed by an I.S. plenum in August 1933 and enthusiastically embraced by the entire CLA National Committee.

The turn toward functioning as the embryo of a new party formation came just as the class struggle began to heat up in the United States. In January 1934, the CLA addressed an open letter suggesting discussions with the leftward-moving centrists of A J Muste's American Workers Party, who advocated the formation of a new workers party in the U.S. Fusion between the CLA and the Musteites took place in December 1934 and was greatly facilitated by the CLA's leadership of three strikes in the spring and summer which won union recognition for the Minneapolis Teamsters, and by the Muste organization's leadership in a major class battle at Toledo Auto-Lite in the spring.

It was the new opportunities opening up before the American Trotskyists that laid the basis for the resolution of the CLA's internal polarization. Shachtman and Morris Lewit went on to collaborate with Cannon in turning the League toward the class struggle, while the majority of the old Shachtman faction, now organized as the Abern-Weber clique, obstructed the work. That story is told in *Prometheus Research Series* No. 5, which reprints Shachtman's 1936 document "Marxist Politics or Unprincipled Combinationism?", a devastating indictment of the unprincipled, personalist methods of Shachtman's former supporters. In this document Shachtman reveals that—despite the May 1933 agreement to dissolve the factions—the Shachtman/Abern/Glotzer faction in New York went on meeting through January 1934. The Abern clique remained as a fault line in the American Trotskyist movement throughout the 1930s, one that ruptured again in the 1939-40 struggle, when Shachtman rejoined it.

Prescient and Equivocal

Ruminating on the problems of party leadership as he was about to be sent to prison along with 17 other SWP and Minneapolis Teamsters leaders in 1943, Cannon drew a balance sheet of the CLA experience:

> "At one time in the early days, the so-called Cannon-Shachtman fight, which was conducted with all the intensity of the final struggle with the petty-bourgeois opposition and even with more acrimony—in that struggle Comrade Trotsky made the comment that the two factions each anticipated too much. They fought each other not on the ground of the political merits and qualities which were fully demonstrated as of that day, but from a point of view of a generalization as to what the ultimate development of the political tendencies on each side would come to.... In such a situation, Comrade Trotsky said, the most progressive tendency is the conciliatory tendency—those who propose to make peace and test out in further common action what is the basis and merit of the accusations on each side. That advice of Comrade Trotsky was accepted in the old fight. Some people accepted it diplomatically and some honestly, but, in general, the prescription was to plunge the party into mass work, stop the faction struggle, disband the faction organizations, and test out in political action what were the tendencies of the two groups.
>
> "And eventually we came to a solution of it in the year 1940—but the fight had begun ten years before, and if we had tried to solve it in 1933 by means of a split—which is the only way you can solve irreconcilable faction fights—there is no way the movement might have profited by it, because we would have had to explain to the workers outside the movement what the fight was about. And if we couldn't make this clear to comrades inside the party how could we make it clear to the nonparty people we wanted to join? The result would have been the stagnation of the movement as was the case in England."
>
> —Cannon, "The Situation in the New York Local," 23 December 1942, printed in *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II: Writings and Speeches 1940-43*

On questions of party organization and attitude toward workers struggle, the 1931-33 Shachtman faction embodied the same petty-bourgeois approach that Cannon exposed so eloquently in 1939-40 in *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*. But the decisive question for a Leninist is ***political program***. The petty-bourgeois orientation of Shachtman, Abern and Glotzer took on decisive programmatic coloration in 1939-40, and it was only at that point that factional struggle was mandated. Cannon learned from Trotsky's intervention into the early struggle, and he went on to prove himself a superb Leninist leader in the 1939-40 fight and beyond. He won the majority in 1940 because the American Trotskyists, having turned outward, had recruited a layer of serious, proletarian revolutionaries. The PRL introduction ends by drawing the central lesson of this experience:

> "While the revolutionary character of a proletarian organization is defined by its program, which represents nothing other than the historic interests of the international working class, there is an interplay between a party's program and its social composition. Marx insisted that 'being determines consciousness,' and this applies as much to aspiring revolutionaries as to other sectors of society. A Marxist vanguard without deep roots in the working class not only lacks the means to implement its program, but is necessarily more susceptible to the social pressures of alien classes."

Dog Days: James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America, 1931-1933 is an essential reference book for any communist. ■

Mass Protests...

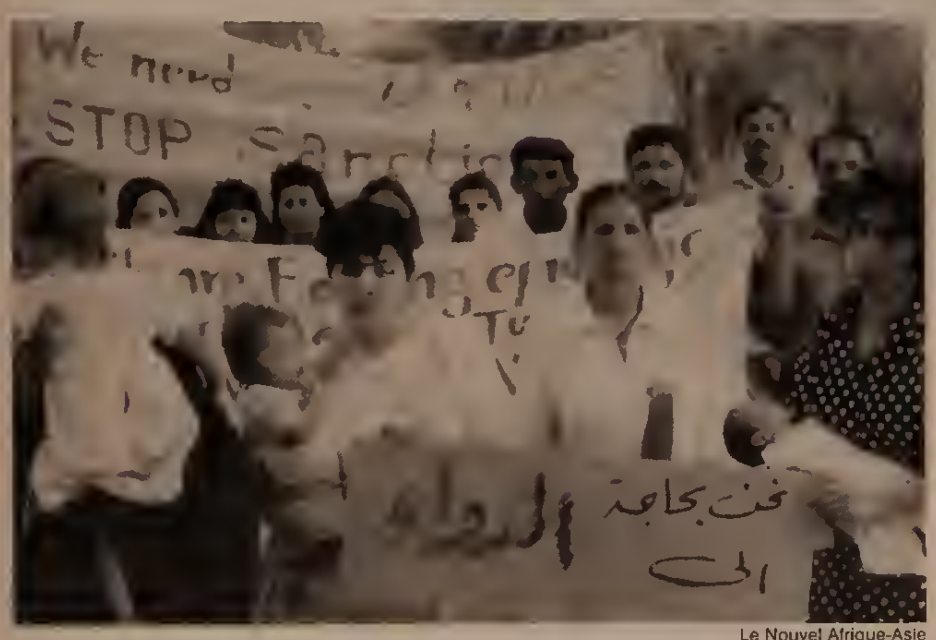
(continued from page 1)

and marched and chanted, putting forward our revolutionary opposition to this imperialist war. We look to the working class as the only force in society that has the ability and interest to stop imperialist war. As a part of our defense of workers and the oppressed internationally against the imperialist order, we take a side in a war between the U.S. and Iraq. We call upon working people to mobilize in class struggle to defend Iraq, without granting the Saddam Hussein regime any political support whatsoever. Ultimately, there is no way to stop imperialist war and capitalist exploitation short of working-class socialist revolution.

It is this understanding that the reformists try to obscure. To quote our contingent call:

> "It is futile to oppose war against Iraq but not oppose the economic system which generates war and the ideology that legitimizes it. Moreover, pushing illusions in the reformability of the bloody American imperialist state can only result in the *demobilization* of the only force in capitalist society that can challenge the rule of the capitalist class: the working class."

Every time some big-name politician, like a Kennedy or a Gore, speaks up, you can feel the hearts of the liberals surge. They think, "Maybe now the Democrats will turn the tide?" In hopes of building the "broadest possible antiwar movement," the reformists hold a hand out to the liberals in and around the Democratic Party. While a member of a reformist outfit such as the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Workers World Party (WWP) or the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) invariably could point to some sentence in their newspapers denouncing the actions of the Democrats, it is what the reformists are *doing* that matters. And what they are doing is building antiwar coalitions that welcome "progressive" imperialists. The result is to continue the cycle of chaining the oppressed to their own oppressors, maintaining the capitalist system of war and racism.



Le Nouvel Afrique-Asie

Iraqi women demonstrate in 1998 against United Nations sanctions that have led to deaths of more than one and a half million people.

At this early stage in the struggle against war in Iraq, the prevalent political consciousness is an undifferentiated "War is bad, peace is good." For WWP's ANSWER coalition, the October 26 protest organizers, and the other reformists, the amorphous liberal demos represented an opportunity to harness this broad moral indignation at a war of naked imperialist aggression in order to pressure Democratic Party politicians into standing up for a more "humane" U.S. capitalism. The ANSWER protest call boasted that the demos "come just one week before midterm Congressional elections," raising the prospect that "anti-war forces" could "become a major factor" in debates "within the political establishment."

Among other liberal fixtures, the featured speakers in D.C. included Democratic Party politicians Al Sharpton, Jesse Jackson and Cynthia McKinney and former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, founder of WWP's International Action Center. In his advocacy of change through the ballot box, Jackson chanted: "Come alive on November 5!" Not surprisingly, the general tenor of the demos was one of "reclaiming our democracy" from the Bush gang, captured in the many "peace is patriotic" signs and buttons and calls for "regime change at home."

Imperialism and War

As Marxist revolutionaries, we stand in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, co-leaders of the October 1917 Revolution in Russia, the only successful workers revolution to date. As Trotsky wrote of Lenin's understanding of imperialist war:

> "It is impossible to fight against imperialist war by sighing for peace after the fashion of the pacifists. 'One of the ways of fooling the working class is pacifism and the abstract propaganda of peace. Under capitalism, especially in its imperialist stage, wars are inevitable.' A peace concluded by imperialists would only be a breathing spell before a new war. Only a revolutionary mass struggle against war and against imperialism which breeds war can secure a real peace. 'Without a number of revolutions the so-called democratic peace is a middle class utopia'."
>
> —Trotsky, "Lenin and Imperialist War" (December 1938)

Thus, the choice between revolution and reform is the choice between socialism and the barbarism of war, the product of imperialist competition.

So what is meant by imperialism? A lot of liberals who decry what they might sometimes call the imperialism of the U.S. view it basically as a matter of the U.S. suppressing undeveloped countries in Latin America, Asia, the Near East and Africa. There is without question a long list of bloody U.S. interventions in those regions of the world. At the turn of the last century, the U.S. staked its place at the table of imperialist powers with the racist ferocity of its savage wars in Cuba and then the Philippines. Under Democratic and Republican administrations, the U.S. ruling class incinerated Japanese civilians in World War II, napalmed and bombed the Vietnamese people, armed and orchestrated death squad terror in Latin America and bombed black people in its own cities. In the recent past, the U.S. has carried out wars in Afghanistan, the Balkans and Iraq and occupied Haiti and Somalia, among others. Left-liberals like Howard Zinn and Noam Chomsky are popular for exposing U.S. war crimes and telling the sordid history of the bloodiest ruling class on the planet.

But this understanding of imperialism *doesn't* actually explain what it is, which makes it impossible to find a way of ending it. Imperialism is the "highest stage of capitalism," marked by the concentration and domination of finance capital, the pre-eminence of the export of capital and competition among the advanced industrial countries to control markets and spheres of exploitation. Let us consider this definition in more detail. American oil companies such as Exxon today are commonly referred to as multinational

AFP

Buildings reduced to rubble in 1999 U.S. bombing of Iraq under Democratic president Clinton.

corporations. These corporations are multinational in the sense that they have capital invested in multiple countries, including the Persian Gulf region in the case of Exxon. But the corporations remain nationally based—it is ultimately the U.S. military and none other that enforces the property rights of Exxon in the Gulf. The imperialist bourgeoisie, in pursuit of profits and spheres of economic influence, exploits the world's backward countries for raw resources, cheap labor and new markets. Thus, the enormous growth of militarism is essential to capitalist development.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, this exploitation was accomplished by direct colonial occupation and territorial annexation. Today, most of these countries have won nominal independence. But economic independence has not accompanied such independence, in a way making the exploitation of the so-called Third World countries by foreign imperialist powers even more insidious today. Competition is an essential part of the capitalist economic system, so it is only natural that capitalists from rival powers would begin to square off in the scramble for profits, triggering trade wars. The strains of competition invariably lead to interimperialist shooting wars as the industrial countries fight among themselves to divide and redivide markets, as was demonstrated in two bloody world wars. In other words, imperialism breeds war.

Imperialism is not simply a set of mean-spirited policies open to change given enough pressure or the election of nicer politicians. But in fact, that is exactly what Zinn, Chomsky and other left-liberals believe. They don't actually oppose imperialism; that would mean opposing capitalism. Their beef is with what they see as especially bad, bloody policies undertaken because the wrong people get elected by the American people, who—presumably under the control of the all-powerful American media—don't know better than to elect them. They want the U.S. to use its pre-eminent position in the world to play a "humanitarian" role.

Ultimately, requests for a kinder, gentler imperialism are an invitation to and cover for imperialist slaughter. Witness the UN-sponsored embargo of Iraq. Today, after well over a million Iraqi men, women and children have succumbed to the UN starvation blockade, Chomsky and other liberals deplore the impact of sanctions. But at the time of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Chomsky called on Washington to implement "sanctions" as a "peaceful means prescribed by international law" in order "to secure Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, settle regional issues, and move towards a more decent world" (*Z Magazine*, February 1991).

The near-daily bombings and 12 years of sanctions—mostly carried out under the Democratic Clinton/Gore administration—have devastated Iraq, which was once one of the most cosmopolitan, prosperous countries in the Near East. Statistics hardly begin to capture the reality. Infant mortality rates in Iraq today are among the highest in the world. The death rate among the general population is three times what it was 12 years ago; for children under five it's five times the previous rate. One reason for this is that the imperialists deliberately targeted the water supply and sewage systems. The "Oil for Food" program initiated by the UN five years ago was hailed for charitably averting an outright famine in Iraq. Thanks to this "humanitarianism," the Iraqi population is starving more slowly. But in recent months the U.S. Navy and its Australian junior partners have tightened the noose of the blockade, all but shutting off the excess flow of Iraqi oil through the systematic boarding of every Iraqi vessel in the Persian Gulf. Which just goes to prove what we said from the outset—sanctions themselves are an act of war.

Defend Iraq Against Imperialist Attack!

Most of the youth with whom we talked at the October 26 protests could not distinguish between the ubiquitous reformist slogan "No to Bush's war in Iraq!" and our call to "Defend Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack!" Far from the pacifism of the "No to war" slogan, our demand is aimed at mobilizing

continued on page 10

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Mass Protests...

(continued from page 9)

the working class, both in the U.S. and abroad. The starting point for revolutionary opposition to U.S. attack is that the workers of the world take a side in this conflict—*with Iraq against U.S. imperialism*. A war between the U.S. and Iraq would be reactionary and predatory on the part of the U.S., but just and defensive on the part of Iraq. On one side of this terribly unequal contest is the U.S. military behemoth: on the other is the semicolonial Iraq, a dependent country. There is a *qualitative difference* between bloody U.S. imperialism, the greatest enemy of the oppressed in the world, responsible for the massacres of millions upon millions of people, and a tinpot dictatorship like Hussein's Iraq. Imagine Iraq trying to send an armada of ships to bombard the East Coast of the U.S. In fact, it is because Iraq is so weak at the moment that the U.S. is so bold about attacking it.

Easy wins, such as that in Afghanistan, embolden the imperialists to run roughshod over other peoples. In turn, any setback or defeat of the U.S. imperialists is a victory for working people across the world. The humiliating military defeat of U.S. imperialism by the heroic workers and peasants of Vietnam, who were fighting for a social revolution against capitalist exploitation and imperialist depredation, produced what is known as the "Vietnam syndrome"—the fact that the American puhlic will not countenance American troops dying in foreign lands. The victory of the Vietnamese Revolution served to stay the hand of bloodsoaked American imperialism around the globe. We say: two, three, many more defeats for U.S. imperialism!

Military defense of Iraq does *not* imply the slightest political support to the regime of Saddam Hussein, who has carried out terrible slaughters of Kurds and other ethnic minorities, Communists and labor leaders, any who might challenge his rule. But in this Hussein is no different from any of the other emirs, colonels and sheiks of the region, not to mention the Zionists with their huge nuclear arsenal who are fully capable of expelling or massacring Palestinians on a truly genocidal scale under cloak of a U.S. attack on Iraq. In the struggle between a dependent, barbaric dictatorship and an imperialist "democratic" republic, socialists would side with the dependent country notwithstanding its dictatorship and against the imperialist country notwithstanding its "democracy." Trotsky addressed this question in the 1930s posing a hypothetical case of Brazil, then under a semi-fascist regime, going to war with "democratic" England:

> "In the conflict between them it will not be a question of democracy or fascism. If England should be victorious, she will put another fascist in Rio de Janeiro and will place double chains on Brazil. If Brazil on the contrary should be victorious, it will give a mighty impulse to national and democratic consciousness of the country and will lead to the overthrow of the Vargas dictatorship. The defeat of England will at the same time deliver a blow to British imperialism and will give an impulse to the revolutionary movement of the British proletariat."
>
> —Trotsky, "Anti-Imperialist Struggle Is Key to Liberation" (September 1938)

The one-sided slaughter carried out by the U.S.-led coalition in 1991 and the impact of sanctions have left the Iraqi military one-third its former size. As a result, the chief defense of Iraq lies in class struggle against the imperialist rulers, above all in the U.S. but also in the other imperialist strongholds. A historical example: In the 1950s, with Algeria fighting for its national independence from France, there were instances in which French dock workers aided the Algerian cause by refusing to handle French military goods headed for Algeria. More recently, Japanese dock workers in Sasebo refused to load armaments and military supplies onto Japanese navy ships headed to assist the U.S.-led war of terror on Afghanistan last year.

Centrality of the Working Class

Why is the working class the key social force? Precisely because of its role in production, which bestows upon it alone the ability to shut down the ports, the mines and the factories. Workers create the wealth of this society with their labor and can bring the capitalists to their knees by withholding that labor power. One example of the tremendous social power wielded by the working class is given by the recent West Coast port shutdown. Though the ILWU longshoremen were locked out by the bosses, who want to break the union, rather than having gone out on strike, even the screaming headlines of the bourgeois media confirmed that these workers are critical to the functioning of American capitalism. Clearly, the proletariat can bring the economy of the "world's only superpower" to a halt. When 100,000 antiwar protesters marched around the White House, Bush at most probably yawned. But when 10,000 longshoremen shut down the West Coast ports, he quickly moved to invoke the anti-labor 1947 Taft-Hartley law to reopen the ports.

The defense of Iraq against imperialist attack is in the interests of working people the world over, not least in the U.S. War demands civil peace. A decade of imperialist attacks against defenseless peoples abroad has been accompanied by vicious union-busting, the loss of millions of jobs and the shredding of the social safety net. The "war on terror" means anti-immigrant witchhunts, racist assaults and the shredding of civil rights, with organized labor the ultimate target. Ominously, there are plans to call up large numbers of the National Guard and Reserves at the outset of an attack on Iraq to patrol what we are told are potential terrorist targets: power plants, transportation hubs, medical centers and factories, i.e., the strategic industrial centers.

The main obstacle to independent working-class action is the leadership of the trade unions, the labor bureaucracy which ties the workers to the class enemy, most often through support to the Democratic Party. ILWU bureaucrats spoke at the October 26 demos on both coasts. A union leader in San Francisco spoke bitterly of all the work the ILWU did to get Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein elected, only to have her "betray" the union by calling for Taft-Hartley during the longshore lockout. Labor must break with the Democrats and Republicans, which will require a political fight within the trade unions against their pro-capitalist misleadership. We fight for a class-struggle leadership in the trade unions. This is part of our fight to build a revolutionary workers party that mobilizes the working class and all the oppressed in the fight against imperialist rule.

WV Photo

Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent at October 26 San Francisco antiwar demonstration.

Reformists and the Democratic Party

Half the Democrats voted in favor of the Congressional war resolution. The other half fear a war could throw the Near East into turmoil or spark social struggle at home. These dissenting voices would prefer that the U.S. dress up its naked imperialist aggression by first acquiring the backing of its UN allies and allowing the UN weapons inspectors (in reality spies) to enter Iraq to manufacture a pretext for war. All the better to build broader support *for* this imperialist war through the fig leaf of the UN.

The UN is the same imperialist den of thieves and their victims that partitioned Palestine in 1947, that gave cover to the U.S.-led killing of three million Koreans in 1950-53, and that continues to starve Iraqis to this day. On the issue of UN weapons inspections, if you read any of the publications of the reformist "socialists" in this country, they whine about how it is not true that Iraq is developing "weapons of mass destruction." Correct enough, but even if Iraq were not so disarmed and weakened by imperialism, the spying inspectors, these agents of war, should have no right to be there!

In every war, there are always some of these "progressive" imperialists on hand, who break with the Democratic Party consensus the better to perpetuate the illusion that the Democrats represent the interests of working people and the oppressed. All these politicians want to do is to get ahead of, and contain, antiwar sentiment. They believe they have a better way for imperialism to go about its daily business of exploiting workers and impoverishing and terrorizing the peoples of the world. Congresswoman Barbara Lee in the Bay Area is one such politician; she is the darling of the reformist left despite the fact that her qualified antiwar votes against Afghanistan and now Iraq have alternated with backing the USA-Patriot Act, an expression of the "war on terror" at home. Lee, who was greeted with near-religious ecstasy at the San Francisco demo a week ago, is joined in this role by Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton.

The reformists, despite the occasional speechifying about socialism, do not think workers revolution is possible. That leaves them with few options but to appeal to the Democrats. Consider WWP and its ANSWER coalition. Of course, they *claim* to oppose the Democrats; an article in *Workers World* (31 October) distributed at the October 26 demonstrations about the Bolsheviks in World War I even argued against "trying to win over liberal politicians and capitalists who are beholden to the interests of Big Oil, Wall Street and the military contractors." An earlier article, "War and the Class Struggle" (*Workers World*, 26 September), has some fine language about how the working class has the potential strength to intervene and change history because of its strategic role in production. We are told that the "vaunted technology [of the ruling class] is just a pile of junk once the fury of the masses is unleashed." It does sound exciting—but how is the fury of the masses to be unleashed? Through the October 26 demos?

ANSWER's call for this "furious" demonstration talks about the "Bush administration's" war and "another war for Big Oil." The leaflet doesn't see fit to mention their alleged opposition to the Democrats, or to even mention the Democrats; nor does it take up the strategic role of the working class. But it does slip in that point that the demos come "just one week before midterm Congressional elections." But of course, Workers World claims to "oppose" pressuring the Democrats! That is why the mass-produced placard for the rally signed by ANSWER had no political content at all, just a tug-at-your-heartstrings photo of an Iraqi child and the slogan "Stop the War Against Iraq." That is why they dared not utter a "furious" word from the platform in D.C. That is why its major initiative coming off the demos is the People's Anti-War Referendum, a petition drive collecting the signatures of those who feel "Congress did not represent me" in its war vote, to be brought to D.C. at the time of planned January demonstrations.

Another group working to build "the broadest possible antiwar movement" is the Revolutionary Communist Party. They are behind the "Not In Our Name" coalition, which organized nationwide demonstrations on October 6. No less than ANSWER, the Not In Our Name coalition seeks to channel disgust with imperialist war into the illusion that mass protest by itself can stay the hand of the imperialists. Its "Pledge of Resistance," distributed widely at the antiwar demonstrations, speaks of the "injustices" of

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"our government." Such moral entreaties and talk of "our" government perpetuate the myth that American capitalist rule can be pressured to act on behalf of those whom capitalism exploits and oppresses.

Then there is the ISO, which is very active in building antiwar coalitions on the campuses. On occasion, the ISO claims the heritage of Lenin and Trotsky and purports to build a "socialist alternative," but in reality it has nothing to do with the revolutionary program of the Bolsheviks. When the ISO speaks of unity in the antiwar movement, it is not referring to the unity of the working class and its allies internationally on the basis of class struggle, but class-collaborationist unity based on the politics of the lowest common denominator. What this unity results in was shown in 1991 when the ISO tore up its paper opposition to sanctions in order to endorse a "Campaign for Peace" coalition march which called for UN sanctions as an "alternative" to war. Some "socialist alternative."

In its 1 November issue, the last issue before the elections, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* ran an article headlined "Democrats Sweating over Outcome of Midterm Elections—Why Won't They Stand Up to Bush?" Included in the article are perfunctory statements about how "we need to build a socialist alternative," but the core of the article is an advice column to the Democratic Party:

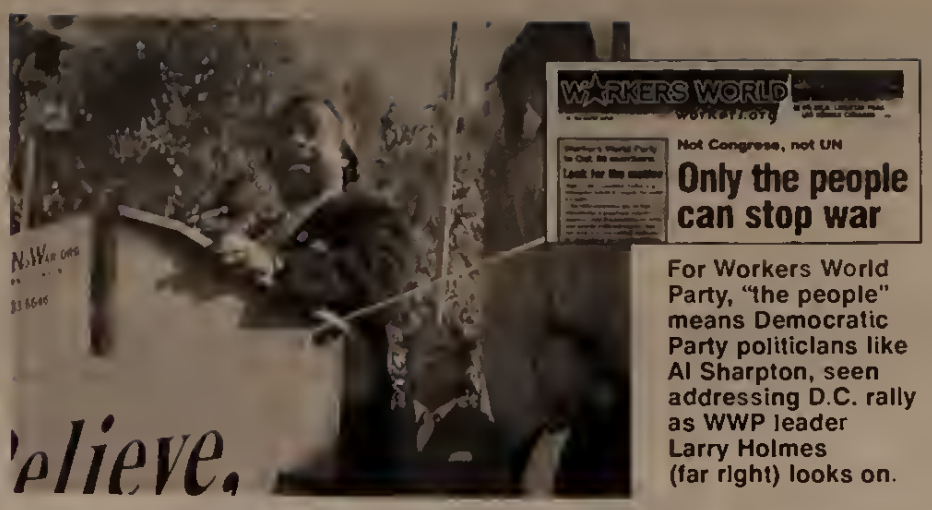
> "How can the Republicans be hoping to win in spite of all the factors working against them?...
>
> "The more important reason for the Republicans' prospects is the spinelessness of Democrats. The recent 'debate' in Congress over Bush's war drive against Iraq is a good example....
>
> "The Democrats—as they have so many times in the past two years—rolled over when Bush demanded a congressional resolution authorizing a war. The Democrats' conventional wisdom was that they should vote for the resolution so they could 'get back to' talking about the economy. But this cynical calculation—made at the cost of thousands of Iraqi lives—ignored two factors.
>
> "First, it ignored the real possibility that challenging Bush on the war would win more support than it would lose....
>
> "Second, avoiding a debate about Iraq assumed that the Democrats have something to say about other issues. But the Democrats haven't even offered an alternative."

The operational conclusion: Let's protest in large numbers to give the Democrats some spine so that they might offer an alternative next time. In the same article, the ISO states its support for Stanley Aronowitz, Green Party candidate for New York governor. In the 2000 presidential elections, the ISO hustled the vote for Green Party candidate Ralph Nader, a *capitalist* politician whose stated purpose in running was to pull the Democrats "in the right direction."

Green Party, Shill for the Democrats

The Green Party had a large presence at the October 26 demos, and many left-leaning youth view it as an alternative to the Democrats. But the role of capitalist third parties like the Greens in the U.S. is to divert anger among the masses away from social protest and back into bourgeois electoral politics. Plain and simple, the Greens are shills for the Democrats.

On October 26, the Greens passed out a handbill declaring, "Green Party opposes war in campaigns nationwide." Of what does this opposition consist? That the U.S. "act in concert with the United Nations to address any potential security risks posed by Saddam Hussein." That such opposition is none at all is amply shown in the case of Germany, where the Green Party, in a governing coalition with the Social Democrats, has already helped lead German imperialism into war twice, in the Balkans and then in Afghanistan. In an "Open Letter to the Democratic Party" (31 October) last Thursday, Ralph Nader points to not wanting the U.S. to go to war "when rigorous UN inspectors can go to Iraq first." Although Aronowitz recommends "the immediate elimination, for humanitarian reasons, of all economic sanctions," he supports continuing what



For Workers World Party, "the people" means Democratic Party politicians like Al Sharpton, seen addressing D.C. rally as WWP leader Larry Holmes (far right) looks on.

Below: International Socialist Organization promotes liberal pacifism, refusing to call for defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism.

WV Photos

he terms "military" sanctions against Iraq so as to keep the Iraqi military weak and therefore leave the country in continued servitude to the imperialist powers.

The other half of the Greens' alleged opposition to war is a demand to "shift investment from military spending to address the basic needs of humanity." Such "butter not guns" talk was peddled by the reformists as well, and its variations appeared on innumerable signs on October 26. This poses the question as if the capitalists just need a change of priorities. The call to end war and allocate money for social programs and other good things begs the question of how all this will be accomplished. Exploitation, unemployment, racial oppression and imperialist war are endemic to the capitalist profit system. This blood-drenched and war-driven system must be destroyed through the revolutionary struggle of the American working class.

For New October Revolutions!

The greatest defeat yet to world imperialism was the 1917 Russian Revolution, which ripped one-sixth of the globe from the clutches of the capitalists amid the carnage of the first interimperialist world war. The October Revolution demonstrated in practice that the proletariat in power was the sole force for human progress on the planet. It succeeded because the working class of Russia was led by a party, the Bolsheviks, which opposed its "own" Russian imperialist rulers despite the patriotic fury of World War I.

In turn, the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92 was a historic defeat for working people all over the world, not least for working people in Russia and the former Soviet republics. Despite the degeneration of the Soviet workers state under Stalinist misrule, it was a measure of the power of the planned, collectivized economy that for the most part all had jobs, housing, education and health care. Today, however, Russian life in all aspects is in drastic decline; unemployment and lack of health care is rampant, infant mortality is up and life expectancy is in decline.

The collapse of the Soviet Union also decisively altered the international political landscape. No longer challenged by Soviet military might, the U.S. imperialists have grown intoxicated with their easy success in running roughshod over semicolonial peoples from the Persian Gulf to Haiti, making the world a far more dangerous place. The unbridled Bush administration now has arrogated to itself the right to go after anybody at any time, even threatening a nuclear first strike. Opposition to imperialism requires defense of those gains the international working class has already won. Trotskyists fought tooth and nail against capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. For their part, the ISO and other reformists cheered the collapse of the Soviet Union, backing every imperialist-sponsored counterrevolutionary cause in the process.

It is as part of our struggle against imperialist capitalism that we stand for the unconditional military defense of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—the remaining deformed workers states—against imperialism and capitalist restoration, including defending the right of North Korea and the others to possess nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the war-crazed imperialist madmen. Simultaneously, we call for workers political revolution to oust the sellout Stalinist bureaucrats and fight to extend proletarian rule to the advanced capitalist countries.

The same American ruling class that used COINTELPRO in the 1960s to round up the perceived "enemy within" in the person of black militants, particularly those around the Black Panther Party, is now rounding up immigrants, expanding domestic spying programs and shredding constitutional rights in its "war on terror." Reformists portray the capitalist state as a neutral body which can be pressured to serve the interests of the working class and oppressed. But in reality, the capitalist state is the instrument for organized violence to ensure the rule of the bosses.

We put our Marxist principles to work in our own mobilization in Oakland, California last February 9 against the "war on terror." In contrast to the fake socialists who betray their ostensible program to get the "biggest possible turnout," we drew a *class* line. The call for the protest declared: "What America's racist rulers can get away with will be determined by class struggle.... A united demonstration of the power of our class, together with youth, black and immigrant organizations, can spike the bosses' racist 'national unity' campaign." And we had a very successful united-front mobilization, the first protest in the country against the "national unity" campaign that was centered on the power of labor. It brought out immigrant, black and white workers alongside radical-minded youth in action against the bloodthirsty U.S. imperialists.

There is ample reason for people all over the world, including within this country, to fear the U.S. capitalist class and its state. But the commonly held belief that U.S. imperialism is omnipotent and eternal not only serves the interests of the ruling class, but it is ***wrong***. The key ingredients already exist to bring down U.S. imperialism. This irrational, bloody capitalist system has bred the seeds of its own destruction, and it can do nothing to change that fact. As mighty American capitalism developed, so did an organized, multiracial working class with the power to bring down the warmongers. Every bloody military adventure the imperialists undertake abroad, every attack on workers, blacks and immigrants here, creates fresh social tinder. The way forward is to build a revolutionary party of the Bolshevik type that can infuse the working class with an understanding of its historic task to overturn the imperialist order and reorganize society on an egalitarian socialist basis. ■

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VANCOUVER

WORKERS VANGUARD

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Asylum Now for Haitian Refugees!

AP photos

October 29: After cops drag off Haitian refugees, SEIU service employee union militants and others protested outside INS building in Miami.

A rickety wooden boat carrying 232 Haitian refugees and three Dominicans was shipwrecked off affluent Key Biscayne, Florida, on Octoher 29. As television news helicopters circled overhead, refugees plunged into the chest-deep water, passed small children to other refugees and made for the shore with the police and U.S. Coast Guard in hot pursuit. The cops shut down the busy Rickenbacker Causeway, which links Key Biscayne to Miami, as sympathetic drivers passing by picked up people desperately seeking to evade the police.

Cold and hungry, the refugees were quickly rounded up and herded into detention centers, including the infamous Krome Avenue concentration camp in Miami, to be held until the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) deports them. Nineteen of those who made the harrowing journey have already been hauled back to a dock in Port-au-Prince, Haiti by the Coast Guard.

The roundup of the refugees sparked almost immediate protest in Florida. Some 300 demonstrators confronted Governor Jeb Bush on October 30 as he swung through Miami's Liberty City ghetto. Protesters contrasted the brutal treatment meted out to Haitians seeking asylum—detention, humiliation, deportation—with the way the U.S. welcomes counterrevolutionary *gusanos* (worms) whom they encourage to "flee" from Cuba. A social revolution in Cuba overturned capitalism in what had been an impoverished neocolony, and ever since then the U.S. has been determined to overturn the Cuban Revolution and reestablish capitalist exploitation in that country.

For America's racist rulers, Haitians represent not only a significant flow of immigration into the United States, but a flow of ***black*** immigration in particular. Last December, the Bush administration instituted a policy of automatically jailing Haitian asylum-seekers in detention centers—a practice not applied to refugees from any other country. The treatment of these most recent refugees has been so vicious that even two right-wing Cuban American Republicans in the Florida state legislature have demanded that the Haitians "be afforded all procedural rights, in order to ensure that they are not summarily deported."

AP

U.S. military policeman brutalizing man during 1994 occupation of Haiti ordered by Clinton White House in name of "restoring democracy."

The unimaginable hell in which most Haitians live drives thousands to flee their homes and brave the treacherous waters of the Windward Passage. Most of the population ekes out a miserable existence on small parcels of depleted soil in the mountainous country. The poverty rate stands at 80 percent and more than two-thirds of the population is unemployed. Now the U.S. imperialists have withheld $500 million in international loans and grants, threatening to plunge Haiti into even deeper destitution.

Haiti was born of a great slave rebellion that extended from 1791 to 1804, out of which emerged the first independent black republic in the Caribbean. The Haitian Revolution was an example and inspiration for all major slave revolts in the American South that followed. And for the Southern slavocracy, which dominated pre-Civil War U.S. governments, Haiti was a frightening spectre to be isolated and suppressed (see "The Haitian Revolution and the American Slavocracy," *WV* No. 764, 14 September 2001).

Throughout the 20th century, one dictator after another was propped up by the U.S. imperialists, who twice occupied the country, first under Democratic president Woodrow Wilson beginning in 1915 and again under Bill Clinton. The 1994 occupation came after mass demonstrations in Haiti demanding the return of populist president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who had been deposed three years earlier by a military coup. This was a classic example of the U.S. bourgeoisie using the pretext of "human rights" to justify an imperialist invasion, grotesquely dubbing it "Operation Uphold Democracy." As we warned at the time: "'Restoring democracy' was just a fig leaf for racist U.S. imperialism's real agenda, which is to restore ***order***, and clamp down on Haitian emigration to the U.S." ("U.S. Out of Haiti!" *WV* No. 607, 30 September 1994).

Today, Aristide has unleashed state repression against the populist Lavalas movement on whose back he came to power. His government is widely believed to have been involved in the kidnapping and possible slaying of three pro-Lavalas activists, Félix "Féfé" Bien Aimé, Gérard Normil and Paul Musac Jean. These disappearances, as well as other acts of repression, have led to demonstrations throughout Haiti. "Every time you demonstrate, they want to kill you," one of the refugees said. "They beat me. It's not easy to return to Haiti because I can die" (*Washington Post*, 7 November).

In the early 1990s, high rates of HIV/AIDS in Haiti were used as a pretext to detain Haitian refugees in the U.S. When the government banned Haitians from donating blood, it touched off huge protests on the East Coast, including a march of 70,000 in New York City in April 1990. Today, it is the "war on terror" that is used to go after Haitians and other immigrants. A recent statement by the Coast Guard justified increased patrols in the Caribbean, declaring Haitian and other "illegal migration" to be "a matter of national security." The border with Mexico, already militarized by the Clinton administration, has been sealed tighter since 9/11. In the past year alone, hundreds have died as undocumented immigrants are forced to make their way through deserts and mountains. The bodies of eleven Mexican migrants were discovered in a grain car in Iowa on October 14; it was estimated that their bodies had been there for at least four months.

The hundreds of thousands of Haitians who labor in America's garment sweatshops, restaurants, hospitals and other service industries provide a vital link between the impoverished masses of Haiti and the multiracial working class in the U.S. It is particularly as part of the American proletariat fighting for a socialist revolution in the U.S. that these workers will play a critical role in the struggle for the emancipation of the long-suffering Haitian masses from the depredations and exploitation of U.S. imperialism. ***Asylum now for Haitian refugees! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*** ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 792

29 November 2002

2002 Elections: Recession, Repression, War

Labor, Blacks Need a Workers Party!

Defend Iraq Against U.S. Imperialist Attack!

With the Republicans regaining control of the Senate and widening their narrow majority in the House of Representatives, the Bush administration now claims to have a popular mandate for its reactionary policies. Three days after the election, the U.S. secured a unanimous resolution in the United Nations Security Council giving it a UN fig leaf for the impending imperialist subjugation of Iraq. From bible-thumping bigots out to roll back women's rights to plutocrats unfazed by the financial scandals that have shaken the economy and out for still more gorging, the forces of reaction are clearly eager to push their agendas: permanent tax cuts for the rich, further slashing of social welfare programs and expanding the role of the religious right in government. The White House now sees a free hand to pack the judicial benches with anti-abortion bigots, white-supremacists and the like.

But the elections were hardly indicative of popular support for this right-wing agenda. In fact, the Republicans scored a narrow victory—with control of Congress hinging on barely 41,000 votes—and only a small minority of the electorate even bothered to vote. Going into the elections, poll after poll indicated that overwhelming majorities of voters were primarily concerned not with "national security" but with economic security—their jobs, health benefits and pension funds and the threatened privatization and gutting of Social Security.

Janoski/Getty

WV Photo

George Bush rallies troops for imperialist slaughter in Iraq while workers face mass layoffs and attacks on pensions and health care. September 25: NYC transit workers rally in lead-up to contract battle.

Even in the face of a government which has all but declared any dissent to be "terrorism," over 200,000 came out to protest Bush's war plans against Iraq on October 26. But a central purpose of the organizers of these protests, the ANSWER coalition connected to the Workers World Party, was to provide a pre-election platform for a range of Democrats. This purpose was captured by Jesse Jackson intoning, "Come alive on November 5!"

Following the elections, the Democratic Party is rife with recrimination. House minority leader Richard Gephardt stepped down and was replaced by the more liberal California Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi, who promptly voted for

continued on page 10

Government Threatens Roundup of Iraqi Americans

The *New York Times* (17 November) reported that the government has plans to round up and detain potentially thousands of Iraqi Americans or Iraqi nationals in the U.S., who are already being monitored under "national security" warrants coordinated by a range of spy agencies. The article stated, "In the event of an American invasion of Iraq, officials would intensify the program's mission through arrests and detentions of Iraqis or Iraq sympathizers if they are believed to be planning domestic terrorist operations."

In the name of the "war on terror," the government has already arrested or dragged off for "interrogation" thousands of people of Near Eastern descent. Well over a thousand people were detained last year without any criminal charges, denied access to lawyers or even to their families, and held behind bars for months on end. In mid November, nearly 150 airport workers, including a number of union members, were arrested in a sweep of New York City area airports by the Feds and local police. Mainly Hispanic immigrants working as cleaners for low-wage, non-union subcontractors, they were picked up for allegedly lying on their job applications. One cleaner was surrounded by a half dozen federal agents, forced to his knees, handcuffed and then paraded around the airport like a prize trophy. A unionized black worker was arrested on minor drug charges dating back to his high school days nearly ten years ago.

Since the beginning of these sweeps, labeled "Operation Tarmac," more than 900 airport workers around the country have been arrested or indicted, with many facing deportation. The roundup of the New York airport workers reportedly was the culmination of a nine-month investigation of 58,000 workers. Clearly the aim of these police dragnets is to intimidate and terrorize the entire workforce, victimize militants and keep a lid on labor struggle.

Now, according to the *Times*, the government is planning to throw Arabs in the U.S. into concentration camps—and such plans didn't start with the war preparations against Iraq. As far back as the 1980s, the U.S. government has had "contingency plans" for herding Arab immigrants into detention camps in the event of U.S. military intervention in the Near East and North Africa. During the 1986 bombing of Libya, a camp in Louisiana had already been prepared for as many as 5,000 Arab detainees.

Plans for mass internment in times of "emergency" have a long history in this country. In 1942, as the U.S. waged war against Japan in the Pacific, Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which sent 120,000 Japanese Americans and immigrants to concentration camps. In the period before the roundups, all

continued on page 2

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Hands Off Amer Jubran!

Several Palestinian activists are among those incarcerated as a result of the government's racist "anti-terror" witch-hunt. Well-known Palestinian community leader Farouk Abdel-Muhti was dragged from his New York City home in April by FBI and Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents and has been shuttled from one New Jersey jail to another ever since. If he is deported to Israel, Abdel-Muhti would almost surely face torture or worse at the hands of the Zionist state. Last week, his attorneys filed a *habeas corpus* petition demanding his immediate release, citing a Supreme Court decision limiting detention to six months in most deportation cases.

Earlier this month, Amer Jubran, cofounder of the New England Committee to Defend Palestine, was seized by the Feds and INS two days after leading a Boston march for Palestinian rights. On November 21, Jubran was released on bond, with the judge acknowledging the receipt of dozens of letters in his defense. However, Jubran still faces a February 20 court hearing on his deportation case. The Partisan Defense Committee calls on all fighters for democratic rights and the rights of immigrants, all opponents of the Zionist terror machine to demand: *Free Farouk Abdel-Muhti and all the detainees! Hands off Amer Jubran!*

We reprint below a 14 November letter in defense of Jubran sent by the PDC to the Boston-area INS director.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee denounces the 4 November INS/FBI arrest and seizure of Palestinian activist Amer Jubran. Mr. Jubran has been dragged off to the Adult Correctional Institution in Cranston, Rhode Island where, even though he is charged with no crime, he is threatened with indefinite detention.

The attack on Mr. Jubran comes in the context of a vicious nation-wide dragnet targeting immigrants or anyone of Arab or South Asian descent while the U.S. imperialist behemoth girds for war against impoverished Iraq. Under the aegis of reactionary legislation, hundreds languish in INS "detention" without even the pretense of due process or constitutional rights.

This outrage is clearly meant to chill any dissent—a frontal assault on all political activists who would defend the Palestinian people from escalating Zionist terror in the West Bank and Gaza as well as anyone fighting in defense of the working class, the poor and oppressed. *We demand the immediate release of Amer Jubran.* The PDC demands freedom for all the detainees.

Mr. Jubran's detention follows the previous arrest of another Boston-area Palestinian activist, Jaoudat Abouazza, who has since been sent to Canada. These arrests, part of a nationwide pattern, are meant to criminalize any opposition to U.S. support for Israeli attacks on the besieged Palestinians. This repression will not go unopposed! Free Amer Jubran!

Letters demanding that all charges against Amer Juhran be dropped should be sent to: Steven J. Farquharson, USINS District Director, Room 1700, JFK Federal Building, Boston, MA 02203. Copies should be sent to: Commissioner James W. Ziglar, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 425 I Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20536.■

Roundup...

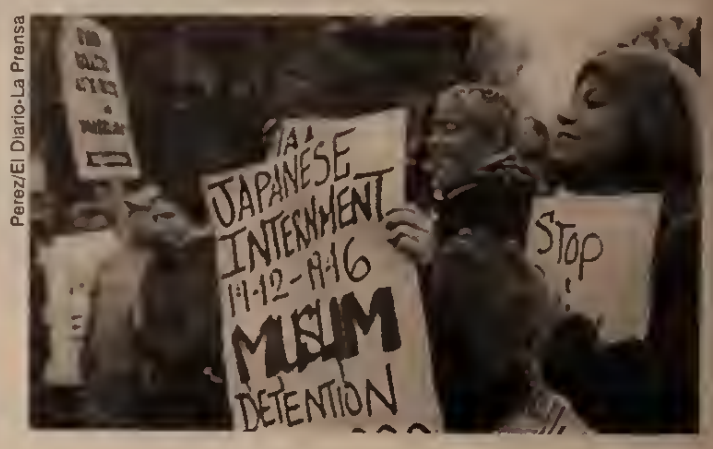
(continued from page 1)

persons of Japanese descent who were not citizens were designated "enemy aliens." Their bank accounts were frozen, they were forbidden by law to become citizens and were forced to register and carry ID cards. This horrifying product of racist war hysteria destroyed thousands of lives.

In the past, some elements of the bourgeoisie have bemoaned the WW II concentration camps as a "mistake" or aberration. But the Supreme Court has never overturned its endorsement of the World War II internments. And only a few years after the war, the 1950 McCarran Act mandated the registration and fingerprinting of Communist Party members and sympathizers, who were deemed "subversives." Tens of thousands of them were marked for internment in concentration camps in the event of a "national emergency."

The report of plans for detention of Iraqis and the roundup of NYC airport workers came amid almost daily pronouncements of new "anti-terror" legislation, executive orders, court rulings and arrests. The launch of the Department of Homeland Security marks a new level in the state's ability to monitor the entire population's activities. Another government spying operation is the Total Information Awareness System. Headed by John Poindexter, who was convicted on five counts of lying to Congress in the Iran-Contra affair in the 1980s, this "Big Brother" operation would gather and centralize information on virtually anything you do, from applying for a passport to renting a car or buying an airline ticket. On November 18, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court of Review, which meets in secrecy, overruled its own lower court and affirmed broad powers to spy on individuals, which include allowing break-ins and wiretapping with absolutely no evidence of criminal activity.

The new police-state measures that first target immigrants will be used against just about everyone perceived as an opponent by the capitalist rulers—from those who oppose U.S. imperialist wars abroad to those who speak out against racist oppression or fight to defend their unions and livelihoods. As the roundups of airport workers underline, it is necessary for the airline unions and the labor movement as a whole to mobilize in defense of immigrant workers and all those in the cross hairs of this capitalist government's "war on terror."■



Perez/El Diario-La Prensa

Sign at January demonstration in New York against roundups of immigrants recalls World War II internment of Japanese Americans.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Bourgeois Elections and the Dictatorship of Capital

America's rulers trumpet this country's political system as a model of democracy for the whole world. But periodic elections under capitalism are a fig leaf for the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In a 1919 lecture, V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian October Revolution that established the first workers state in history, explained that even those capitalist states that were then upheld as among the freest and most democratic, such as the United States and Switzerland, are simply instruments for the brutal suppression of the working class.

Nowhere does capital rule so cynically and ruthlessly, and nowhere is it so clearly apparent, as in these countries, although they are democratic republics, no matter how prettily they are painted and notwithstanding all the talk about labour democracy and the equality of all citizens. The fact is that in Switzerland and the United States capital dominates, and every attempt of the workers to achieve the slightest real improvement in their condition is immediately met by civil war.... Nowhere is this suppression of the working-class movement accompanied by such ruthless severity as in Switzerland and the U.S.A., and nowhere does the influence of capital in parliament manifest itself as powerfully as in these countries. The power of capital is everything, the stock exchange is everything, while parliament and elections are marionettes, puppets....

Whatever guise a republic may assume, however democratic it may be, if it is a bourgeois republic, if it retains private ownership of the land and factories, and if private capital keeps the whole of society in wage-slavery, that is, if the republic does not carry out what is proclaimed in the Programme of our Party and in the Soviet Constitution, then this state is a machine for the suppression of some people by others.... We shall reject all the old prejudices about the state meaning universal equality—for that is a fraud: as long as there is exploitation there cannot be equality. The landowner cannot be the equal of the worker, or the hungry man the equal of the full man. This machine called the state, before which people bowed in superstitious awe, believing the old tales that it means popular rule, tales which the proletariat declares to be a bourgeois lie—this machine the proletariat will smash.

—V.I. Lenin, "The State" (July 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 792 **29 November 2002**

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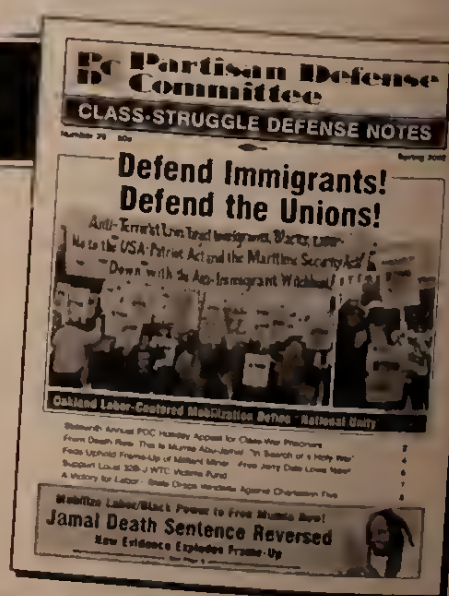

Two Workers Killed on Tracks in Two Days

New York Transit Workers vs. Union-Busting Austerity

NEW YORK CITY—With a December 15 contract deadline fast approaching, the 34,000 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 who keep this city's subways and buses running are facing a major showdown with the political representatives of Wall Street. Threatening "very severe" penalties if the TWU votes for strike action, multibillionaire mayor Michael Bloomberg and the city bosses want to gut the union, a powerhouse of New York's multiracial working class, as part of an effort to make working people pay for the city's huge budget deficit. The state Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) is intent on pushing through a wide array of attacks on health benefits and working conditions, while foisting a massive fare hike on riders.

WV Photo

Transit workers rally outside NYC transit headquarters in Brooklyn, September 25.

Break with the Democrats—Mobilize Union Power!

The MTA's drive to cut costs is deadly. Two transit workers were killed on the job in as many days because of the transit bosses' contempt for the safety of the workforce. On November 21, signal maintainer Joy Antony, a 41-year-old father of two young children, was killed by an oncoming train because management did not provide a flagman to warn the driver that work was being done on the tracks. The next day, 57-year-old light maintainer Kurien Baby was dragged under a passing train at another station. Four workers have been killed on the job in two years and 21 since 1980.

New York City Transit is the only transit system in the state not subject to federal safety regulations. After the second recent accident, management stopped all nonemergency track work for 24 hours to review safety procedures. But unsafe procedures should be stopped *before* workers are killed or injured! Transit workers must fight for *elected union safety committees* with the power to *shut down any unsafe working conditions on the spot.*

What's needed is for transit workers to mobilize union power in defense of their interests and those of all of New York City's working people and the ghetto and barrio poor. Workers from one maintenance facility at a union rally in Midtown Manhattan on October 30 carried a banner reading, "Ready to Rumble." But as transit workers prepare for a confrontation with the capitalist class enemy, they are saddled with a union leadership that places its faith not in the power of a mobilized membership but in the false "friends" of the capitalist Democratic Party.

Hendrickson/Local 100 Express

Roger Toussaint, TWU Local 100 president, embraces Democratic Senator Hillary Clinton at union meeting last year.

Thousands of transit workers have turned out for union rallies in Brooklyn and Manhattan this fall. The signs and banners carried by union members spoke to the issues facing the workforce. "No Health Care Cuts! Stop Abusive Discipline!" read one. "T.A. Labor Relations = Plantation Justice" declared another. With the Health Benefit Trust on the verge of bankruptcy, the MTA is now driving to drastically increase what transit workers pay for medical care. TWU Local 100 should fight for full health care coverage at no cost for all union members, including retirees, and their families. With health benefits increasingly under attack by employers across the country—and with at least 42 million people having no health coverage at all—the labor movement must take the lead in fighting for *free, quality health care for all!*

In the year 2000 alone, more than *16,000* disciplinary notices were dished out to transit workers. Now the MTA is out to undermine seniority rights by cutting the number of "job picks," which allow workers to choose their shifts and work locations. This is a step toward eliminating this hard-won union gain entirely. An array of other proposed MTA measures target working conditions and safety regulations, from speedup and "broadbanding," which would broaden job descriptions to force workers to do jobs they're not trained for, to reduction of "release time"—time allotted during working hours for elected union representatives to defend their members. This is a recipe for more death on the tracks.

The MTA's "plantation justice" and the ranks' determination to defend their union rights were both on display at the East New York transit facility in Brooklyn a few months ago. Union stewards and other workers there told *Workers Vanguard* that a black worker was threatened with firing for defending himself against a foreman who physically attacked and hurled racist slurs at him. After a campaign in which over a hundred of his coworkers organized in his defense, the company backed down.

The attacks on transit workers' health benefits and working conditions go hand in hand with plans to increase the subway fare by up to 33 percent. Riding on a huge budget surplus during the 1990s boom, the city administration kept wage increases for city workers to a bare minimum while allowing rents to skyrocket. Meanwhile, schools and hospitals were left to deteriorate and the homeless to freeze and starve in the streets. Now, in the midst of an economic downturn and a huge budget deficit, they intend to take it out of the hides of the workers, slashing services and wages even further. A union sign at the October 30 TWU rally declared: "No Fare Hike on the Backs of the Public and T.A. Workers." A fight to defend the union, linked with the call for free public transit, would win enormous support, not least among the city's poor and minority populations.

Democrats: Enemies of Labor

The union rallies should have been used for mobilizing union power against the capitalists' attacks. Instead the Local 100 leadership under President Roger Toussaint turned them into election rallies for capitalist politicians, as the speaker's platform was given over to Democrats looking for votes. Certainly, with a particularly vicious Republican administration in Washington that flaunts its ties to big business and openly revels in inflicting pain and suffering on working people, many workers buy into the lie that the Democratic Party is a "lesser evil." But it is precisely their image as "friends" of labor and minorities that allows the Democrats to more easily get away with attacks just as vicious as those carried out by the Republicans—witness the Clinton years, with the axing of welfare and the massive growth in inequality between a handful of rich and almost everybody else. When it comes to the fundamental interests of the capitalist class—against labor at home and the perceived enemies of U.S. imperialism abroad—the Democratic Party is at one with the Republicans.

Tying the unions to the Democratic Party is an *obstacle* to labor struggle. It was Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer, not just Republican mayor Giuliani, who brought the full force of the capitalist state down on Local 100 during the contract battle three years ago, invoking the strikebreaking Taylor Law, threatening to arrest transit workers who even uttered the word "strike" and surrounding union headquarters with an army of cops. And then-candidate for Senate Hillary Clinton endorsed this draconian assault on the union, calling the Taylor Law a "wise law" because "public employees should not legally be allowed to strike." Two years later, Toussaint invited Clinton to be the featured speaker at a mass union meeting, where she drummed up support for the "war on terror" and the U.S. bombing of Afghanistan.

The bipartisan "war on terror" has meant a racist witchhunt against Arabs and Muslims and a wholesale assault on immigrant rights and the civil liberties of the population as a whole. Its ultimate target is the labor movement, the real "enemy within" in the eyes of the American bourgeoisie. As the U.S. imperialists gear up for war against Iraq, they will further escalate their war on the unions in order to ensure class peace at home. This has already been underscored by the anti-union Taft-Hartley injunction leveled against the International Longshore and Warehouse Union.

The bosses have already wheeled out their anti-union propaganda machine against the TWU. Attacking Toussaint as a "radical," the *New York Post* railed against the possibility of a strike in a rabid editorial titled "Communist Underground" the day of the October 30 rally. And on the ground, a horde of cops prevented transit workers from marching to Governor Pataki's Midtown offices. Yet the Local 100 leadership had invited the head of the police "union," Patrick Lynch, to speak at the earlier TWU rally in Brooklyn. Cops are the paid strikebreakers of the capitalists; they have no place in the labor movement!

The TWU bureaucracy itself has fallen in line behind the "war on terror." As the *New York Times* (17 November) reported, the Local 100 tops have complained about subcontractors who do not undergo backgound checks yet have access to the subway system's power and communications facilities. John Samuelsen, a Local 100 official, ranted that the typical subcontractor "picks up a truckload of day laborers.... We don't know if they have a criminal background or anything about them." Rather than denouncing these nonunion and largely immigrant workers, the TWU should be fighting to organize them into the union at full union wages and benefits. The TWU should also be organizing the "workfare" laborers forced to take on transit jobs to get their meager welfare payments. The labor movement must take up the fight for citizenship rights for all immigrants.

Union Tops Threaten to Split TWU

Criminally, in the face of a ruling-class offensive, Toussaint's opponents in the union bureaucracy, TWU International president Sonny Hall and his cohorts in

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Young Spartacus

"War on Terror" on Campus

Defend Pro-Palestinian Protesters!

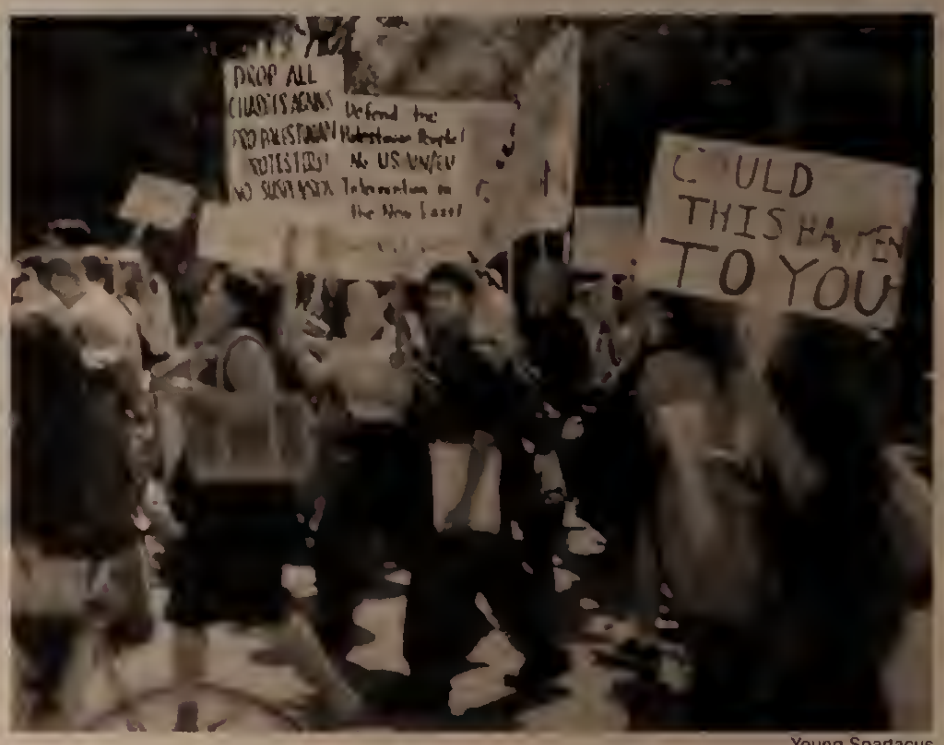
On campuses across the country, a sinister cabal ranging from the nefarious Anti-Defamation League (ADL) to racist demagogue David Horowitz to campus administrators and higher offices of the state is targeting any student who would speak out in defense of the Palestinians. Last spring, the UC Berkeley administration banned the Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) after an April 9 Wheeler Hall demonstration calling for the university to divest its holdings in Israel. This fall, Harvard's Lawrence Summers condemned divestment proposals as "anti-Semitic in their effect, if not their intent" and accused unnamed student groups of having links with "terrorist" organizations.

Around the same time, the Zionist think tank Middle East Forum set up the Campus Watch Web site in an attempt to blacklist pro-Palestinian academics, whom it labels "apologists to terrorism." An ad published on November 4 in the student newspaper of Rutgers University, the *Daily Targum*, pictures a man with a machine gun captioned "Palestinian school children's hero," imputing that any Palestinian sympathizer is necessarily a supporter of terrorism.

This witchhunt is hardly confined to college campuses. Last week, a young woman Brooklyn high school student of Palestinian descent wearing a "Free Palestine" T-shirt and Palestinian flag pin to school was grabbed and frisked by security guards. She was forced to remove pro-Palestinian stickers from her notebook and summarily warned by a dean that the only flag she could "represent at school was the American flag" (New York *Daily News*, 21 November).

The charge of "anti-Semitism" has become the standard smear against those who would defend the right of the Palestinians to exist. More than 300 college and university presidents pledged in an American Jewish Committee ad in the *New York Times* (7 October) that "all instances" of supposed intimidation against Jewish and Zionist students "will be investigated and acted upon." This ad and the "anti-Semitism" smear willfully conflate actual anti-Semitic attacks, such as the defacing of synagogues, with political protest against the Zionist military garrison state. As New York University professor Khaled Fahmy noted, "This narrowing tolerance is sad and dangerous as it leaves real anti-Semitism and real moral bankruptcy unchallenged" (*Washington Square News*, 20 November).

Branding defenders of the Palestinians as "anti-Semitic" and "terrorists," the Zionists tried everything to shut down the Second National Conference on the Palestinian Solidarity Movement at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in mid-October. They filed a lawsuit that claimed the conference represented a threat to the physical safety of Jewish students. In a classic frame-up operation, an anti-Semitic e-mail message was made to appear to originate from a pro-Palestinian student group helping to organize the conference. (This was exposed as a fraud by the administration itself.) When all else failed, more than a thousand Zionists from as far away as the East Coast besieged the conference and demonstrated outside it chanting "Shame for supporting the killing of university students" and carrying signs reading "This Is an Anti-Semitic Hate Conference."



Young Spartacus

Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club at September 30 protest outside UC Berkeley administration trial of pro-Palestinian activists.

Witchhunts and Repression

The effort by Zionist ideologues to smear pro-Palestinian protest as "anti-Semitic" reached the highest levels of state government in California last July, when Democratic governor Gray Davis, citing the ADL, called on the University of California and California State University systems to crack down on what he called anti-Semitic "violence, harassment, and abuse" (UCLA *Daily Bruin*, 30 July). Davis outrageously and falsely condemned entire demonstrations as anti-Semitic, including the April SJP demo at UC Berkeley and protests at San Francisco State University (SFSU).

At SFSU last May, a pro-Zionist demonstration was met by a pro-Palestinian counter-protest, a confrontation which became heated on both sides. Following the rally, university president Robert Corrigan seized on false allegations that the General Union of Palestine Students (GUPS) is riot-prone and anti-Semitic in order to summarily impose sanctions on the group, including probation, termination of funding and the loss of its Web site. The ADL advised Corrigan in the witchhunt of GUPS. These well-connected Zionists have a long and sordid history at SFSU. In the early 1990s, when the ADL was exposed as spies for some of the deadliest regimes on the planet—from apartheid South Africa to Latin American death squad dictatorships—more than a dozen SFSU student groups were found on their computer hit list.

In a September meeting with GUPS, Corrigan responded to a GUPS request to lift the sanctions against it with the outrageous comment: "Why, so you guys can start throwing bombs in January?" (*Golden Gate [X]press*, 17 October). This vile and inflammatory comment can only be a prelude to aggressive government repression or worse, especially given FBI efforts to use student records to go after Near Eastern students as supposed "terrorists." SFSU was among the first to hand over such records to the FBI, an action that was opposed by an SYC-initiated united-front protest demanding "Down with SFSU collaboration with the FBI anti-immigrant witchhunt!" SFSU administration hands off GUPS!

Across the bay at UC Berkeley, the administration is single-mindedly determined to find some way to punish 32 protesters arrested during the April SJP demonstration and sit-in, despite the official unequivocal "factual finding of innocence" issued when criminal charges were dropped by the Alameda County District Attorney's Office last June. The administration has charged 31 students with violating the Student Code of Conduct and threatens them with suspension. One student, Roberto Hernandez, faces an additional trumped-up charge of physical assault and has had his degree withheld, preventing him from attending his doctoral program and endangering his financial aid package. This prosecution comes after the university banned SJP as a campus organization (though the university later backed down from the ban in the face of opposition). As Hernandez' lawyer, Anne Weills, told a *Young Spartacus* reporter, "The attack on these students is such that it is chilling dissent."

The administration's prosecution of the Wheeler 32 has been a kangaroo court from the beginning. The 32 were denied their request for a group hearing, the hearings were closed to the public (though two months after the initial hearing the university finally agreed to open hearings), and the proceedings were moved from the central campus to a more remote location. Meanwhile, much of the scant evidence the university has come up with is itself inadmissible according to state law because the Wheeler 32 were found factually innocent. Now, as the result of a ruling on a lawsuit filed by the defendants, the university was issued a court order to restart the hearings and withhold the arrest records from evidence.

The SYC has been active from the beginning in the defense of targeted pro-Palestinian protesters through taking up their cause in rallies and publicizing it at our lit tables. In a protest statement distributed in May at SJP rallies, we demanded "Down With the suspension of SJP! No administration reprisals against the protesters!" At an October Wheeler 32 defense organizing meeting, we encouraged the participants to bring their struggle to the then locked-out West Coast dock workers, pointing out that getting the social power of labor behind them would represent the best possible defense of persecuted pro-Palestinian activists.

Campus Divestment Campaign: Appeal to Forces of Repression

The divestment campaign pushed by many in the pro-Palestinian movement, including the International Socialist Organization, embraces the idea that the University of California, which runs laboratories involved in "developing new tools in the war on terrorism" (as the UC Web site attests), or the Harvard Corporation, run by former World Bank vice president and Clinton Treasury Secretary Summers, will side with Palestinians and divest from Israel. This is absurd. As we wrote in "What's Wrong with Campus Divestment Campaign" (*WV* No. 780, 3 May):

> "The divestment campaign looks to employ moral suasion to pressure campus administrations, American corporations and ultimately the U.S. capitalist rulers to ditch Israel and implement a more benevolent policy toward the Palestinians. Aside from the fact that American corporations do not have significant investments in Israel, the notion that moral suasion will make the U.S. dump a strategic and longstanding ally in the Near East is simply ludicrous."

Now, this campaign puts its advocates in the position of appealing to campus administrations, who are presently witchhunting pro-Palestinian activists, to come to the aid of Palestinians.

If the sympathies of the administration were not already sufficiently clear, just look at the lengths it went to quash any protest against a November 19 appearance at UC Berkeley by former Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak, who presided over the initial Zionist crackdown on the

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Racist Demagogue Horowitz on a Rampage

University of Illinois at Chicago

The Chicago Spartacus Youth Club protests the arrest of Jessica Maiorca who had been simply heckling racist demagogue David Horowitz during his October 30 lecture at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC). After Maiorca turned around in her chair to call security on right-wing students who had been physically harassing her, campus cops immediately descended on her and dragged her out of the auditorium. Though the arrest charge of disorderly conduct was dropped, she still faces possible disciplinary action from the administration. Maiorca, a member of the UIC No War coalition, was targeted for her political beliefs. ***Defend Jessica Maiorca!***

Horowitz's appearance at UIC was a part of his neo-McCarthyite campaign to whip up pro-war patriotism and advance the capitalist rulers' witchhunt against all those who oppose or even question U.S. imperialism's war moves against Iraq. In an advertisement published in 15 campus newspapers in September 2001, Horowitz accused protesters against the Vietnam War of having been "enemies within." Today Horowitz is touring college campuses giving a speech entitled "How the Left Undermines America's Security," in which he smears leftists as "Al Qaeda's little helpers." These slanders are an incitement to violence and a justification for government repression against anti-war activists.

In fact, the "big helper" of Islamic fundamentalism in Central Asia was the American capitalist state. Osama bin Laden and his fellow *mujahedin*—who would later fill the ranks of Al Qaeda, the Taliban and the Northern Alliance—were armed, trained and funded by U.S. imperialism as part of its war to smash the Soviet Union in the '80s.

Furthermore, Horowitz's claim that the "anti-American" left has stifled free speech on college campuses is a calculated attempt to intimidate leftists and minorities into silence. His professed free speech concerns were completely exposed during his campus visit. Early in the day of his talk, after he failed to have an International Socialist Organization campus literature table shut down, this right-wing provocateur went so far as to *attack* that lit table, ripping down a protest sign and tearing it to pieces! During his talk, he fingered people in the crowd who were angered by his reactionary ranting so that the campus cops would forcibly remove them. Following the lecture, he abruptly cut off the promised discussion, claiming he didn't like the "tone" of a question.

Horowitz has a recent history of fueling racist reaction and campus witchhunts. Two years ago, Horowitz orchestrated a national ad campaign on college campuses that attacked "reparations" for black people on the grotesque basis that slavery actually "created wealth for black Americans." In a similarly twisted vein, his current ad, which ran in the UIC *Flame* just weeks before his appearance, blames Palestinians for their own oppression at the hands of the murderous Zionist state, painting all those who sympathize with the Palestinian cause as terrorist supporters. The SYCs have initiated united-front protests against this reactionary ideologue.

Marxists understand that it is necessary to refute the lies of pro-imperialist ideologues like Horowitz and combat the corrosive impact of their retrograde ideas. However, our aim is not just to expose reactionary ideas, but to change reality. A socialist revolution is needed to uproot the racist system of imperialist exploitation and war for which Horowitz is a brazen mouthpiece. ■

O'Holleran/Chicago Flame

October 30: Pro-imperialist spokesman David Horowitz ranting from podium at UIC. His appearance was a calculated provocation—four people were ejected from the event and one of them was arrested.

second *Intifada*. As a member of the Bay Area SYC, which had mobilized for the protest against Barak, reported: "At 5 p.m. it seemed as though the cops wanted to make the protest into an occupied West Bank. Helicopters flew overhead, and the entrance to Zellerbach was blocked off by police barricades, pushing protesters into a corner at least 200 feet away from where Barak was supposed to speak."

It is a measure of how virulent the Zionist witchhunt against support to the Palestinians has become that they target the divestment campaign, which in the words of one of its most renowned supporters, Edward Said, is "the mildest and most decorous of responses" to Zionist terror (*Washington Post*, 12 October). Yet, the smear that anyone who protests against the Zionist military garrison state is anti-Semitic has long been used by the Israeli rulers to bolster their genocidal aim of eradicating the Palestinians.

We are intransigent defenders of the Palestinians against Zionist state terror. At the same time, we are equally opposed to Arab nationalist calls to "drive the Jews into the sea." Against all variants of deadly nationalism, we counterpose a program of proletarian revolutionary internationalism. The road to the social and national liberation of the Palestinian people lies through common class struggle by the Hebrew-speaking and Arab workers against both the Israeli and Arab ruling classes, who likewise are oppressors of the Palestinians. Only within a socialist federation of the Near East can the right to national self-determination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples be equitably realized.

U.S. imperialism's imminent war against Iraq could very well provide the Israeli state, armed to the hilt by the U.S., with the cover to carry out a full-scale ethnic cleansing of the Occupied Territories. As the war drive escalates, attempts to quell protest sympathetic to the Palestinians will only intensify on American campuses. This points to the urgent need to mobilize in defense of both the Palestinian people and those who sympathize with their plight. This struggle must be linked to revolutionary opposition to the impending imperialist war and standing in defense of Iraq against U.S. attack.

The divestment campaign fosters illusions in the potential benevolence of the American state. Effective defense of the victims of the U.S. military behemoth, as well as the victims of its Zionist junior partner, cannot come through appeals to the moral scruples of the U.S. imperialists or their agents on the campuses. Instead, it requires mobilizing the social power of the working class in militant class struggle directed *against* the capitalist rulers here. Anti-imperialist students and partisans of the Palestinian people must be won to a revolutionary perspective, the understanding that the working class is the one class that has both the interest and the capacity to overthrow this murderous capitalist system and end the threat of imperialist war once and for all. ■

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$1 for 2 issues (includes postage)

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Berkeley Protest Against Anti-Gay Bigot Phelps

Young Spartacus

BERKELEY, November 16—The Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club mobilized youth today to join 150 gay rights activists in protesting against Fred Phelps' vile Kansas-based Westboro Baptist Church. These anti-gay bigots came to the Bay Area to picket high school performances of *The Laramie Project*, the powerful play about the sadistic 1998 murder of Matthew Shepard, a gay University of Wyoming student. This comes after they grotesquely picketed outside the home of transgender youth Gwen Araojo following her brutal murder last month in an act of demented anti-gay hatred (see "Transgender Youth Murdered in Brutal Attack," *WV* No. 791, 15 November). At UC Berkeley, the Phelps family came to picket a football game, apparently assuming it would be a den of homosexual activism, with signs reading "Matt [Shepard] in Hell" and "No Tears for Queers." Demonstrating just how twisted they are, the Phelps clan also held a sign that said, "Thank God for Sept. 11," derived from their belief that America is being punished by god for allowing itself to be overrun by "hedonists."

Most of the counter-demonstrators passively staged a toothless "silent protest." In contrast, our intention was to make sure that the Phelps congregation's murderous provocation did not go unanswered and that they never set foot in Berkeley again. The SYC militantly opposed their religious fanaticism with chants such as "Down with the anti-gay crusade! Separate the church and state!" and "Get your cross out of our crotch, anti-gay bigotry must be stopped!" Down with anti-gay bigots! Matthew Shepard, Gwen Araujo—We will not forget!

In Memory of Our Comrade Cory Pearson

Family, friends, co-workers and comrades of Cory Pearson joined with his comrade and wife Ellen at the AFSCME District Council 1737 hall in New York on November 16 to celebrate Cory's life and commemorate his death. A committed communist and member of our movement for 29 years, Cory died on October 16 following a heart attack. He was 54.

A display in the hall gave a sense of Cory's remarkable talents, featuring a selection of the many, many photos he had taken as chief photographer for *Workers Vanguard* and in pursuit of his many other interests. Attendance by fellow phone workers and members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) spoke to the impact Cory had on all who knew him—and that included many comrades throughout the International Communist League, even though Cory was based in New York City all his years as a member. Comrades in Berlin honored Cory with a wreath at the Treptow Park monument for the Soviet soldiers who liberated the city from the Nazis; in Tokyo, comrades will similarly honor Cory at the graves of Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi, heroic defenders of the October Revolution who were executed in 1944.

We publish below excerpts from remarks to the memorial gathering by comrades Bruce Mishkin and George Foster and by Cory's sister, Connie Pearson Duquette. Among other speakers was Irene Granovsky, who worked closely with Cory during his five years in the *WV* circulation department.

Pearson Family

1948-2002

Bruce Mishkin: Shocked expressions of sorrow at Cory's death have come from cities around the world, from New York to Tokyo, the Midwest to Australia. Cory touched a lot of people. For many of us, Cory was perhaps the nicest man we'd ever met. He moved many with his generosity, his diligence, his characteristic infectious enthusiasm, and his devotion to the ICL and to the comrades who comprise it.

Growing up in the South concurrently with the civil rights movement, Cory developed a revulsion against racism and all the forms of bigotry that he encountered. His distaste for conventionality combined with a lifelong interest in the history of black struggle. It's not accidental that year in and year out Cory was part of our Southern Tour each *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive.

He said he entered political awareness on the right wing of the American spectrum, but that didn't last long, as he always sided with black people in battles against their oppression. As an engineering student at Cornell University, he was affected by the militant black student occupation in 1968. It was there, during the height of the Vietnam War, that he was won to radical politics.

While there, he was a DJ at the campus radio station and developed what would become a lifelong interest in music, recording and electronics. Later, he worked in a sound studio in Washington, D.C.

While living in Washington, he was won to Trotskyism as the program and ideology for realizing his radical ideals. He moved to New York to be active in the Spartacist League's youth organization, then called the Revolutionary Communist Youth. Although during the course of his life the bulk of his political responsibilities were elsewhere than the youth organization, he was always keenly interested in our younger members, frequently hosting them in his loft and offering his loft for youth parties and social gatherings.

A few years after moving to New York, he became a phone worker and was a member of CWA locals 1150 and 1101 for over 20 years. Pictures of him on picket lines during phone strikes are in the displays out there. He became an adept and capable phone technician.

The bulk of his life as a party member was bound up with our press, in one capacity or another. Whatever he undertook was carried out with a keen sense of the importance of professional standards of quality, a driving enthusiasm, and the knowledge that the press is the scaffolding of a communist propaganda group. He was driven by a passion for finding ways to make our press more effective. His constant suggestions and continuous stream of projects were powered by a vision of the impact *Workers Vanguard* could have. Cory set the standard that the photographer, like in all other party work, is a political interventionist, not a passive observer.

Cory's photos are a chronicle of the history of our movement, our interventions, speeches, rallies, demonstrations and picket lines. He was there during the 1977 Stearns, Kentucky coal miners strike, taking the picture of the hand-lettered sign reading, "Warning: The Stearns Miners Have Determined That Scabbing Is Dangerous to Your Health." That sign was imitated seven years later by striking Phelps Dodge copper miners who had seen his photo in our paper.

His photos made our polemics tangible. He was particularly proud of a picture he took in 1978. The head of the Stalinist Spanish Communist Party, visiting the U.S., crossed a union picket line. We had alerted the union, and they had pickets waiting. Cory got it on film.

He was there for our victories, taking the pictures of our demonstrations which stopped the fascist Klan and Nazis in their tracks, powerfully documenting those victories and enabling us to propagandize and publicize them.

He had some of the qualities of a combat photographer: his personal safety was not foremost in his considerations. He had a knack for being in the right place at the right time to get the one picture that evocatively captured the situation, illustrated our politics or demonstrated the crassness of our opportunist opponents.

Cory understood that technical skillfulness is *necessary*, like a motor powering a car, which, in turn, must be steered by political purpose. He had none of the pretentious, petty-bourgeois dichotomy between doer and thinker, manual and mental.

In 1982, we showed the film *Revolution or Death* at an East Village theater to build support for leftist rebels fighting the U.S.-backed dictatorship in El Salvador. We needed a big movie poster real fast. Cory created it, turning his loft into a giant darkroom by covering the windows with trash can liners and then enlarging the negative onto a great piece of photo paper mounted on the opposite wall.

To aid our photographers, he wrote a manual, *Political Photo Journalism*. In it he wrote:

> "Beyond the premise that our publications' appearance should correspond to our tendency's serious and professional political approach, the old cliché is true: one picture can be worth a thousand words....
>
> "Why are we making this revolution? How are we making this revolution? Those are the questions your photos must answer."

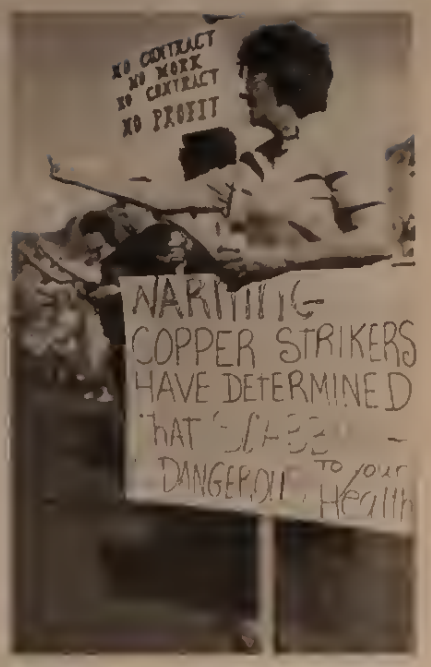
His efforts to educate others were tireless. Citibank has this advertising slogan, "The Citi never sleeps." *Their* claim is dubious, but Cory never did. He spent late nights corresponding with our photographers in the field, critiquing their contact sheets, making suggestions for how a shot could have been done differently, what to do in the future.

He visited other SL/U.S. locals and ICL sections when he could, always training our less experienced photographers. When our field photographers visited New York, or at national gatherings where he knew he would encounter them, Cory organized photography workshops and get-togethers. His patience never ran out.

It is true, he could thoroughly inundate you with a mass of technical detail. But he was *not* a technical snob. There was no skill he did not want to learn. Although he had been in the *WV* composition department for 24 years, when the proposal came up for Cory to switch to the circulation department, he was eager to try a new and different assignment.

Pearson Family

Cory and Ellen, his comrade and wife of 20 years, at their wedding.



After seeing Cory's 1977 photo of striking Stearns, Kentucky miners (left) in *Workers Vanguard*, Arizona Phelps Dodge copper miners copied slogan for their own 1984 strike (photo taken by another *WV* photographer).

"Remember that you are documenting the revolution."

Cory's photos exemplified the fundamentals presented in the photo journalism handbook he wrote. Above right: Local 1199 NYC hospital workers rally, 1995; right: PDC-initiated united-front mobilization against the Klan in Springfield, Illinois, 1994.

The bulk of my years in *Workers Vanguard* are interwoven with memories of Cory: helping him develop prints under the eerie red lights in his darkroom; consulting before a demonstration on where the best shots were likely to come from; waiting with anticipation for him to arrive from his darkroom, rain-soaked hut wearing sandals, carrying the prints still damp from the chemical baths in his well-protected blotter book.

Cory's energy was unstoppable. But it tended to be diffuse, divided among a half dozen subjects he felt important, all simultaneously. This was his weakness. Cory's energy required focusing. He needed the party for prioritizing, for direction. Being part of a disciplined collective enabled him to harness his boundless energy in order to make an effective contribution.

He was compulsively political. He was always on the lookout for ways to increase our effectiveness. He supplied a constant stream of listserv and Web printouts to responsible comrades on anything he came across which he thought might help them. They came to rely on this information.

What an amazing range of interests were packed into his meager spare time! He was knowledgeable in all of them, and delighted to discuss them with anyone he could; jazz (he also collected country, blues, and was interested in anything avant-garde), art, nature photography. There were many more. But, as *WV* [No. 790, 1 November] observed, his concern for his comrades had first claim on what time and energy he had aside from his assignments. He ran our concessions operation in Comp, and later in Circ. To what *WV* said, I would only add that when Cory ran concessions it was always well stocked. He spent many hours taping movies, especially those of political and historic interest, for the informal video lending library he organized for comrades' use.

For Cory, commitment to the party was inseparable from commitment to the people who made up the party. In this regard, so many remember Cory and Ellen's generosity in sharing their loft with comrades who needed a place to stay. Weddings took place there—and sometimes people found themselves there when the marriage didn't work out. And then there were all the people who were put up there while visiting town.

Speaking of his interactions with our young comrades, the Chicago local wrote to Ellen: "Cory has had an impact on virtually all the youth in Chicago. We doubt that we are unique in this."

Cory, we will continue to train our young comrades, as you did. But how does one educate enthusiasm? How does one encapsulate inspiration? What is the formula for passion? These are things people find within themselves when inspired by others. We are thankful for those qualities, which Cory had in such abundance and shared so freely.

Connie Pearson Duquette: Cory was one of five children initially. We then had stephrothers and stepsisters added in. Although they were all adult by the time, we liked to include them just because it shocked people to say there were nine of us!

As a big brother, he was very protective and very kind. He was very patient. He was funny. When he was in high school, he ran for a lot of offices and—I told this earlier in church—he never made signs that said, "Vote for Cory." He would go to the grocery store—I don't know where he got this idea—and he brought signs like, "Grapes Are Good, Buy a Bunch." And he'd X out the "grapes" and write in "Cory"—"Cory Is Good, Vote for Cory!"

People always used to say he was so quiet. He wasn't at all. He was a very good partyer. When he went to work

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Cory Pearson...

(continued from page 7)

in recording, he was so excited, and working with the Isley Brothers there was the biggest thrill he'd had. He took me to my first Rolling Stones concert—when they were still in the gruhby stage—and somehow, even though he was only in college and had a college press pass from Cornell, he got on stage. And I was thinking, he is standing like right next to Mick Jagger!

When he went to Cornell, he did get much more involved in politics. He introduced me to the antiwar protests. And my mother, hless her heart, was very understanding about having 30 to 40 college kids descend on her home. When I began flying [as a flight attendant], I'd never heen in a union and to my knowledge I didn't know anyone in a union, and Cory was always there for me when I was on strike for three years. He came out and supported our strike. He had me come and speak.

One of the happiest times in our family was when he said he was going to marry Ellen; my mother was just over the moon! We all were. And they had a great wedding at our house. Ellen forgot her bouquet. My brother Bill had to go mincing down the aisle and come back and get it.

Anyway, I know that you all will miss him as a friend and as a comrade. But we will miss him most of all as a brother. And having all of you here who loved Cory means a lot to us.

Pearson Family

New York, August 1989: Cory with co-workers on CWA picket line.

Pearson Family

Cory's wide range of interests are reflected in his photo portrait of Miles Davis and his exquisite nature photography.

George Foster: I was very grateful for Cory's sister speaking to us about his life, because it captures another dimension of a man who, when I think about him, I think of humanism.

Cory came to political consciousness, as Bruce said, in the late '60s. It was in the period of the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, the black rebellions that swept the country, the then-recent Cuban Revolution and the great French general strike of '68. Those events impelled Cory to our organization. He didn't simply want to protest the worst excesses of the brutal racist system of capitalist exploitation and imperialist wars. He decided to dedicate his life to trying to abolish it.

It should be said that in a party with more than its share of opinionated characters and iconoclastic rebels, Cory stood out as a free spirit with boundless energy and enthusiasm. And in his own way he embodied the kinds of contradictions that made him a truly interesting personality. He was, for example, simultaneously fiscally as frugal as any caricature of a Calvinist and very warm and generous with all those around him.

Comrades have mentioned Cory's justly famous picture of the Stearns miners picket line. Needless to say, Cory was at one with them on that suhject. In his own union, the Communications Workers of America, he had no truck with the "two-gate" system that the union bureaucracy had foisted on the strikers, whereby some phone workers go on strike but others working for a different company continue to work in the same struck building. Cory knew this was wrong and stuck to his guns on this issue, which he rightly saw as undermining the elementary principle of labor solidarity.

Comrades spoke of Cory's role in producing and circulating *WV*. I wanted to add that he was enormously proficient technically. Any job he did for the party, he did it right and sometimes so smoothly that I think it was underappreciated. This certainly extended to his work as a phone worker. Cory played a very big role in installing and bringing on line a major Internet network in Lower Manhattan. And he wrote a very impressive technical manual for his fellow communication workers charged with troubleshooting and maintaining that network. As a party that genuinely aspires to the end of capitalism and the rule of the working class, we value such skills very highly.

When Cory joined the Spartacist League, he did so because he knew that capitalism could not be reformed, that it had to be abolished as a system. He understood that the working class could not rely on the old state apparatus of the capitalists, which in fact is nothing more than a tool for the capitalists to protect their own rule. He understood that for capitalism to be abolished as a system, the workers needed a new kind of state—their own state—and that the abolition of capitalism required the organization of the entire people to democratically administer the means of production through workers councils. And to get that workers government, he knew that workers needed a political party to educate them to that task and lead them to accomplish it.

Cory was in many ways the embodiment, and also the proof that such a thing can be done. That's why we value his competence, because he was one of what will be hundreds and thousands of workers who *will* administer a new society—a society in which there will no longer be the exploitation, the brutality, the misery and the wars. That is the cause to which Cory dedicated his life. ■

Transit...

(continued from page 3)

the Local 100 leadership, George Jennings and Michael Curran, are campaigning to ***split the union***. According to the *Chief-Leader* (22 November), Hall, Jennings and Curran are moving to charter a separate local for the 1,500 private bus lines workers, with a membership vote on the split scheduled for December 4. Transit workers must reject this despicahle maneuver, which threatens to unravel this industrial union, which was forged through decades of bloody struggle beginning in the 1930s.

The treacherous actions of the rival wings of the TWU bureaucracy feed right into the MTA's union-husting plan to split the local into separate subway and hus hargaining units. This is part of a proposal hy Bloomberg for a "Regional Bus Company," which would hring the private lines under the MTA and saddle private lines workers with the Taylor Law. Underlining the felt need for workers' unity against the MTA, one member of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), which organizes some NYC transit workers, carried a sign at the October 30 TWU rally urging that ATU Local 1056 and TWU Local 100 stand "side by side." What is needed is ***one industrial union*** of ***all*** NYC transit workers, ***one expiration date*** for all contracts and ***full parity in wages and benefits*** at the highest levels! ***Labor must smash the Taylor Law!***

Two years ago, many workers who voted for Toussaint and his New Directions (ND) slate perceived him to be some kind of militant alternative to the discredited Hall "old guard" and then Local 100 president Willie James. A gaggle of avowed leftists inside New Directions acted as water boys for Toussaint, only to be sidelined and purged by him once he came to power. Now, some of these opportunist has-beens have regrouped around an opposition newsletter called *Rank and File Advocate*. Also tailing behind Toussaint at the time of the election was the so-called *Revolutianary Transit Worker* supported by the League for the Revolutionary Party, which urged a "critical" vote for him based on nothing more than his empty rhetoric. We headlined our article at the time "Sellouts, Traitors, Finks: No Choice in TWU Local 100 Elections" (*WV* No. 746, 17 November 2000). And we warned:

> "ND's stock in trade is using the courts and other government agencies as a club against its rivals, which serves only to further shackle the power of the union and place it under the thumb of the capitalist state. Such appeals to the agencies of the capitalist class enemy are proof enough why ND, despite its occasional 'militant' posture and talk of 'democracy,' offers no alternative to James and Melendez. *Government hands off TWU Local 100! Labor must clean its own house!*"

What transit workers need is a ***class-struggle*** leadership that fights for the complete and unconditional independence of the union from the capitalist state and its politicians. Such a leadership must be forged based on the understanding that the interests of capital and labor are irreconcilably counterposed, and that the enormous social power of New York City's transit workers must be mobilized on behalf of all working people and the oppressed. There must be a struggle to break the political chains forged by the trade-union tops to the capitalist Democratic Party and to build a workers party committed to the fight for a workers government. When the working people rule, transport and industry will be ripped out of the hands of the greedy capitalists and put in the service of society as a whole. ■

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(212) 267-1025
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Tues. 6:30-8:30 p.m.
and Sat. 1-5 p.m.
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(510) 839-0851
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Sat. 1-5 p.m.
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Firefighters...

(continued from page 12)

union-hating *Sun* calls the FBU "Saddam stooges" while Defence Secretary Geoff Hoon implies that further union strikes would hinder the planned military invasion of Iraq. Union leaders who buy into or capitulate to the government's war drive undermine the ability to wage class struggle at home. To wage imperialist war abroad, the bourgeoisie needs "class peace" at home. The events of last week made it crystal-clear that the working people and the semicolonial masses of Iraq have a common enemy in the war-crazed gangs in the White House and No. 10 Downing Street and the capitalist classes they represent. Imperialist war and union-busting at home are flip sides of the same coin: the capitalist system is predicated on the exploitation of labour, and driven towards war in competition over spheres of trade and exploitation. We call for defence of Iraq against U.S./British military attack, without giving an iota of political support to Saddam Hussein.

Blair & Co. accuse the firefighters, who daily risk their lives to save others, of undermining public safety. These hypocrites want to blame the workers for the results of their own wage slashing and social spending cuthacks. Everyone knows the privatised railways are death traps, and Blair wants to do the same with the London Tube. The RMT is already balloting for a strike as Tuhe workers have heen threatened with discipline for rightly refusing to drive trains without fire cover. The transport, rail, construction and other unions must set up union safety committees, with the power to shut down unsafe operations. RMT leader Bob Crow should get off the Transport for London management board! This is an instrument of class collahoration that undermines the ahility of the union to defend its own interests.

In Islington, North London, members of Day-Mer, the Kurdish-Turkish Solidarity organisation, brought sweets and food to picketing firefighters. During the 1984-85 miners strike, the black, Asian and other minority communities were among the staunchest supporters of the NUM [National Union of Mineworkers] as it courageously battled the scabs and strike-breaking cops. Unlike the rank-and-file soldiers, the cops are simply racist, anti-union mercenaries. Anyone who says otherwise—groups like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) or Socialist Party (SP), who preach that the police are "workers in uniform" or who support cop strikes—are lying! Blacks, Asians and Irish Republicans have experienced first-hand the brunt of state and racist cop persecution. Down with Blair's "war on terror"! The ultimate target of this wholesale assault on civil liberties, which singles out South Asians and Muslims for racist victimisation, are the unions—they are the real "enemy within" in the eyes of the hourgeoisie. The workers movement must be mobilised to defend the rights of immigrants and asylum seekers. For full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Camera Press

British auto workers protest Labour government wage controls in 1977. Labour's attacks provoked wave of strikes, including last national firefighters strike.

Blair arrogantly sneers that if firefighters get their 40 percent claim, other public sector workers would want the same. The government wants to designate firefighters as "professional," not manual workers, in order to justify giving even less to manual and council workers, as if these workers don't also deserve a living wage. To even begin to approach what is necessary, council workers and other public sector employees should have their wages doubled! After decades of capitalist decline, Britain is notorious as a centre for exploitation of low-wage labour. Hundreds of thousands of council workers currently make less than £5 an hour, with two-thirds of council workers earning less than £13,000 per year. Women and immigrants earn even less. This points to the urgent need for council and other workers to link up in struggle with the FBU.

In the Short Strand area of Belfast, Catholic and Protestant youth set aside sectarian chanting to compete in applauding the striking firefighters. This demonstrates again that proletarian struggle can transcend this deeply rooted communalism. We fight for revolutionary unity of the struggles of British and Irish workers! For immediate unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland! And outside the British Isles the FBU strike has struck a chord as well. French rail workers promised industrial solidarity. The Uniformed Firefighters' Association in New York, hundreds of whose members lost their lives in heroic rescue efforts after the criminal bombing of the World Trade Center and which now faces layoffs, says it will send pickets to Wales.

Blair has never hidden his desire to break New Labour from dependence on the unions, refashioning it on the lines of the capitalist Democratic Party in the U.S. But union leaders like Andy Gilchrist, echoed by fake socialists like the SWP, have argued to retain the union link to New Labour. Blair's threat to use the mailed fist of army/police strikebreaking ought to make crystal-clear the futility of pressuring New Lahour. Others like the SP have condemned New Labour for breaking with its "socialist past," which is fictitious, and call for a new union-based party modelled on "Old Labour." Yet it was Old Labour that called out the army during the last firefighters strike in order to enforce the "social contract," i.e., wage cuts. The same government of Wilson/Callaghan implemented racist "virginity tests" for immigrant Asian women at Heathrow airport. Neil Kinnock and the TUC tops knifed the miners strike in 1984-85, handing Thatcher her greatest victory, and ultimately paving the way for Blair. And the Labour Party has pursued the interests of British imperialism abroad, supporting both interimperialist world wars and the Korean War. Labour governments carried out bloody colonial policies in India and the Near East, murdered workers and peasants in Malaysia and Greece in counterrevolutionary wars after WWII, and sent troops to Northern Ireland in 1969. We need a party which is not only based on the working class but which represents the working class's fundamental class interests, from defence of workers and minorities at home to anti-imperialist solidarity with our class brothers and sisters overseas.

The trade unions must he built on the broadest possible industrial basis to maximise the unity of the working class against the capitalist exploiters. At the same time, we fight to forge a multi-ethnic communist vanguard party whose purpose is to sharpen the differences between compcting political tendencies in order to raise the consciousness of the working masses. A "party of the whole class" based on bloc affiliation of the unions is antithetical to this end. In contrast, we seek to assemble the most advanced workers and revolutionary youth in a Leninist party whose purpose is to lead the workers to state power.

The British bourgeoisie and their Labour Party lieutenants have run this country's manufacturing base into the ground, destroying the livelihoods of millions. Entire swathes of the population in Wales, Scotland, the north of England and elsewhere are condemned to permanent unemployment. The shutting down of the mills in places like Oldham and Burnley has devastated these areas and turned them into spawning grounds for fascist filth. It is possible to undertake a renewal of economic life and vastly increase the presently pathetic quality of life for British working people, but not within the framework of capitalism.

London, September 28: Spartacist League/Britain marches in 400,000-strong demonstration against U.S./British war moves.

What's needed is not the "Old Labour" programme of piecemeal nationalisations that have only enriched the bankers and bosses but the expropriation of the entire capitalist class through socialist revolution and the establishment of a workers government—one based on workers councils, not the capitalists' Parliament. Such a government would set about reviving economic life through a collectivised economy, including a couple of ambitious five-year industrialisation plans, and would fight for a socialist united states of Europe on the way to a world socialist order.

Victory to the firefighters strike! ■

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Elections...

(continued from page 1)

Bush's Homeland Security Act. AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney complained that the Democrats "needed to be crystal clear about what they stand for on issues of importance to workers—jobs, the economy, health care." Jesse Jackson, the party's most prominent black spokesman, sermonized: "Democrats seemed to forget the lesson that diversity is their strength. Minority voters can't be inherited. They have to be informed and inspired to vote."

Sweeney and Jackson want the Democratic Party to resurrect its image as the friend of labor and black people, in order to keep the working people fooled that they can benefit from capitalism as long as the right party is in power. It is this lie that has long been used to shackle workers and minorities and divert their struggles into the dead end of bourgeois electoralism. That the Democrats did not offer even a semblance of an alternative to the party of Enron reflects the fact that no matter how they may differ in other respects, the Democrats, like the Republicans, defend and further the interests of Wall Street bankers and Fortune 500 corporate executives.

The union bureaucracy, itself a key component of the Democratic Party, provides labor cover for the capitalist politicians, misleading the workers into thinking they can win at the ballot box. But as we wrote after Bush imposed an anti-union Taft-Hartley injunction amid a lockout of the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU): "In the voting booth, 10,000 ILWU longshoremen have no more power than any other 10,000 voters. But as workers they have the power to shut down nearly half of the capitalist economy. However, that power cannot be mobilized to take on the capitalists represented by the PMA [shipping bosses] if the union is out rounding up votes for the capitalists represented by the Democratic Party" ("Labor: Defend the ILWU!", *WV* No. 789, 18 October).

Only days after the elections, the *Wall Street Journal* (8 November) crowed, "Republican officials are beginning to think of ways the new GOP control of Congress can be used to weaken the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, say people close to the GOP. Options include putting the union involved in the dock strike under the Railway Labor Act, which makes federal intervention in a labor dispute easier, or breaking the union up into smaller pieces."

In short order, Congress passed the Homeland Security Act with an overwhelming bipartisan majority. Mandating a sweeping escalation of government spying against the population, the act also scraps union rights and civil service protections for government employees under the new Cabinet department. The White House also announced plans to transfer as many as 850,000 government jobs—nearly half the federal civilian workforce—to private contractors. Bush has "declared all-out war on federal employees," exclaimed the head of the main federal government employees union. Very true. But the AFL-CIO tops have stood foursquare behind Bush's "war on terror."

In the face of the vicious labor-hating gang in the White House, trade unionists rightly fear that they are an endangered species. The Bush administration *is* a particularly nasty and right-wing variant of bourgeois "democracy." But wage-cutting, union-busting and racist and anti-immigrant repression are inherent in the capitalist profit system. The function of the capitalist state, whether in its Republican or Democratic face, is to enforce the dictates of capital and suppress the struggles of the working people.

The working people need their *own* class party to fight for their *own* class rule, a workers government that expropriates the bourgeoisie and organizes production to provide for the needs of society as a whole. Such a party cannot be simply proclaimed from above; rather it will be forged in the crucible of convulsive class battles.

Wayne State University

AFL-CIO

Auto sit-down strike, 1937. Mass struggles of 1930s posed fight for workers party, but labor reformists tied new industrial unions to Democratic Party. Roosevelt with AFL leader William Green, who pledged labor support for U.S. imperialism in World War II.

The contradictions of the capitalist system necessarily generate class struggle. Just look at Europe today. In the mid 1980s, the British working class was dealt a devastating blow as the right-wing Thatcher government smashed a heroic yearlong strike by the militant miners union. Now an equally union-hating Labour government is confronted with a major upsurge in class struggle, evoking deep sympathy and solidarity for striking firefighters among the most downtrodden and oppressed layers of society. In France, the recently elected right-wing government is currently facing labor struggle on several fronts.

In U.S. society, too, there are enormous discontents at the base. In the absence of a working-class fight, desperation and discontent can lead to all kinds of responses. For those discontents to be channeled into an effective struggle against the ravages of recession, deepening repression and the threat of imperialist war, the working class and its allies among the oppressed must be mobilized independently of and in counterposition to the capitalist class, its state and its political parties.

An example of that perspective was seen in the Bay Area on February 9 in a demonstration in defense of immigrants and the unions against the government's "war on terror." Drawing on the social power of the ILWU, that united-front protest was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense (LBL). Addressing the rally, LBL spokesman Adwoa Oni declared:

> "To line up the population behind their war-crazed ambitions abroad, both capitalist parties, the twin parties of capital, the Democrats and Republicans, are fanning the flames of patriotic bigotry through jingoistic 'united we stand' anti-immigrant campaigns. They are fostering the false notion that the ruling class has common interests with the workers even as living standards plunge and the ranks of the unemployed grow....
>
> "American workers must rise up from their knees, fight for their own interests with no regard to the interests or property rights of the capitalist exploiters. The main obstacle to such independent political action by the working class is political loyalty to the Democratic Party....
>
> "The Labor Black League stands for the building of a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed. It is time to fight or starve!"

U.S. Imperialism Menaces the World

The current political climate, domestically and internationally, is shaped by the defining event of the late 20th century: the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92. We Trotskyists fought tooth and nail in defense of the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution, against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. Despite the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union was based on a planned, collectivized economy, which vastly improved conditions of life for working people and enabled a once-backward country to become the world's second strongest military power. In eliminating any military and diplomatic counterweight to U.S. imperialism's ambitions for world domination, the collapse of the Soviet Union has ushered in a far more dangerous world.

Acknowledging this, leftist intellectual Perry Anderson observed in the *New Left Review* (September/October 2002):

> "By the end of the decade, strategic planners in Washington had every reason to be satisfied with the overall balance sheet of the nineties. The USSR had been knocked out of the ring, Europe and Japan kept in check, China drawn into increasingly close trade relations, the UN reduced to little more than a permissions office; and all this accomplished to the tune of the most emollient of ideologies, whose every second word was international understanding and democratic goodwill."

The Bush gang has dispensed with the "human rights" rhetoric of the Clinton administration.

The heinous attack on the World Trade Center last September 11 was a godsend for the White House, allowing it to rally the population against "Islamic terrorism" as a substitute for the Cold War nemesis of "godless Communism." Under the rubric of the "war on terror," the Bush administration has pushed through a qualitative assault on democratic rights and pursued a course of unbridled unilateral assertion of the dominance of U.S. imperialism, including over its imperialist "allies."

Today, it is mainly the Republican right which is orchestrating a war against Iraq. The Republican president William McKinley opened America's age of imperialism with the war against Spain in 1898 to seize Cuba, the Philippines and Puerto Rico. However, Democratic presidents conducted almost every major war over the last century. It was Harry Truman who A-bombed the Japanese civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It was also Truman who in the name of fighting "world Communism" launched a bloody three-year war in Korea that left three million Koreans dead. It was the liberal Democratic Kennedy/Johnson White House that napalmed villages in South Vietnam and carpet bombed North Vietnam. And it was the last Democratic president, Bill Clinton, who launched the U.S./NATO air war which devastated Serbia. Clinton continued the ongoing bombing of Iraq and the starvation blockade which has killed a million and a half people through malnutrition and disease.

Social Reforms and Social Struggle

Left-liberals argue that the Democratic Party should again take up the mantle of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. In this vein, the Green Party's Ralph Nader wrote in a 31 October "Open Letter to the Democratic Party": "Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the Democrats won election after election by conveying one singularly clear impression—that the Republican Party was beholden to the wealthy and the Democratic Party represented the working people." Paul Wellstone, one of the few Democratic Senators to claim to stand in this tradition, has undergone a virtual canonization in liberal circles since his death. But reforms like Social Security and unemployment insurance did not flow from the largesse of FDR's Democrats, but were the by-product of class struggle.

Every social program beneficial to working people, every democratic reform benefiting black people and other oppressed groups has been won through *mass struggle*, not electoral politics. The New Deal reforms of the 1930s were granted in an attempt to put a lid on the explosive class battles of the time, especially the mass unionization drives—the sit-down strikes, the pitched battles between workers and cops—which were often led by Communists or other leftists. The federal civil rights legislation of the mid 1960s was won in the streets of Montgomery, Atlanta, Greensboro and other Southern cities and towns, as the black masses rose up against the racist police state under which they lived. Johnson's "war on poverty" was a response to the ghetto upheavals that swept every major city from New York to L.A. The ending of the draft and the *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion were a reaction to the social turmoil then convulsing the country in opposition to the Vietnam War.

The class struggles and political radicalization of the 1930s generated widespread support among workers for an independent party of the working class. Yet the trade-union tops, the Stalinist Communist Party and the social democrats diverted these sentiments back into support for the Democratic Party and its New Deal coalition.

In the 1960s, the Dixiecrat-infested Democratic Party was widely resented by the black masses and reviled as the party of the Vietnam War by many young anti-war radicals. Seeking to intersect such

WV Photo

October 26, Washington, D.C.: Jesse Jackson was keynote speaker at anti-war protest. Reformist demo organizers built platform for Democrats.

sentiments, the Spartacist League raised the call for a Freedom Labor Party as an expression of working-class political independence and of the need to mobilize the labor movement to fight for black freedom. But the official leadership of the civil rights movement under Martin Luther King Jr. remained firmly bound to the Democrats and the capitalist system and led the black struggle into a dead end, particularly when it moved North and tried to tackle the racial discrimination in housing, jobs and education which is endemic to American capitalism.

Because these struggles were roped into a bourgeois electoral framework, they were soon demobilized and many of their activists co-opted into the Democratic Party. And because reforms achieved under capitalism are necessarily

limited and reversible, many of the gains won through the struggles of the past have been attenuated or reversed in the absence of ongoing struggle.

The conditions of black workers and the ghetto poor are in many ways worse than when the civil rights acts were passed. The main federal welfare program granted in the 1930s was abolished under the Clinton presidency. The right to vote for black people in the South, a signal achievement of the civil rights movement, has been seriously eroded, not least as the result of the racist "war on drugs," which has led to one in seven black men losing the right to vote due to felony convictions. A third of all young black men are now in prison, on probation or on parole. Legalized abortion has faced a growing assault and in practice has been ever more restricted to women of financial means. And U.S. imperialism is about to launch one of its biggest wars since Vietnam.

In a recent spread in *Socialist Worker* (8 November), the International Socialist Organization (ISO) writes that the reforms of the 1930s and '60s were won when capitalist politicians "were forced to make concessions, or face a wider revolt" and declares in a headline, "The 'Lesser Evil' Is Still an Evil." Nonetheless the ISO argues, "Liberal Democrats can attract welcome attention to struggles when they participate in protests and other activities." With the aim of roping in Democratic Party politicians, the ISO and other reformists seek to ensure that their broad-based, lowest-common-denominator "movements" are sanitized of anything that might offend the liberals.

The same *Socialist Worker* goes on to reassure readers that "elections do matter," adding that "there *are* political parties that don't represent big business," specifically Ralph Nader's Green Party. American history is replete with examples of bourgeois third parties promising reform—all of them designed to channel social protest into the dead end of bourgeois electoralism, and usually back into the Democratic Party. The Green Party is but the latest example, and as revealed by Nader's "Open Letter," its primary purpose is to act as a pressure group on the Democratic Party's liberal wing.

Clinton Brutalized Blacks, Weakened Labor

"Centrist" Democratic leaders, in response to liberals blaming them for the recent election loss, point to Clinton's victories in 1992 and 1996. Clinton, they argue, appealed to "independent" voters while distancing himself from the party's association with labor and blacks. Did he ever! In order to bolster his racist "law and order" credentials, during the 1992 campaign Clinton, then governor of Arkansas, flew back to Little Rock to personally oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, Ricky Ray Rector.

But the key to Clinton's 1992 victory was the abortion issue, the only substantial policy difference between the two parties. With the Republicans, dominated by the Christian right, making the illegalization of abortion a major campaign issue, Clinton was able to gain the votes of many women who would otherwise have voted for Bush Sr. or not voted at all. At the same time, Clinton took over much of the Republican program, notably the abolition of welfare.

As we wrote after the Republicans gained a majority in both houses in the 1994 elections:

> "The Republican sweep puts a seal on years of bipartisan social reaction rolling back the minimal gains of the 1960s civil rights movement. With Clinton's yuppie racist 'New' Democrats going out of their way to spit on the party's traditional black and labor constituencies, the field was open for a rout by the more openly racist Republican right."
>
> —*WV* No. 611, 25 November 1994

The economic policies of the Clinton administration, working in close collaboration with Republican Congressional leaders like Newt Gingrich and Trent Lott, further weakened the labor movement. Despite a large increase in the total labor force during the economic boom of the 1990s, the proportion of unionized workers has fallen from 15.8 percent when Clinton took office to 13.5 percent in 2001. All of the militant tactics that built the big industrial unions in the 1930s—mass picketing, plant occupations, secondary strikes—have long since been made illegal.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy hides behind the anti-labor laws to explain away the steady erosion of union strength over the past three decades. As we wrote in "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" (*WV* No. 349, 2 March 1984) during the union-busting offensive in the 1980s under the right-wing Republican president Ronald Reagan:

> "No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in plant occupations. What counts is power. The strength of the unions lies in their numbers, their militancy, their organization and discipline and their relationship to the decisive means of production in modern capitalist society. The bosses are winning because the power of labor, its strength to decisively cripple the enemy, has not been brought to bear."

The starting point for mobilizing labor's power is the understanding that this society is divided between two hostile classes whose interests are irreconcilably counterposed: workers who are forced to sell their labor power in order to survive and the property-owning capitalist class to whom their labor power is sold.

The aim of the working class must be not simply to ameliorate the conditions of its exploitation under capitalism through trade-union struggle, but to forge a revolutionary workers party that fights to abolish the system of exploitation as a whole. As Karl Marx wrote in his pamphlet *Wages, Price and Profit*:

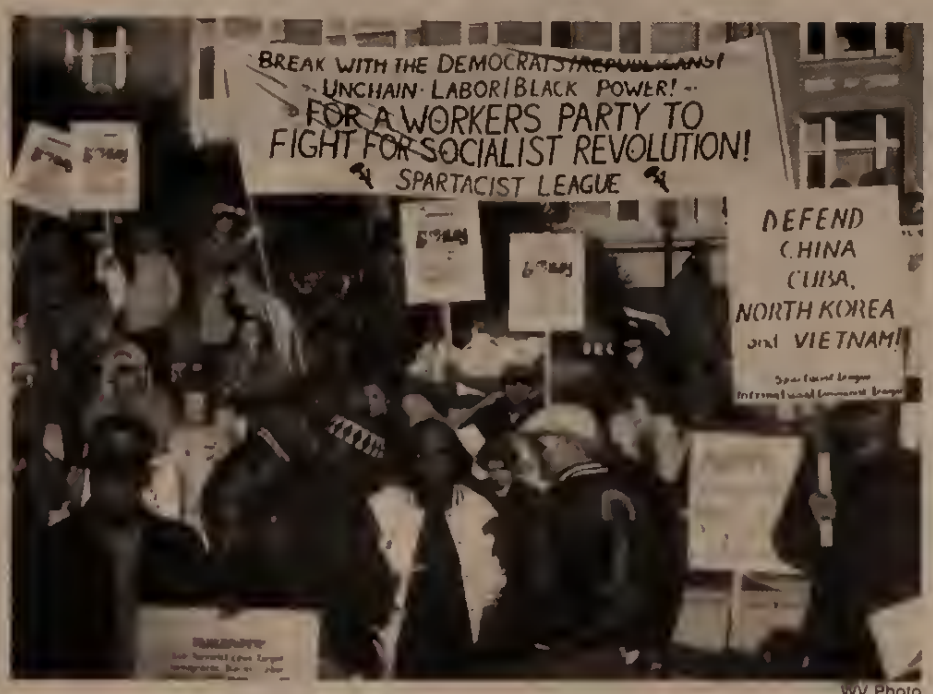
> "Quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects.... Instead of the *conservative* motto, '*A fair day's wage for a fair day's wark!*' they ought to inscribe on their banner the *revolutionary* watchword, '*Abolition of the wages system!*'"

Insofar as the trade unions do not challenge the system of private property, they necessarily adapt themselves to the capitalist state, which is simply the executive committee of the bourgeoisie as a whole. Thus the labor bureaucracy, whose relatively privileged position derives from its support for capitalism, seeks to demonstrate its reliability to the "democratic" capitalist state and acts to police the labor movement on its behalf.

The South: A Bastion of Racist Reaction

Between the early 1930s and the late 1960s, the Democrats were the dominant party nationally, occupying the White House for all but eight years. During much of that period they also had a majority in both houses of Congress. The Democrats' ascendancy in Washington was based on the so-called New Deal coalition consisting of organized labor, the black and Jewish minorities, middle-class liberals and...the white-supremacist rulers of the South, a racist police state in which blacks were deprived of every basic democratic right. The New Deal coalition literally extended from black leftist union organizers in the Midwest to Southern sheriffs who were members of the Ku Klux Klan.

Today, both liberals and Republicans, for different reasons, disappear the white-supremacist component of the old Democratic Party coalition. The Republicans want to brand the Democrats as the party of black interests and causes. The liberals don't want to acknowledge that the party of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman and John F. Kennedy was also the party of the White Citizens Councils and the KKK.



WV Photo

Oakland, February 9: LBL/PDC-initiated united-front protest was first labor-centered mobilization in defense of immigrant and union rights against "war on terror."

The Southern Democrats, the Dixiecrats, wielded enormous political power in Washington in the 1930s, '40s and '50s; indeed Roosevelt refused even to support a law against lynching. Congress was effectively controlled by a bloc between Dixiecrats and Republicans. It was this bloc that in the late 1940s pushed through the Taft-Hartley Act, which remains the core of federal anti-labor legislation.

Nonetheless, the labor bureaucrats made little or no effort to unionize the South so as not to disrupt the fragile "unity" of the Democratic Party. As Art Preis, a Trotskyist and labor organizer in the 1930s, wrote in his history of the struggles that built the industrial unions of the CIO:

> "It was impossible to support the Democratic Party and not reinforce its Southern wing, the chief political prop of the Jim Crow system and one-party dictatorship in the South. The CIO leaders refused to wage political war against the Southern ruling class because that would undermine the whole Democratic Party.... To this day, the organization of the South remains unachieved because the union leadership is in an alliance with a political machine that is built in large part on the rule of the white supremacists and labor-haters of the South."
>
> —*Labor's Giant Step* (1964)

The New Deal coalition was finally exploded by the civil rights movement. With the passage of the 1960s civil rights acts, a large fraction of the Dixiecrats switched to the Republican Party, taking their racist constituencies with them. Since then, the Republicans have been the dominant party in Washington. The only two Democratic presidents in this period, Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton, were former governors of Southern states.

The unionization of the South, particularly with the shift of manufacturing plants there from the Midwest and Northeast, remains an important key to revitalizing the labor movement in this country. This cannot be achieved on a narrow economist basis but, on the contrary, will have to directly confront the profound racial divide which depresses the living standards of all Southern workers. On the one side, the black masses will tend to rally behind racially integrated workers struggles against the local white power structure. On the other side, the Southern branch of the American ruling class will resort to police, company goons and professional strikebreakers, and if necessary the Klan and its ilk, while using racist demagogy to turn backward white workers against the labor movement. Thus, the defense of strike pickets and the need to defeat racist terror will be directly linked.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Not only in the South but in the rest of the country as well, the labor movement cannot go forward or even defend itself against capitalist attacks without active and broad-based support from other sections of American society. The capitalist rulers have fomented racial hatred and made the color bar a fundamental dividing line in this country in order to obscure the irreconcilable class divide between labor and capital. This goes a long way to explaining why the U.S. is the only advanced industrial country without even a reformist labor party claiming to represent the interests of the workers.

Under a class-struggle leadership, the union movement would be in the forefront of all struggles against racist oppression—against the wholesale imprisonment of young black men in the name of "the war on drugs," against the continuing decimation of government social programs for the poor, against the deportation of "illegal" immigrants. It is necessary for labor to lead a struggle for decent housing, education, health care and, above all, jobs for all—welding the power of the multiracial working class to the anger of the ghettos and barrios. It is through these kinds of social struggles that a revolutionary workers party can and must be built.

It is significant in this regard that black and Latino youth are disproportionately represented in the lower ranks of the U.S. armed forces. For those coming of age in the ghettos and barrios, joining the Army or Navy is often the only way to acquire a useful job skill or get three square meals a day. That the most oppressed sections of American society, those most alienated from the white racist ruling class, make up such a large part of the military is a potential Achilles' heel for American imperialism. In the last few years of the Vietnam War, the U.S. conscript army there was semi-mutinous.

Key to labor struggle against imperialist militarism is breaking the class-collaborationist "national unity" pushed by the bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. And that means, first and foremost, breaking the chains forged by the labor tops and the black politicians and preachers that bind the proletariat and the ghetto masses to the Democratic Party of American imperialism.

Things look grim, but working-class struggle can and indeed *must* change the reactionary political climate. To reverse the erosion of social services, to oppose the U.S. rulers' wars of depredation and to defend civil liberties demands the independent class mobilization of working people on behalf of all the oppressed. If there is to be an end to this system of imperialist war, racist oppression and all-sided, grinding misery, the multiracial U.S. working class must be won, through Marxist education and its own experience in struggle, to the perspective of building a workers party that fights for socialist revolution. The capitalist system must be overturned and replaced by the rule of the working class, a workers government that will seize the means of production and establish a planned, collectivized economy as part of an egalitarian socialist society internationally. It is to that task that the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, is dedicated.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Mass Pickets! Down With "New Labour" Strikebreaking!

Victory to the British Firefighters!

NOVEMBER 25—A massive confrontation between Tony Blair's New Labour government and the British working class was set off on November 22 as the 50,000-strong Fire Brigades Union (FBU) launched an eight-day strike. A two-day strike the week before demanding a 40 percent pay raise was the first national firefighters strike in 25 years. The FBU leadership was ready to scuttle the November 22 walkout for a 16 percent offer from an umbrella group of local authorities, but even this miserable offer was too much for the arrogant Blairites. Prime Minister Blair, Bush's little drummer boy for war against Iraq and close ally of the right-wing, labor-hating Italian prime minister Berlusconi, fired off instructions from the NATO summit to nix the settlement.

New Labour ministers and the bourgeois press unleashed a barrage of invective against the firefighters. But as our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain reported from discussions on the picket lines, this action has struck a hugely responsive chord in British society:

> "The strike is extremely popular. While we were at Islington station [in London], some middle-class Asian women drove up to the picket and brought the guys a few boxes of donuts. Earlier in the day at that same station, an armoured car transporting prisoners stopped in traffic right in front of the picket. We all started to hear massive thumping sounds—it was the prisoners banging on the windows from inside the car. After a few seconds of disbelief, this sent the picket line into massive cheers. Across the country, all sorts of people—including middle-class professionals—are stopping by picket lines to express their support to the FBU and drop money in their collection buckets."

As in the two-day strike, the government has deployed the army with antiquated firefighting equipment. But government threats to send cops and troops through picket lines to seize modern fire engines met with some reluctance. Military chief Sir Michael Boyce complained it would be bad for "morale" if troops were tied up attacking picket lines instead of preparing for war against Iraq. Many strikers now see that there is a link between the looming war against Iraq and the government's attack on them. One firefighter told SL/B supporters that "the longer our strike goes on, the harder it is for the government to wage war against Iraq."

Particularly infuriating to firefighters is that their union is still financially subsidizing Blair's New Labour Party, even as strikers say they now believe Blair is out to bust the FBU. Yet FBU chief Andy Gilchrist has argued to retain the union link to New Labour. Firefighters' initial illusions that they could "go it alone" are breaking down. While other unions are expressing support, concrete action is key. During the two-day strike, many London Underground (subway) lines were shut down as 350 drivers refused to work in unsafe conditions. During the current strike, drivers refusing to work for safety reasons were sent home without pay. While the Rail, Maritime and Transport (RMT) union leadership under left-talking Bob Crow condemns this employers' action as illegal and disgraceful, the RMT tops have postponed any possible strike against worker victimizations until mid-December.

We reprint below a leaflet being distributed on the picket lines by the Spartacist League/Britain.

* * *

This battle is no longer just about a pay rise for the firefighters but has become a test of strength between the unions and Blair's New Labour government. Earlier the government gloated that it would "crush" the Fire Brigades Union (FBU). As a government spokesman put it, "Industrial relations have always been Labour's Achilles' heel. But not this time" (*Financial Times*, 16/17 November). But last week's two-day strike was enormously popular among workers and minorities. Millions of public sector workers and others know that their pay and conditions and the very future of their unions depend on the outcome of this battle. The hundreds of thousands who protested the impending war against Iraq several weeks ago know that Blair's priorities are not in the interest of working people. Let's win this strike!

Blair has threatened to use the army to seize and operate modern firefighting equipment—the same army that is regularly employed to carry out the dirty work of the British bourgeoisie abroad, from Iraq to the Balkans to closer to home in Northern Ireland, where it is an instrument to oppress the Catholic minority. The last time large-scale army strikebreaking was employed was the General Strike of 1926. Now waffling over sending in the troops, the government moots that the cops might be used. In response to threats of army strikebreaking, FBU leader Andy Gilchrist declared that "firefighters are neither prepared nor looking to hinder the armed forces." A leadership that proposes passive acquiescence in the face of such union-busting is not a leadership! This is contrary to the interests of firefighters and all workers looking to the FBU for a lead. A battle conceded before the fight is a battle lost.

No one wants a small, losing confrontation against the forces of the capitalist state. What is necessary are mass pickets to ring the fire stations. This was successful in backing down the Callaghan Labour government when it tried to send troops across picket lines in the 1977 strike. The FBU must not stand alone! Millions of trade unionists are itching to strike a blow against Blair's union-hating government. They must be mobilised to join the FBU picket lines. Bring out RMT and UNISON council workers on strike now! Screw the TUC [Trades Union Congress] and government's "picketing guidelines" and anti-union laws! The only "illegal strike" is one that loses. If troops are used, the FBU must appeal to the soldiers, many of whom are of working-class origin, not to be used for strikebreaking. The union issued such an appeal during the 1977 strike.

Oozing with hatred and fear of union militancy, the government and the capitalist media earlier attacked the FBU leaders as "Scargillites." Now Murdoch's

continued on page 9

Reuters

November 22: Glasgow firefighters man picket line in widely popular struggle against union-busting Blair Labour government.

AP

Troops using old military fire engines deployed in strikebreaking duty. Blair reviewing British troops in Oman in preparation for imperialist invasion of Iraq.

Ockenden/PA

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 793

13 December 2002

Defend Iraq Against U.S. Attack!

Imperialists Step Up Terror Bombing of Iraq

DECEMBER 10—While United Nations inspectors go through the charade of looking for "weapons of mass destruction," U.S. and British war planes rain death and destruction on the Iraqi people on a near-daily basis. As the *New York Times* (24 November) stated with unusual honesty, "America already is at war with Iraq."

In the last decade, the U.S. and Britain have flown a ***quarter million sorties*** over Iraq. On top of the tens of thousands slaughtered in 1991, hundreds upon hundreds of lives have been wiped out amid the ruhble of bomhed-out buildings, including four civilians killed in a strike on the southern city of Basra last week. A million and a half more have died as a result of the UN starvation blockade. The industry and vital infrastructure—water supplies, sewage systems, hospitals—ol' what was once one of the most modern countries in the Arab world has been devastated. Now Washington is planning an invasion and occupation that may make the 1991 Desert Slaughter and the suhsequent eleven years of imperialist privation and mass murder pale hy comparison.

Baghdad's acquiescence to the arrogant UN "inspection" farce and its submission of a mandated report a day ahead of deadline will do nothing to alter U.S. war plans, as White House press spokesman Ari Fleischer made perfectly clear last week when he declaimed that Iraq would he' deemed guilty as charged whether or not it admitted to having "illicit" weapons. The deployment of troops, tanks, fighter jets and aircraft carriers to bases and waters near Iraq continues apace. Through hullying, blackmail and hribery, the American imperialist goliath secured unanimous support for a war resolution in the UN Security Council, with the Arab regimes grotesquely selling it as a measure to prevent war. German Social Democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder, having won re-election on the hasis of popular opposition to a U.S. war, assures Washington that it will be able to use its strategic military bases in Germany. Turkey's new Islamist government, promised some $7 billion in debt relief, has likewise made it clear that U.S, bases at Incirlik and elsewhere will be available.

U.S. Navy photo. Map source: New York Times

Current U.S. military deployments in the Near East. U.S., British imperialists have escalated terror bombings in U.S.-imposed "No Fly" zones in Iraq.

With the biggest, deadliest military arsenal the world has ever seen, the U.S. rulers act as though they are invincihle, riding roughshod over small countries and issuing dictates to their imperialist rivals. But there is one force that can throw a monkey wrench into their war-crazed schemes for unending glohal domination, and that is the working class here and internationally. As illustrated by the enormous effect that the ten-day West Coast ports lockouthad on the American economy, it is the working class that makes the wheels of the capitalist profit system turn. And it is the working class that can bring them grinding to a halt.

Workers and minorities in the U.S. have plenty of reason to see in the imperialist enemy of the semicolonial masses of Iraq their own class enemy. To wage imperialist war ahroad, the bourgeoisie demands "class peace" at home. The "war on terror" has meant a racist witchhunt against Arahs and Muslims and a wholesale assault on immigrant rights and the civil liberties of the population as a whole. Tens of thousands of workers at United and other airlines face wage cuts or mass layoffs. So do city and state workers from Connecticut to California, as local governments

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Labor: Defend the TWU! Defeat the Taylor Law!

For a Solid NYC Transit Strike!

NEW YORK CITY, December 10—Amid repeated chants of "Strike! Strike!" some 10,000 transit workers at two mass meetings three days ago voted to authorize strike action when their contract expires on December 15. Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 is the powerhouse of NYC lahor. If the subways and buses stop running, it will bring the financial center of American capitalism to a screeching halt. *Transit workers: Strike to win!*

With NYC mayor Michael Bloomberg vowing to impose the strikehreaking Taylor Law and Governor George Pataki threatening to call out the National Guard and state police, a showdown is looming between the capitalist rulers and the most powerful union in the city. The bosses and bankers of Wall Street want to humiliate and break this union in order to set a precedent for the entire city lahor movement. If the transit union is defeated, then it will he open season on the city workers organized in AFSCME District Council 37, other puhlic employee unions, hlack and Hispanic people, the poor, the unemployed and immigrants.

With the economy slumping and with an aggressively hostile government in Washington, transit workers are in a tough position. But behind the hysterical threats heing directed at the TWU is the recognition that the union has the power to shut NYC down cold. The city manifestly cannot arrest 34,000 strikers or otherwise run the huses and subways in the face of a solid strike. You can't run the subways with hayonets! Should the government invoke the Taylor Law, this should he met by strike actions mohilizing the power of the entire NYC lahor movement. If the transit union proceeds with militancy and determination, in conjunction with other city unions, the labor movement could win a much needed victory that could put into motion a counteroffensive against the hosses. Today the Taxi Workers Alliance,

continued on page 10

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NYC Transit Deathtrap

7 December 2002

Dear *WV* Editor,

As a train operator for New York City Transit, I was moved to write this letter after reading your article "New York Transit Workers vs. Union-Busting Austerity" (*WV* No. 792, 29 November), which reports on the deaths of two transit workers hit by trains in the space of just two days. The safety of our fellow workers is of paramount concern for train operators, and we are deeply saddened by the horrific deaths of Joy Antony and Kurien Baby. Moreover, we are enraged because their deaths can best be understood as a terrible consequence of NYCT's relentless drive to cut costs and raise productivity.

Transit workers regularly confront difficult and dangerous conditions. Track crews work in the dark, dirty depths of tunnels and on elevated structures outdoors, in the sweltering heat and bitter cold—all the while ducking and dodging high-speed trains and skirting the "third rail" with 600 volts of live electricity. At times, track gangs are pressured to continue working even as trains approach the area.

A train operator's greatest fear is to suddenly encounter workers on the tracks without enough warning to stop the train safely, but supervisors often don't want to spend the time it takes to set up complete "flagging" protection to properly warn oncoming trains. This means yellow warning lights placed a minimum of 500'-700' ahead of track workers and a flagman with a red light and a "trip" that activates the emergency brakes to stop the train if it passes the warning signals. Additionally, flagmen need radios to be informed of train movement in their area.

In the case of train operators, a critical and urgent change to make the job safer on the tracks is to alleviate our oppressive schedules. With NYCT's productivity drive, our "cab time" has steadily increased over the years and rest breaks have dwindled. This is a recipe for disaster—accidents are almost inevitable when increasingly exhausted workers perform a job that requires such intense concentration. We must put an end to insufficient rest breaks, forced overtime and involuntary shift changes!

After these tragic deaths threw a spotlight on the appallingly unsafe conditions, NYCT was forced to revise its safety guidelines, but they continue to fall short of federal standards and still don't mandate complete flagging protection for all crews. Even worse, management tries to blame the workers and pit us against each other, typically accusing track workers of improper flagging procedures and train operators of inattentiveness and unsafe operations. Using "track safety" as a pretext for increased discipline under the guise of training, transit bosses have decreed that all train crews be "critiqued" daily by our supervisors. This is a pure farce! The very same supervisor that "critiqued" me one night told me to *speed up* as I operated slowly past track workers the next day.

Workers' safety cannot be left in the hands of the bosses or state agencies—profits and productivity will always be their first concern. Last week, our union, TWU Local 100, called a "safety standdown," directing workers to be extra cautious. However, to be effective, workers must be able to refuse unsafe work without the fear of retaliation and the union must establish elected safety committees with the power to shut down unsafe working conditions on the spot!

Such tragedies must never happen again! Joy Antony and Kurien Baby, we will not forget you.

T.O.

Housekeeping

Oakland
26 June 2002

Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Dear Comrade:

I was fascinated to learn, from your article on the West Coast Waterfront situation, that some waterfront workers are "working around the clock for up to six months at a time."

That sounds like cruel and unusual punishment to me.

Marion Syrek

***WV* replies:**

Either Marion Syrek can't read very well, or he is simply blinded by hostility. The full passage in question from the article, "Showdown on West Coast Waterfront," in *Workers Vanguard* No. 783 (14 June) reads: "Transportation costs have already been cut by the use of giant container ships with non-union, low-wage skeleton crews of seamen working around the clock for up to six months at a time." The sentence obviously refers to *crews* (of seamen), not individual waterfront workers.

TROTSKY

LENIN

For a Class-Struggle Leadership in the Unions!

The struggles of working people in defense of their jobs, working conditions and unions are hampered by a union bureaucracy that looks to the agencies of the capitalist state, its courts and politicians, rather than the independent social power of the proletariat. In a 1942 lecture, Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon set forth the principles of proletarian class struggle that imbued the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes, a key victory in the mass struggles that forged mass industrial unions in the 1930s.

A strike leader without some conception of a political line was very much out of date already by 1934. The old-fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without governmental interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal "friend of labor" president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour. They weren't deluded even by the fact that there was at that time in Minnesota a Farmer-Labor Governor, presumed to be on the side of the workers.

Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. Consequently, they expected from the start that the union would have to fight for its right to exist; that the bosses would not yield any recognition to the union, would not yield any increase of wages or reduction of the scandalous hours without some pressure being brought to bear. Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight.

—James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is 10 December.

No. 793 **13 December 2002**

Women and Revolution

Phyllis Anwar
(1919-2002)

Phyllis Anwar, longtime friend and, between 1979 and 1982, member of the Spartacist League, died on November 7 from complications arising from Alzheimer's disease. We extend our heartfelt condolences to her family, including her sons, comrade Bruce, and his brother, Keith.

When Phyllis joined the Spartacist League she was already in her 60s. She had been in the Young Communist League as a youth and had accompanied her husband to his native Afghanistan from 1941 to 1944. In 1980, in commemoration of International Women's Day, Phyllis made a speaking tour with Dale Reissner of the editorial board of *Women and Revolution*. The talk was titled "Women of the East—Proletarian Revolution or Slavery. Down With Islamic Reaction! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" At the time, our international tendency stood alone against the rise of the Islamic fundamentalist regime in Iran, raising the call: "Down With the Shah! No Support to the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution in Iran!" At the end of 1979, we hailed the Soviet troops that had entered Afghanistan to back the left-nationalist regime that was fighting the CIA-backed *mujahedin*.

Phyllis vividly retold her experiences as the first foreign woman to walk the streets of Kabul without a *chador*, the tent-like veil women are forced to wear. She put her life in danger, secretly teaching girls at a school which was disguised as a hospital to fool the mullahs. Her firsthand accounts of the oppressive conditions of women made concrete our revolutionary program.

While working in the *Workers Vanguard* composition department, Phyllis hammered out our first editorial style book. She imparted to all with whom she collaborated that language was always in flux and that our editorial guidelines were only worthwhile if they made our revolutionary program precise and accessible to our readers. Phyllis also spent time in Berlin working with our German section, and comrades recalled how she learned enough German to be able to sell our newspaper.

For the several years she was a member, Phyllis contributed the experience and insight of her extraordinary life to the collective body of knowledge and literature of our tendency. She left a lasting impression of bravery and compassion with everyone who met her.

A memorial for Phyllis will take place at 1 p.m. on Saturday, December 14 at the Turning Point, 468 Piermont Ave., Piermont, New York.

"Employee Ownership" Fraud Means Layoffs, Wage Cuts

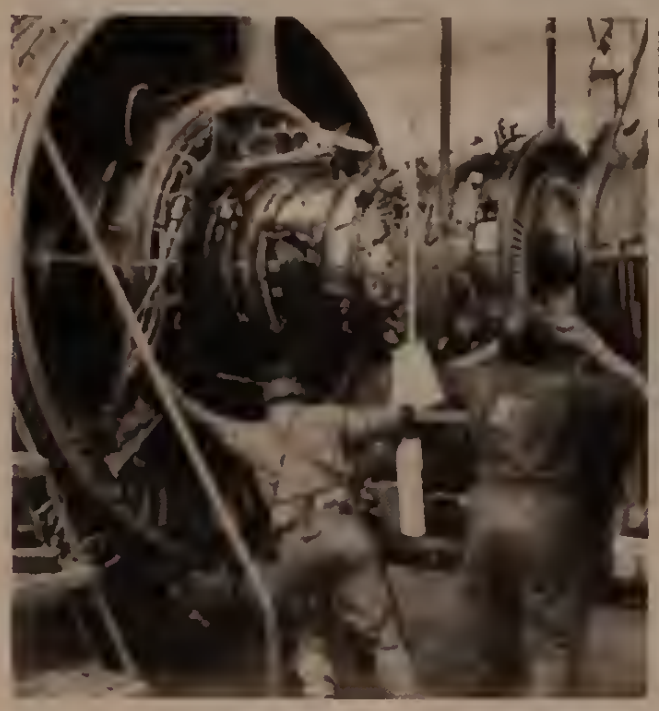
"Employee-owned" United Airlines, the second-largest carrier in the world, filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection on December 9 after the Air Transportation Stabilization Board (ATSB) ruled out a $1.8 billion federal loan package last week. Unless fought by the unions, this will mean thousands of layoffs and massive wage concessions, and the other airlines are now using United's fate to bludgeon their workers into submission. Since the September 11 attacks, airline companies have furloughed more than 100,000 workers and implemented cost-cutting measures that have made travel onerous for passengers. But the economic crisis gripping the airlines predates 9/11. U.S. carriers lost $7.7 billion in 2001 alone, even after receiving some $5 billion in cash handouts from the federal government following 9/11, and it is estimated that they will lose an additional $9 billion this year.

United has slashed its workforce from over 100,000 to 83,000 and cut the number of flights by 20 percent. Management has used the threat of bankruptcy for more than a year to try to cow its unions. At the same time that recently hired CEO Glenn Tilton was awarded millions in a signing bonus and pension trust, the company was demanding *$9 billion* in givebacks from the workforce. The Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) bureaucracy agreed to an 18 percent wage cut (amounting to a whopping *$2.2 billion*). The Association of Flight Attendants also gave up $412 million. Now, United will move to gouge even more concessions from its workforce. As the president of Northwest Airlines put it, with Chapter 11 protection companies "can avoid paying debt, reject leases on airplanes and get collective bargaining agreements restructured" (*New York Times*, 8 December). In plain English, this means ripping up labor contracts and carrying out other union-busting attacks.

The other major airlines are now taking their cue from United. American and Continental are currently in contract talks with their pilots and Northwest is soon to be. According to the *Wall Street Journal* (6 December): "If United is able to make substantial reductions in labor costs by cutting wages and benefits and changing work rules, the impact could spill through the industry." The day after the ATSB decision against United, management at American announced plans to try to wrench $2 billion in additional concessions from its unions.

The goal of the airline companies is to roll back the gains won through decades of union struggle by driving down wages and working conditions at the major carriers to those at low-wage, often non-union, outfits like JetBlue. Most of the major carriers have already shifted some of their routes to their regional subsidiaries, which pay far lower B-scale wages. Gloating about the ATSB decision, the *Wall Street Journal* (6 December) editorialized: "Bankruptcy would allow United to break out of its high-cost, unionized structure into a leaner, more competitive airline."

Significantly, on November 28 United's 13,000 mechanics voted to reject a concessions package totaling $700 million, representing a 7 percent pay reduction. The vote by the mechanics reflects longstanding animosity toward management, which at every turn has sought to further exploit the workforce. In 1994, United mechanics took a severe wage cut (nearly 20 percent) that made their pay the lowest in the industry in exchange for participation in an employee stock ownership plan (ESOP). Though the cost of living increased throughout the decade, mechanics received only two paltry raises of about 5 percent each at a time when United was making record profits. When the contract with the ESOP provisions expired in 2000, negotiations were dragged out for two years.



Peter DaSilva

United Airlines mechanics at San Francisco International Airport. United is attempting to impose massive layoffs and wage cuts to restore airline's profit margins.

Meanwhile, management disciplined and even fired mechanics following safety guidelines by working to rule. After a contract was ratified earlier this year, the mechanics agreed to defer almost a half billion dollars in retroactive pay increases to help the company. Today, the mechanics are forced to work on skeleton crews six days in a row without overtime pay and to do the work of a full crew.

A "No Concessions" campaign has taken hold among United mechanics. The campaign has become a focal point of protest against the craven misleaders of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), which also represents ramp and fleet service workers at United. The IAM labor bureaucrats have supported the company's bid for government loans all along, knowing full well that United would receive a loan only if it first gouged its workforce. Caught off-guard by the results of the November 28 vote, the IAM Local 141-M officialdom quickly returned to the bargaining table to hammer out a new concessions deal that was virtually identical to the original. Over the next week, leaders of Local 141-M made it their sworn duty to rally support for concessions in the lead-up to a new vote, which was scheduled for December 5 but canceled when the ATSB decision was announced.

The ESOP Scam

The IAM tops are probably most reviled for their role alongside the leaders of ALPA in arranging the 1994 ESOP agreement. Under the ESOP, workers traded $5 billion in wage cuts and other givebacks, including a six-year wage freeze and a no-strike pledge, for nearly half the shares of company stock and three seats on the 12-member board of directors. Then-CEO of United Stephen Wolf used the bogeyman of bankruptcy (Continental, TWA and America West were operating under Chapter 11) and competition from the low-cost carrier Southwest to scare the workforce into accepting the ESOP scam. For their part, the union tops sold this scheme by promising a big future payoff in return for short-term belt-tightening to avoid threatened layoffs.

Today, the United ESOP scheme ranks right up there with Enron 401(k)s as one of the largest employee stock scams ever. Workers cannot sell their shares until they leave the company. The value of a United share at its high point in late 1997 was over $100; today it hovers at $1. One senior United mechanic calculated that he had lost over $20,000 in wages *in 2001 alone* as a result of the ESOP concessions. His ESOP portfolio, dating from 1994, is now worth about $1,500. Under Chapter 11, the employee ownership stake will be entirely wiped out.

That the ESOP fraud only serves the capitalists is painfully clear. From the beginning, it was a set-up to extract wage cuts from the workforce through appeals to its responsibility as "owners." All of United's major rivals lobbied hard against its loan application before the ATSB. The ATSB decision, imposing even more draconian cuts on United's workforce by forcing the company into bankruptcy, exemplifies the government's role as the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole.

ESOPs epitomize the fraud of the partnership of labor and capital preached by the trade-union bureaucracy, which means subordinating workers' interests to the company's bottom line. As we wrote in "Phony 'Worker Ownership' at United Airlines" (*WV* No. 593, 4 February 1994):

> "Even if the workers had 100 percent, it wouldn't make a fundamental difference. Workers have no control whatsoever over the capitalist market, which is inherently anarchic. At the first financial difficulty they would be at the mercy of the banks.... To 'save jobs' by making one airline 'more competitive' is to drive down the living standards of all."

Whether or not a company is "owned" by its employees, it must exploit their labor to make profits and survive in the face of competition.

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

The prostration of the IAM and other industry union tops before the airline bosses points to the urgency of the fight to oust these class-collaborationist bureaucrats, who are bound hand and foot to the capitalist Democratic Party. It was under Democratic president Jimmy Carter that deregulation of the airline industry took place in 1978, paving the way for more than two decades of union-busting attacks by the airline bosses.

Air transport is a vital industry that underpins a quarter of the world's economy and is part of the lifeblood of any modern society. Airline workers have the power to shut the industry down. But the pro-capitalist labor tops hide behind anti-labor laws like the Railway Labor Act as an excuse to head off class struggle. The key lies in forging a class-struggle leadership that understands that neither the capitalist politicians nor the companies can ever represent the interests of workers—a union leadership that understands that the power of workers lies in their ability to bring production to a halt.

The treachery of the IAM tops has driven many United mechanics into the arms of the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA), a craft union which has already unseated the IAM at Northwest and Alaska Airlines by appealing to the most crass craft prejudice among the highly skilled mechanics while denouncing the IAM leaders as the "paid-off lapdogs" of management. Craft divisions feed into the unceasing attempts by the bosses to set one work group against another. What airline workers need is a single industrial union of all workers—from baggage handlers to pilots—at all companies, which would facilitate united, industry-wide strike action to defend jobs and extend hard-fought gains.

continued on page 9

Chicago Sun-Times

United flight attendants join American Airlines picket line last year.

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips a week in December.**

Our next issue will be dated January 3.

British Firefighters vs. "New Labour" Union Busters

The British Fire Brigades Union (FBU) went out on strike twice last month, first for two days and then for eight days. With Tony Blair's New Labour government deploying thousands of troops using antiquated firefighting equipment, the London *Financial Times* (25 November) insisted: "There must be proper preparations for a long fire strike.... If that means limits on Britain's deployment of troops in a new Gulf War, so be it. The UK will not make the decisive difference between victory and defeat in Iraq, and this domestic battle is too important to be fought with one hand tied."

FBU leader Andy Gilchrist called off a second eight-day strike that was to begin on December 4, announcing that the union would submit to arbitration while leaving open the possibility of another eight-day strike scheduled for December 16. On December 7, some 20,000 members and supporters of the FBU rallied in London in the largest labor demonstration there in a decade. A common theme among many of the workers our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain spoke to was their hatred of the strikebreaking Labour government.

Playing to such sentiment, Gilchrist declared at a November 30 meeting of Labour Party leftists that he was "prepared to work to replace New Labour with what I'm prepared to call Real Labour." But when this was denounced in the press as a call to "topple New Labour," Gilchrist responded with a December 4 commentary in the London *Guardian*, stating:

> "The task of those, like myself, who passionately believe in strengthening the link between the party and unions, is being made increasingly difficult. In almost every Labour-affiliated union the call is becoming louder to weaken the links and reduce financial support to the Labour establishment. This demand will become impossible to counter if the government continues with New Labour's project of appeasing big business while distancing itself from the unions."

It is the role of left-talking union leaders like Gilchrist to sell their membership the lie that Labour represents the interests of the working class. Lately this is becoming harder as Blair drives to break the party's reliance on the unions and turn it into an outright capitalist party, like the Democratic Party in the U.S. Denouncing Gilchrist's initial remarks, one government spokesman fumed: "He said that this was an industrial dispute.. Now we see it for what it really is—a political battle about the future direction of this country." The government would like the unions to be politically and otherwise utterly subordinate to the will of the capitalists. To wage effective struggle in defense of the workers' interests, the unions must have a political leadership, one which understands that the interests of labor and capital are counterposed.

Outrageously, the FBU leadership has suspended Bob Pounder from his post as union secretary for the Greater Manchester County because he opposed the union leadership's decision to suspend the second eight-day strike and go to arbitration.

AP

November 14: Picketing firefighters in Berkshire during two-day FBU strike. Firefighters' struggle has galvanized opposition to union-busting Labour government.

Pounder, a supporter of the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), has been baited by the bourgeois press, which went into a chauvinist frenzy over the fact that he visited Iraq. Notwithstanding our political differences with the WRP, a group which politically supports the anti-worker regime of Saddam Hussein, and which supported Labour in the last elections, the SL/B demands: Reinstate Bob Pounder!

The need for a revolutionary workers party was a central question addressed by comrade Eibhlin McDonald at a Spartacist League/Britain forum in London on November 25. The meeting was also addressed by two FBU members, Billy Carruthers and Garrett Brooks, a member of the FBU's black caucus, and featured a real exchange of views on working-class strategy. Referring to the government's demand for cutbacks and speedup, Carruthers told the audience, "We're talking about pay, they're talking about cuts. They call it modernization. Their modernization agenda takes us back 50 years." Voicing a view now common among trade unionists, he added: "We put a resolution through our branch to remove our political fund from the Labour Party.... What we said is not only did we want to remove it, but we want the whole trade-union movement to pull the political fund and use it somewhere else."

In his remarks, Brooks said: "We all remember the pictures that we saw of September 11 last year, when New York firefighters were running into a building to save lives. That's what we do; we don't run away, we go in to try to save lives. Last year we were heroes; this year we are called criminals." Brooks also took up our criticism of Gilchrist's acquiescence to a threatened attack on the picket lines raised in a 19 November SL/B leaflet distributed to striking firefighters and others (see *WV* No. 792, 29 November). Brooks said: "I had a different viewpoint to some of your members and that's about whether the army should cross the picket lines and take our fire engines.... Now, my view and the view of many firefighters is simple. We agree with Andy Gilchrist.... The army can't hope to compete in using our equipment and doing the same job we do."

In her presentation, which we publish below in edited and abridged form, comrade McDonald responded to Brooks' argument and also addressed the question of the trade-union political fund.

* * *

We in the Spartacist League and the International Communist League are emphatically for a victory to the FBU in this struggle. We think a lot depends on it. We think it is a battle not simply for pay for the FBU. It is a battle for the entire trade-union movement in Britain. And it's not only the working class that has a stake in it, but—as you can see on the picket lines—so do all the oppressed layers of this society.

Immigrants, minorities, women—that's where the support is coming from and that's something that's very similar to the 1984-85 miners strike. And the tremendous support the FBU is getting from the public is a measure of the depth of hatred for the Labour government. It is an outpouring of hatred by everybody that's been taking it in the neck from this government for so long. This strike has major international significance as well, precisely because it has the capability to hamper the war preparations against Iraq. The government must not be allowed to break the back of the FBU.

One of the things we want to talk about is how to prevent that from happening and how to get the victory that the FBU needs. We think the government's threat to break the FBU picket lines must be met by mass picket lines. This is one of the lessons of the 1977 FBU strike. The Labour government of the day, of Jim Callaghan, had their strikebreakers repulsed by mass picket lines and they pulled back.

Our second point is that the Fire Brigades Union must not be left to go it alone against the full might of the capitalist state. The public sector unions—the council workers union, the teachers, etc.—are longing to give this government a kick up the backside. They work for incredibly low wages. Part of the impact of the defeat of the miners strike is that the trade-union movement in this country was weakened; wages and living standards have been really driven down. So all these workers should be mobilised on the FBU picket lines, and in particular, we think, the Tube [subway] workers ought to be out on strike.

Calling off the planned strike ballot by those workers was really a betrayal by the Rail, Maritime and Transport (RMT) union leadership. The drivers' solidarity with the firefighters during the first 48-hour strike had a tremendous impact. The situation in London Underground today is that drivers are being forced against their will to drive trains into the tunnels knowing that it's not safe and knowing that their class duty is standing with the firefighters on strike. Especially here in the City of London, to shut down the transport system means that the financial centre of British imperialism cannot function.

There's another point I want to make about council workers before I move on. A lot of union jobs have been contracted out to private firms. Those workers then work for even less wages and in even worse conditions than council workers whose jobs have not been privatised, and those jobs are often done by immigrants. This proves that it is in the interest of the entire trade-union movement to take up the fight for equal pay for equal work, including for immigrants, and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

Union "Lefts" Prop Up New Labour

These are tactics to win the FBU strike: mass picket lines and strikes in other unions. The tactics of a strike are not very difficult to work out. It's not rocket science, as any firefighter can tell you. But the real question is, why isn't it happening, and that *is* a political question. And that is one of the central things that we want to address, because the chief obstacle to winning this strike is illusions and ties to Labour. In this instance, that means ties to "Old Labour." Left-wing union leaders, such as RMT head Bob Crow and Andy Gilchrist and the others who have been dubbed the "awkward squad," are simply another expression of the left wing of Labour. They are always being vilified by Tony Blair and the capitalist press simply because they sometimes lead their unions out on strike. That's where the Blairites are coming from: pure class hatred of the trade unions. But our political criticisms of these leaders are based on their ties to Labour.

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The question of our attitude to Labour is where we fundamentally disagree. It is where you can see most clearly the distinction between us and the other groups on the left which you might be familiar with—the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Workers Power, Socialist Alliance, Socialist Party, etc. In the 2001 elections, even when they stood their own candidates, the Socialist Alliance (supported by the SWP and Workers Power) still called to "vote Labour where you must." We said "No vote for Labour!" and you can bet your life that we won't be voting for them next time around either.

Another point that distinguishes the Spartacist League is that we don't think the economic demands of this strike can be abstracted from the broader social questions of the programme that we fight for, the communist programme. We're not like these fake-left groups who will hold a meeting about the Fire Brigades Union at which the war against Iraq is not mentioned. Or if you go to one of their meetings about the war, the Fire Brigades Union is not mentioned. You go to a meeting about the unions, and racism is not mentioned. You go to a meeting about racism, and the trade unions are not mentioned. We think that those issues have to be linked up as part of a single struggle led by a revolutionary party against the capitalist system which divides workers.

At a Workers Power meeting the other night on the FBU strike, two strikers from London's Euston Station were present, one of whom spoke out at the end of the meeting to say that he personally pays his political funds to a charity and will never in the rest of his life vote Labour again. But when we asked the Workers Power speaker, "What about you?" he said, oh no, he couldn't say that because that might bring the Tories back in again. So this is the connection between groups like Workers Power's support to Labour in elections and their perspective on the strike.

Now, on Labour's threat to send the army across the picket lines, the question that we disagree on. We understand that it is the position of at least the national executive of the FBU that they should not try to stop the army from going across picket lines to seize firefighting equipment and vehicles. We said openly in our leaflet that we disagree with Andy Gilchrist on this. First of all, that's not about saving lives. Everybody knows that. I think even Garrett would agree with that. Picket lines are the crucial weapon of the trade-union movement in class struggle. That is how the trade-union movement was built. If you concede on the picket line question, you may as well concede to Tony Blair—it opens the door to crushing the FBU.

The capitalist state consists at its core of the army, the police, the prison service, the courts, etc. We do not accept that the police are part of the workers movement and just wage earners like anybody else. That's absolutely not true. The actual role of the police in society was seen most clearly during the miners strike, when they bloodied not only the miners but their families and their villages daily for an entire year. They were known at the time as Margaret Thatcher's boot boys.

AP

French public employees at Paris demonstration against government austerity measures, November 26.

That's what the state is; it is an instrument of class oppression.

The military top brass have been reluctant to use the army to break picket lines in the FBU strike. That has not been done in Britain since the General Strike in 1926. We think that if the army is asked to cross picket lines, the FBU should appeal to the soldiers not to do that, because there are contradictions within the army, including even the professional army, that do not exist within the police. There's a class contradiction within the army. The soldiers are drawn from the working class. They absolutely hate the public school [as elite private schools are known in Britain], Sandhurst-educated officer corps, and it's possible to use that. The soldiers also do not expect that breaking strikes is part of their job.

But there's another point that can be made about this. It is not normally state repression that is used to break strikes in Britain. Trotsky said that in Britain you have an outer policeman and an inner policeman, and the inner policeman is Labour and social democracy, and they have succeeded in most cases in selling out workers struggles. So it's not always necessary for them to use naked state repression.

Defence of Iraq Against Imperialist Attack

On the question of how to stop the war against Iraq, our position is for defence of Iraq against imperialist attack without giving an iota of political support to Saddam Hussein. The best mechanism for fighting for defence of Iraq is through class struggle at home. The connections we make between class struggle at home and opposition to war are much easier to make in the case of the Fire Brigades strike. You have the defence chief complaining that a demoralized army cannot fight on two fronts. If they keep 19,000 soldiers for breaking the FBU strike, then this hinders their attempts to wage war against Iraq. We think that is a good thing. The semicolonial masses of Iraq and the working people and oppressed of this country have a common enemy in the Labour government and the capitalist class in this country and also, of course, in the United States.

It's worth noting that when over 400,000 people demonstrated against the war here in London on September 28, nobody in the military establishment or the government batted an eyelid, because while it's very good to show the level of opposition against the war, demonstrations by themselves don't wield any social power. Trade unions such as the FBU have social power, and that really does cause major concern about the war preparations.

I just want to make a point about the SWP-led Stop the War Coalition. The purpose, the perspective and programme of the groups that built the Stop the War Coalition is for unity not only with bishops and the mosques and the liberals, but above all with the left-wing Labour MPs [Members of Parliament] Jeremy Corbin and Tony Benn, etc. It ought to be not too difficult to work out that unity with these Labour MPs will not and cannot stop war. The Labour lefts as much as the right wing of the Labour Party are tied to the system of capitalism, and imperialist war is intrinsic to capitalism.

It's important to understand politically that national chauvinism, pro-war sentiment, and what was called the "Falklands factor" in the 1982 war with Argentina are used as a club to beat the trade unions with now, as it was used back then. Returning soldiers from the Falklands hung a sign over the side of a ship directed against striking rail workers, saying call off the rail strike or we'll call an air strike. We call for British troops out of Northern Ireland, out of the Near East and out of Afghanistan.

The domestic side of the "war on terror" is pretty clear to most people by now. It's a racist witchhunt against immigrants and against British minorities, targetting blacks and particularly Asians. The ultimate target of the "war on terror" is the trade-union movement. That is ultimately what's considered to be the "enemy within."

Under Tony Blair, the Labour Party is being converted into something like the Democratic Party in the United States, which is an outright capitalist party. Lenin described the Labour Party as a bourgeois workers party, with an enormous working-class base but a pro-capitalist leadership and programme. To what extent Blair has succeeded in that process of conversion is being tested right now.

Another area where we vehemently disagree with Andy Gilchrist and Bob Crow and with the rest of the left is that the trade unions should continue to fund New Labour. That's like asking workers to fight with one hand tied behind their back, and it's fairly obscene. To continue funding the organisation that's threatening to crush you is not very appealing. It's noticeable that on the picket lines—and apparently in union branch meetings from what I'm told—there are passionate discussions over this question. The Fire Brigades Union was one of the unions that began the process of cutting off funds to New Labour. They were in the vanguard of it, as was the RMT.

And once again, the so-called socialists have come out to the right of the gut feeling of most of the workers within the unions. Through the Socialist Alliance, the SWP and Workers Power have echoed and supported the position of Andy Gilchrist and Bob Crow—that it's okay to open up the political fund to give a little bit of support here and there but that they fundamentally must not break the ties with New Labour.

There's another group which does say that you should break the ties with New Labour, which is the Socialist Party of Peter Taaffe. They are also a Labourite group; they simply play their hand a little bit differently. They say the unions should stop funding New Labour and build another mass workers party. It would be based on the trade unions, but it should be led by the existing left-wing trade-union leaders. They have even called for such a party to be led by Ken Livingstone, of all people.

We're no fans of Ken Livingstone. When he got the job as mayor of London he appointed a man called Bob Kiley, a former CIA officer and a notorious union-buster from the New York subway, as his man in charge of the Underground. Livingstone supported the war against Serbia. Yesterday, he called for women who are begging in the Tubes to be arrested and their children to be put into government care. And in case you didn't get the picture of what Ken Livingstone is like, he also called yesterday for the Fire Brigades to accept the "modernisation" agenda. So that will give you an idea of what kind of mass workers party the Socialist Party would like to create.

We make the point that Old Labour has always loyally served Queen and Country. Labour supported British imperialism through two world wars. They supported the United States in the 1950-53 war against the North Korean deformed workers state, a war whose ultimate targets were China and the Soviet Union. They

continued on page 9

Sturrock/Network

Workers Hammer

Left: Striking Leeds miners battle scabs, cops in August 1984. Spartacist League/Britain fought for class-struggle solidarity with heroic 1984-85 miners strike against union-busting Thatcher government.

Japan: Abolish the Monarchy —For a Workers Republic!

We print below a translation of an article from Spartacist *No. 26 (September 2002), publication of the Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League.*

スパルタシスト

The debate over whether or not a female heir can ascend to the imperial throne, intensified after the birth of the "royal baby" last December, has brought together supposedly diverse elements, ranging from the anti-woman, ultra-nationalist [Prime Minister] Koizumi to bourgeois feminists to Doi Takako, leader of the Social Democratic Party [SDP]. This thoroughly reactionary debate has nothing to do with "gender equality," as anyone who lives in this deeply entrenched and revoltingly male chauvinist society should know. Rather it is about how best to salvage the "imperial household" and recast the blood-stained emperor system as a "monarchy for the masses." If word of this debate were to reach Kanno Suga, executed by the government in 1911 [for plotting to assassinate the emperor], she would be writhing in her grave.

It was under the name of the emperor that Japanese imperialism and its military committed monstrous crimes during the Pacific War [World War II]—the Nanjing Massacre, the Nazi-like biological military Unit 731, the brutal colonization and subjugation of half the Asian continent, the enslavement of the *ianfu* [comfort women] and forced laborers, and the massive roundups and imprisonment of burakumin [descendants of feudal-era outcasts] and the heroic men and women of this country who fought against social injustice. We call for the abolition of this reactionary institution and the establishment of a workers republic.

It doesn't matter if the monarch's chromosomes are XY or XX—the emperor system is a feudal anachronism that should have been swept away a long time ago. Its ideological purpose is as a popular focus for national chauvinism and reaction. Only in a country where women are so oppressed would any woman find the prospect of an empress appealing. One need only look at Britain which has a queen to see that gender is no impediment to the ruthless pursuit of the imperialist, anti-working-class goals of the British capitalist class. In this country, women's oppression is deeply intertwined with the perpetuation of the emperor system, whose purpose is to sanctify social and sexual hierarchy, the family, private property and the "glory" of the Japanese state.

If the emperor system were abolished, women would still not be liberated. We would still have a capitalist system in which women are oppressed. The ever-present degradation, inequalities and superstitions that target women can only be rooted out by a workers revolution that dislodges the capitalists and their kings (or queens) and places the proletariat in power. That's why we fight for socialist revolution. The fight for women's rights goes hand in hand with the struggles of the organized working class as a whole against an exploiting class that considers its rule an "immutable right." The tremendous wealth in this country is produced by the sweat and toil of its working people—both female and male. Those who labor must rule!

Rallying Symbol for Reaction

The overriding concern of the ruling class is that in the last few decades only daughters have been born to the imperial family. Journalist Keiko Tatsuta bluntly summed up the anxiety: "If no boys are born in the future, the Imperial Household itself would theoretically no longer exist" (*Japan Times*, 24 November 2001). It is not just for ideological purposes that the emperor system is important for Japanese capitalism. The monarchy has always been the bourgeoisie's favored institution in periods of social turmoil. The leaders of the Meiji Restoration used the emperor as a "divine umbrella" to legitimize their rule. After Japan's defeat in the Pacific War, the emperor system was preserved through a bargain between the Japanese ruling class and the U.S. occupation forces for the single purpose of clamping down on working-class struggle at a time when social revolution was a real possibility. Today, in the midst of mass unemployment, welfare cuts and homelessness, privatizations and an increasingly strong state mounting an offensive to remilitarize the country, the continued, orchestrated "royal baby watch" is intended to unite the nation around a common cause.

The emperor system is not merely an affront to the proletariat of this country and Asia. According to the constitution, the emperor's role is supposedly limited to such things as acting as adviser and spokesman for the ruling class, performing certain functions of state like putting his "divine" seal of approval on a new prime minister. The existence of these limits obscures the real danger to the proletariat the monarchy could once again become. In recent years, the emperor has been acting more and more like the head of state, and several attempts have been made to bring back laws against *lèse majesté*. The emperor system is the rallying cry of the fascistic and militaristic right wing, who have become more emboldened since official recognition of the *hinomaru* and *kimigayo* [flag and anthem], both symbols of the emperor and imperial Japan. In any deep future crisis of the bourgeois order, the emperor would be wielded as a buttress to reactionary mobilizations and a sign of "legitimacy" for a government of extreme reaction.

Ethan Hoffman

Women employees bow to businessman at typical Tokyo reception, symbolizing intense male chauvinism in Japan.

The Left and the Emperor System

The politics of the reformist left consists of oppositional activity within the framework of bourgeois society, characterized by Trotsky as "the training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state." The emperor system continues unimpeded by the fake left in this country. The primary responsibility for this lies with the SDP and Communist Party (JCP), both mass bourgeois-workers parties with a pro-capitalist leadership and program, and a predominantly working-class membership. As part of their general commitment to capitalism, they help prop up this symbol of privilege. When Hirohito [emperor during World War II] died in 1989, Doi Takako signed the condolence book and attended the funeral. In the summer of 2000, JCP leader Fuwa sent condolences on the death of the Empress Dowager because they grew up during the same years! Loyal opposition parties indeed.

The SDP and JCP's shameless acceptance of the emperor system is a key component in suppressing working-class anger and opposition to this feudal remnant. Since its inception as the Japan Socialist Party, the SDP has embraced this reactionary institution, ending its founding conference in 1945 with the three hanzai shouts ["Long live the emperor!"]. In April 2001 in the shadow of the crown princess's pregnancy, the SDP leadership met, whereby "Doi Takako took a positive posture toward a female emperor on the basis of gender equality. However, within the party, this question is not completely resolved" (*Women's Information*, January 2002). What was resolved eight months later was "to send congratulations on the birth of a child who has been anticipated. We hope for her healthy growth."

When the Communist Party thought they had an opportunity to administer a capitalist Japan in 1998, they revised their long-held position of opposition to the emperor system. As reported in the *Japan Press Weekly* (8 December 2001), "JCP Secretariat Head Ichida Tadayoshi said, 'Parliament can give a congratulatory

Toshiki Sawaguchi

February 1994: Japanese nurses protest overtime, staff shortages and subsidy cuts, demand better health care for all.

AFP

April 2002: Prime Minister Koizumi, led by Shinto priest, visits chauvinist memorial to Japanese imperialist soldiers.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

message as a form of courtesy on a festive event of the family which is referred to as the symbol of the state by the Constitution.... The JCP envisages a future in which the *Tenno* [emperor] system will end based on the people's consensus. At the present, the JCP is committed to defending every clause of the Constitution!" This was echoed by party head Shii a few days later when he said, "The birth of any new life is equally delightful" (*Women's Information*, January 2002). Sharing in the so-called democratic happiness over a new life is quite a bitter pill to swallow for its membership, which understands well that all life is hardly equal in a capitalist society.

Bourgeois Panic over Falling Marriage, Birth Rates

Hirohito's death was like a gift for the imperial family, lifting it from its "tainted" history. Today, it is presented as the "nation's first family, united with the people in warmth and affection." No longer surrounded by the aura of divinity, the imperial family is supposed to mirror a "modern, democratic, middle-class Japan." Now we are being saturated with news stories about the royal family as if they lived in the neighboring apartment complex, or the three-generation house next door.

The Empress Michiko is portrayed as a "commoner" who raised her own children and "assumed some of the typical duties of a housewife." Princess Masako, a "Harvard educated woman who gave up her career to settle down and have a family," is held up as a role model for women who are increasingly postponing both marriage and having children. This is the borrowed womb [women whose "function" is to produce an heir] and good wife/wise mother recast for the 21st century.

The police crackdown on high school girls hanging out in Shibuya and Ikebukuro [districts of Tokyo], the media smear campaign against young women, labeling them as selfish "parasite singles," the stigma and laws against illegitimate children, the one surname per family rule, the refusal to give pensions to divorced women, the cutting of subsidies for single mothers are all frontal assaults against women in an attempt to bolster the sanctity of the nuclear family for the "good of the nation."

With the lowest birthrate of almost any nation, the population agency in the Health, Labor and Welfare Ministry has been working overtime, churning out scare stories that within 100 years the population of Japan would not even fill the Tokyo Dome [baseball park]. A recent survey found that more than half the women in their 20s are not married, and have no plans to do so, prompting Cabinet Secretary "Japan must go nuclear" Fukuda to promote the recent marriage of teenage pop diva Utada Hikaru by saying, "We want lots of people to get married and have many children" (BBC, 6 September).

Responding to the government's hysteria, the local government of Aji, a small town in Kagawa Prefecture, has started organizing *omiai* [marriage introductions] to deal with its dwindling population. Chibu in Shimane Prefecture was the first village to begin a "cash for babies" program. In the early 1990s they began offering ten calves to every farming family that had a child. Around the same time, Kawano in Fukui Prefecture instituted its "give birth and nurture incentive program," which offers 100,000 yen [about $800] for the first and second children, ¥1 million for the third and a whopping ¥1.5 million for each subsequent child. The program notes that if a couple "produces" 15 children, they would be entitled to more than ¥19 million. We note, that is if the couple can find the energy to do so after being almost *karoshi*-ed [overworked] to death, and if they can find the privacy for those few moments of intimacy that are so sorely lacking for most families in this country. Not surprisingly, the instigator of this program, which is reminiscent of World War II campaign slogans to procreate, was formerly in the *kempeitai* [prewar military thought-police].

The JCP jumped on this reactionary baby handwagon in 1999 when they announced that a high birthrate is an index of social equality for women. The next year they noted that their "proposal for economic reforms to correct 'capitalism without rules' is closely connected with the task of overcoming the 'low birthrates'" ("Draft Resolution of the 22nd Congress of the Japanese Communist Party," 2000). We wonder whether their next step will be to hand out "medals for motherhood," just like Joseph Stalin did.

Decisions concerning whether to marry or not, to have children or not, the sex of one's companion or who one sleeps with are individual and consensual matters, and none of the government's nor the JCP's business. What is needed is the teaching of reproductive biology in the schools; education on AIDS; free, safe birth control for all who want it; free, 24-hour day-care centers and nursing care for the elderly; free education and a living stipend for all students; and affordable housing. These are transitional demands, most of which will not be met under capitalism, but are a bridge between today's conditions and the consciousness of wide layers of the working class which lead to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat.

Women's Oppression and Class Society

Women's oppression is rooted in the institution of the family and has been a feature of all class societies. The family is a key social unit for the maintenance of capitalism. For the capitalists, the family provides the basis for passing on accumulated wealth. And where there is no property to pass on, the institutionalized family serves to raise the next generation of workers, care for the sick and aged, and instill conservative social values and obedience to authority. It is the family—and the necessity to control sexual access to the woman to ensure that the man knows who his real heir is—which generates the morality codified in and reinforced by religion. It is the family that throughout a woman's life gives definition to her oppressed state: as daughter, as wife, as mother. As 19th century revolutionary Friedrich Engels wrote in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884): "The overthrow of mother right was the world historical defeat of the female sex. The man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and became a mere instrument for the production of children."

Engels went on to explain that "the first premise for the emancipation of women is the reintroduction of the entire female sex into public industry." For genuine communists, the rate of women's participation in the labor force is a real index of their social status, and the higher the better. We understand and appreciate that the social conditions under which working people live are determined in struggle against the capitalist class. The fight for the full integration of women into the workforce is literally a life and death question for the Japanese working class, which is either unemployed, literally working itself to death, or committing *karojisatsu* [suicide brought on by too much overtime]. Women and minority and immigrant laborers are a key ally in the fight for a shorter work week.

Among the results of a union misleadership that won't fight for women's rights are weak unions that don't defend any of their members and an uncontested misogynist climate in society as a whole. The leadership of all three union federations has refused to fight against the exclusion of women and minorities from full-time employment in major industries. They also refuse to organize part-time, non-lifetime and so-called contingent workers, all of whom are predominantly female. Women comprise less than 20 percent of the union membership in this country, and less than 5 percent of the executive union posts. In desperation, several separate women's unions have been formed, only further dividing and weakening the working class.

The only effective response to the capitalists' offensive is united class struggle, mobilizing the broadest ranks of labor in the interest of all workers. We fight to organize the unorganized, unionize all "non-regular," minority and immigrant workers into common industrial unions that would fight for the full integration of women into the workforce; for equal pay for equal work; and for equal access to free technical training and job upgrading.

AP

U.S. imperialist butcher General Douglas MacArthur with Emperor Hirohito during post-World War II American occupation of Japan.

The 1917 Russian Revolution: Committed to Full Social Equality for Women

The 1917 October Revolution was the first—and to date the only—successful socialist revolution in history. After the working class seized power in its own name led by the Bolshevik Party, the new Soviet government under Lenin and Trotsky took immediate steps to alleviate the oppression of women. The aim of the Soviet legislation was the replacement of the nuclear family as a social and economic unit through the socialization of household labor and the equalization of educational and vocational opportunities. These two goals were key to the undermining of the capitalist social order and to the construction of a new society. The government took steps toward replacing women's household drudgery by setting up cafeterias, laundries, and childcare centers to allow women to enter productive employment.

Illegitimacy was abolished in law, eliminating discrimination against children born outside of marriage and freeing mothers from the burden of a double standard which had punished them for the consequences of having had the child. Subsequent legislation declared marriage to be a contract between free and equal individuals that could be dissolved at the request of either partner, eliminated all discrimination against homosexuals, established hundreds of institutions devoted to the care of mothers and children (at no cost), made abortion legal, free and available on demand, assured equal pay for equal work, and opened up unheard of opportunities for women in industry, the professions, the party and government. Thousands of schools were opened to women for the first time on the basis of preferential admissions. These sweeping gains were possible because the working class expropriated the property of the capitalists and established a planned, collectivized economy.

The Bolsheviks were limited in what they could actually implement in the way of replacing the functions of the family by collective social institutions in a relatively backward country, mainly peasant in its composition, which had been materially devastated by World War I and the ensuing civil war. Still, their example points the way to what could be accomplished under the rule of the proletariat in a far more economically and technologically advanced country like Japan.

The October Russian Revolution has been undone and its gains destroyed. Surrounded and pounded by the imperialists for seven decades, the Soviet Union was destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. We fought for unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution up until the very last barricade. The responsibility for the Soviet counterrevolution lies primarily with the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped political power from the working class in 1923-24 and betrayed the revolutionary purpose of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party and the revolutionary Communist International that they founded. Not the least of the Stalinists' crimes were the glorification of the family and the reversal of many gains for women. We called for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Struggle for an Egalitarian Socialist World

The woman question is a lever for revolution. The liberation of women is central to our program and we consider the question of women's participation in the revolutionary struggle as a strategic question. In short, this means that without the participation of women, without women leading and organizing the work and the struggles, the working class and its revolutionary party would fail in its historic tasks.

Liberating women from family servitude and the myriad of feudally derived traditions tied to the continued existence of the emperor system is a central task of a Japanese workers republic. The emancipation of women requires a socialist revolution and the creation of a planned economy in which women will have full access to participation in the productive forces of society, and the institution of the family will be replaced with collective childcare and housework. Marxists fight to rip the means of production out of the hands of the capitalists in order to put them at the service of the needs of the working people who create the wealth. The program of communism is for a classless society in which the family is transcended by superior sexual and social relations which will be free of moral or economic coercion. Our slogan is: "For women's liberation through socialist revolution!"

For new October Revolutions to free the working class from the tyranny of capital—and the monarchy!■

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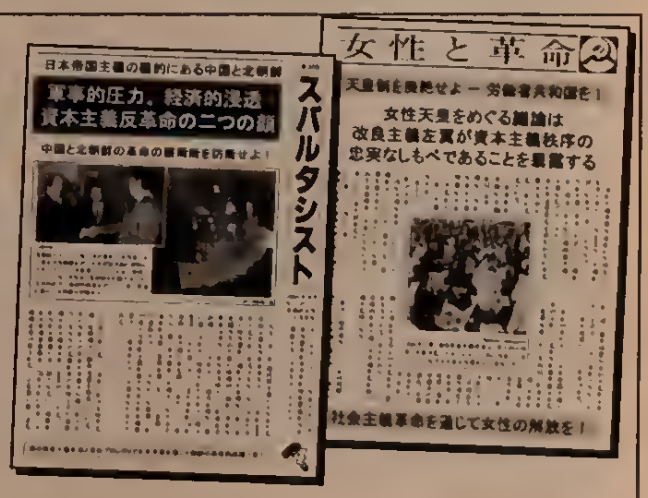

The following is an edited version of a report by a comrade from the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, section of the International Communist League, on a November 28 strike and rally by Fiat workers near Milano, part of an ongoing struggle against layoffs and plant closures. Since the report was written, tens of thousands of Fiat workers across Italy engaged in further protest on December 6, blocking roads and picketing factories.

AP

December 6: Fiat auto workers block train station in Torino, part of nationwide demonstrations and strikes against announced mass layoffs.

Fiat Workers Fight to Save Their Jobs

Report from Italy

Last Thursday, workers at the Alfa Romeo auto plant in Arese organized a one-day strike. Alfa is part of Fiat and the plant is threatened to be closed down in December, with all workers laid off. On October 10, Fiat, which directly and through related industries employs some 7 percent of Italy's working population, announced layoffs of thousands of workers, affecting almost all its plants in Italy as well as plants in Argentina, Brazil and Poland. Particularly in southern Italy, the economic impact of closing down the only jobs in some areas will be catastrophic. As one worker at the Termini Imerese plant in Sicily put it: "We can't even become robbers; there is nothing left to steal here."

While Fiat is now talking about not completely closing the Termini Imerese plant, there is no such perspective for the Alfa plant in Arese. Fiat's proposal for Termini Imerese is that a few jobs will be maintained through the introduction of "flexible" work conditions. The workers reject these conditions and hope the unions will not accept the deal. But they are also very worried about whether they'll be able to save their jobs. Employment at the Alfa plant has dwindled from 30,000 workers to less than 3,000 in the last 15 years. Some workers are also conscious of the fact that the Alfa workforce may be particularly targeted by the bosses because it is historically very militant—many unionists have been fired there and the militant, independent SLAI-COBAS union was and is very strong.

The trade-union leaders at the Alfa plant called for a protest at the house of

La Repubblica

Right-wing Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi (left) with Gianni Agnelli, scion of Fiat dynasty.

right-wing Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi near Milan to urge him to do something to save the Alfa plant! Some union bureaucrats also appealed to the regional authorities for solutions. In general, their policy is to pressure the local institutions. They took as an example the fact that the mayor of Termini Imerese—a member of Berlusconi's party, Forza Italia—started a hunger strike against the plant closing there. While Termini Imerese has been gripped by strikes, demonstrations and highway and train station blockages mobilizing most of the town's residents, the trade-union tops are frustrated that there is not the same level of mobilization in Arese. The workers may well occupy the plant in the near future. At least, this is the will of Fiat workers who demonstrated in Rome last Tuesday—20,000 strong!

At the Alfa plant, the workers manned a picket line from 4 a.m. to 4 p.m. at all three entrances and stopped everybody from going to work. They called for solidarity with their action, asking people to join them on the picket lines. They organized a rally in the afternoon with famous leftist singers and actors. In the morning, a contingent of high school students from the area joined the protest, followed later by a contingent of students from the University of Milan organized by the reformist Rifondazione Comunista (RC) and other groups. The workers welcomed them with lengthy applause.

We intervened into the strike, covering two picket entrances and distributing our literature, including the ICL declaration on Iraq titled: "Down With the UN Starvation Blockade! Defend Iraq Against U.S. and Allied Imperialist Attack!" There were a hundred workers at the smaller picketed plant gate entrance and some 300 people at the main one, including about a hundred students. We had discussions all morning long with workers and youth, and talked to a couple of union leaders, soliciting solidarity statements for the Fire Brigades Union (FBU) in Britain, which at the time was on strike.

The level of consciousness was contradictory, but it was possible to have very interesting discussions with many workers. In the discussions, many workers complained about the fact that the factory is organized by different unions, which divides the workers and weakens their power. This sentiment came from workers in the CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labor, Italy's largest union federation) and COBAS (a syndicalist-influenced union confederation) and ex-CGIL and ex-COBAS workers. Many of these workers strongly agreed with our program of fighting for industrial unions.

The reactions were different, though, when we talked about building a revolutionary workers party. Many reacted with comments like: "The question here is that we will lose our jobs tomorrow," or "I vote RC." But some COBAS workers were very receptive to criticisms of RC and class collaboration as they remember quite well what RC did when it supported the anti-worker and anti-immigrant popular-front government led by Democratici di Sinistra (DS—Democratic Left) that preceded Berlusconi. COBAS workers received RC leader Fausto Bertinotti this July with insults. Many workers saw an old issue of our journal *Spartaco* from the 1980s about struggles at Fiat and agreed with its title: "PCI Stabs the Fiat Strike in the Back." Both RC and DS came out of the PCI (Communist Party of Italy), which disintegrated following the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. In 1997, RC voted for an agreement in the plant to lay off 1,000 workers.

In discussing the FBU strike with the workers, we learned that only a few of them knew about the FBU's struggle. But more advanced workers appreciated the importance of that strike, and were very surprised that in Britain the firemen are fighting for a 40 percent increase in salary. Some workers remarked that "New Labour" prime minister Tony Blair wants to play at being Thatcher (the Conservative prime minister who waged a campaign to smash the militant miners union in Britain in the 1980s).

We tried to make the link between the Fiat struggle and the U.S.'s impending war with Iraq, which the Berlusconi regime supports. We pointed to how the FBU strike is an obstacle to Blair's war efforts. But some workers saw no link between the war and their strike. They may understand that the war would be an attack on the working people of Iraq, but they don't understand how class struggle hinders the imperialists' war efforts. On the question of immigrants, there were different reactions. One young female student said she defends workers but not immigrants who, she claimed, take away jobs. The factory is totally white.

The trade-union bureaucrats address the struggle for jobs at Fiat in terms of fighting a threatened foreign takeover by GM and insisting that Fiat equals Italy, and that the government must save this giant symbol of Italian capitalism. The common approach of the left is that the auto industry is too important for the Italian economy to let it go down the tubes, so they are all demanding a state bailout of Fiat. RC calls for nationalization of Fiat. They complain that "Fiat becoming a branch of GM is bad not only for Fiat and Italy but also for Europe" (*Liberazione*, 12 October). Many left groups are calling for Berlusconi and the barons of Italian industry—who have swindled millions of workers out of their pensions, lined their own pockets through grandiose and useless "public works," looted the country and run the Mafia—to "bail out" Fiat by nationalizing it. This is a call to make the Agnelli family, who have owned Fiat for more than a century, richer.

When Leon Trotsky in the 1938 Transitional Program addressed the question of "expropriation of separate groups of capitalists," this was not a call for absorbing the ruling class' *losing* industries, but for expropriating the wealth of the ruling families. And Fiat is a losing industry; its share of the Italian car market is less than 30 percent, a huge drop from the 90 percent share that it had from the post-World War II boom until roughly 1990.

Trotsky further explained in the Transitional Program that the program of socialist revolution does not hinder Marxists "from advancing, when the occasion warrants, the demand for the expropriation of several key branches of industry vital for national existence, or of the most parasitic group of the bourgeoisie." Writing shortly after the Stalinists proclaimed the "People's Front," which sought to chain the workers movement to a mythical "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie, Trotsky went on to explain:

> "The difference between these demands and the muddleheaded reformist slogan of 'nationalization' lies in the following: (1) we reject indemnification; (2) we warn the masses against demagogues of the People's Front who, giving lip service to nationalization, remain in reality agents of capital; (3) we call on the masses to rely only upon their revolutionary strength; (4) we link up the question of expropriation with that of seizure of power by the workers and farmers."

It is not an accident that none of the Italian "left" calls for expropriating the Agnelli family—only the auto company that Agnelli doesn't even want anymore! As revolutionaries, we say that the workers have no interest in saving Fiat, but they need to fight to defend jobs and living conditions.

Most workers do not think about nationalization but about saving their jobs. It was mainly youth, clearly under the influence of RC and FalceMartello (followers of Ted Grant's *Socialist Appeal* group in Britain), who raised the call for "nationalization." FalceMartello had a table with over a dozen people in front of the entrance at one of the picket lines. "Nationalization" is their big campaign.

At the strike support rally, several

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COBAS leaders gave speeches. One of them made some remarks about how Umberto Bossi –leader of the fascistic Lega Nord, which is in the government—had "betrayed" the workers because he said he would only "defend" the workers in Lombardy, a northern district where the Lega Nord is influential. Several COBAS leaders remarked that "our local politicians, mayors, etc. don't rally to our side, unlike the mayor of Termini Imerese and the regional deputies of Sicily, who side with Fiat workers." The politicians the COBAS leaders referred to are all rightists or members of Gianfranco Fini's Alleanza Nazionale, another government party which is currently primarily an electoral vehicle but also heir of the historic party of Mussolini's fascism. A member of FalceMartello intervened and made a very economist speech about how the bosses are trying to dismantle Fiat and called to nationalize Fiat. A young RC woman cadre said that workers should join their fight for immigrant rights and called for dismantling the detention centers where refugees are housed. She also briefly mentioned the impending war on Iraq. Our comrade was the last to speak. He was applauded and cheered during his speech and at the end. Here's what he said.

* * *

I'm a supporter of *Spartaco*. We are here in complete solidarity with the struggle of the Alfa and Fiat workers. The scope and stakes of this fight are larger than Arese, larger than defense of workers at Fiat, and even larger than this country itself. What is at stake is also rights for immigrants. Thousands of them risk not only being fired when the factories that are contracted to work for Fiat shut down, but also being deported under the Bossi/Fini law. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and for the unionization of all immigrant workers. What is at stake is women's rights, as they are the first fired and last hired. The reason why women workers at Termini Imerese are so prominent in this fight is because they fear being forced back into the oppression of the family, like they were in the 1950s and before. And this is an international fight, too. Fiat workers are being fired not only in Italy but in Argentina, Brazil and Poland. And there are massive workers struggles in France, where truckers shut down the country yesterday, and in Britain, where the 50,000 FBU firemen are out to fight against the Blair government which threatens to send the army to break up their picket lines.

AP

February 1999: Immigrants protest racism at Milano rally organized by trade unions.

Workers at Fiat need to show their internationalist support to their class brothers abroad. And the government that today is attacking Fiat workers is the same government that is preparing to attack Iraq. We fight for the defense of Iraq against imperialist attack and for class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home. Every blow against the capitalists here through workers strikes and actions is a blow against their military massacres against colonial peoples. Every military blow they suffer in their imperialist campaigns is a blow against our own exploiters, which helps and eases our struggles here.

We have to fight any illusions in the capitalist state and politicians. Putting this struggle in their hands means putting oneself in his enemy's hands. What is needed to win this fight is a massive mobilization of the social power of the working class, a confrontation of class against class, through mass pickets, plant occupations and solidarity strikes. We also have to fight any illusion in reformist parties like the DS and RC, which find themselves in opposition today but for a decade were instrumental in slashing jobs and social benefits and devastating working-class livelihoods.

This crisis at Fiat is itself a product of a worldwide capitalist crisis and recession. The capitalist rulers have devastated the manufacturing base of this country, throwing millions into unemployment. What is needed to overcome this is not the RC's program of piecemeal nationalizations, which have been clearly shown in this country's history to enrich bankers and bosses. We need to expropriate all of the bourgeois class through a socialist revolution. The key is the ability of the working class in struggle to forge a revolutionary leadership. What we need is a revolutionary workers party that fights to lead the working class to power, to a workers government based on organs of workers power, like workers councils.■

Firefighters...

(continued from page 5)

presided over the bloody partition of India, which was an untold horror in terms of the numbers of people killed. They suppressed the working masses in the Greek civil war in the 1940s. They introduced some of the most racist measures against immigrants in history, such as virginity tests for Asian women in the 1970s. They sent the British Army to Northern Ireland in 1969. And when it comes to the trade unions, as a firefighter pointed out to us on the picket line, this is the second strike the FBU has ever had and both have been against a Labour government.

The Trade-Union Political Fund

This question that is being debated within the trade-union movement about what to do with the political fund is really about what kind of party the working class needs to actually represent its interests independent of the capitalist class. We fight to build a multiethnic revolutionary workers party to fight for socialist revolution, a Leninist vanguard party modelled on the party that led the Russian Revolution.

It's a fundamentally different animal than any type of Labourite party. For example, on political funds, we think it's fine for a trade union to have a political fund; we don't think that they should pretend to be apolitical organisations. And they should spend them on campaigns on a case by case basis. People could go to the trade union and ask for support for a particular case. For instance, we went to the Fire Brigades Union in Glasgow some years ago and got a huge donation for Mumia Abu-Jamal, a black political prisoner on death row in America.

But there's a fundamental difference between a trade union and a political party. Trade unions are defensive economic organisations of the working class; therefore you want to include as broad a swath of the working population as possible. You want industrial unions to be as big as possible. That means they will incorporate people with all levels of consciousness.

The Leninist vanguard party, on the other hand, is based on the most advanced layers of the working class. While the trade-union movement is built on the broadest possible basis, the Leninist vanguard party is built by splitting other organisations and winning people away from social-democratic, Labour-type organisations and from organisations that pretend to be socialist. That's not something the Spartacist League invented. It came from Lenin, who definitively broke with the parties purporting to be socialist when they supported their own ruling classes in war in 1914.

A Leninist vanguard party fights against all forms of chauvinism, champions all of the oppressed. What you actually see in the support from the population for the FBU on the picket lines, which you also saw in the miners strike, is that there's a very high degree of support from ethnic minorities—Kurds, Turks and other immigrants, as well as blacks and Asians. What you see there is the potential core of a Leninist vanguard party in this country. That is what it would look like.

In this country, immediately after the greatest success of the working class in history, the Russian October Revolution of 1917, which had huge support among the working class here, the Labour Party Fabians drafted something called Clause IV, which called for common ownership of the means of production. The idea was to fool the working class that socialism here would come through Parliament nationalising industry. It's a con, and that's what it was intended as.

We believe that it really is possible to regenerate and reindustrialise this country and to provide work for people. We believe it's possible to provide decent health care, decent education and decent services including housing, but not within the framework of capitalism. That does require a socialist revolution and establishing a planned economy where you decide to manufacture and produce things based on need, and it has to work within an international socialist system.

It is exactly in the crucible of very important struggles such as this one and such as the miners strike that a revolutionary party will be built. This is a really crucial battle. We want to do everything that we can to fight for the Fire Brigades Union to win against this government and in the course of such battles we seek to build a revolutionary party to fight for a socialist revolution.■

United...

(continued from page 3)

Airline workers must fight for the unions to organize the unorganized and demand equal pay for equal work! A key question for airline unions is defending the largely immigrant airport workers who have been targeted by the government's "war on terror"—in reality, a war on immigrants, black people and workers. Already, more than 900 airport workers have been rounded up for supposedly falsifying their job applications, and many face deportation. The airline companies have also used information from the accompanying government background checks to discipline and fire union workers. But defending all these workers is antithetical to the national-chauvinist outlook of the labor tops. Both the AMFA and IAM misleaders decry the loss of "American jobs" as the airline companies attempt to outsource more maintenance work than ever to non-union facilities in the U.S., Canada and overseas. In casting labor struggle in terms of parochial, national-centered unionism, the bureaucrats are necessarily chaining labor to the class enemy in the name of American competitiveness against the U.S. rulers' imperialist rivals.

Union-busting goes hand in hand with imperialist war abroad. It is widely understood that in the event of a U.S. war with Iraq, thousands of airline workers will be laid off as a result of rising fuel costs alone. U.S. Airways, for example, issued an ultimatum last week that unless its workforce agreed to another round of concessions, including an 18-month 5 percent "wage deferral" in the event of war, they would all lose their jobs. One of the reasons that United mechanics voted down their concessions package in November was that it included a similar provision.

Layoffs, union-busting, racist oppression and recurring economic crises are endemic to the capitalism system. The only solution is for the working class to take power in its own name, ripping the wealth of society from the small band of greedy capitalists. To this end, the way forward is to forge a revolutionary workers party embodying in its program and its actions the highest interests of the international working class. The only "controlling interest" worth fighting for is the social ownership of machinery, aircraft, factories and mines in the planned economy of a socialist society.■

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

Exploitation, poverty and social degradation can be eliminated only through proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centers as well as the neocolonial countries, laying the basis for an international planned socialist economy.

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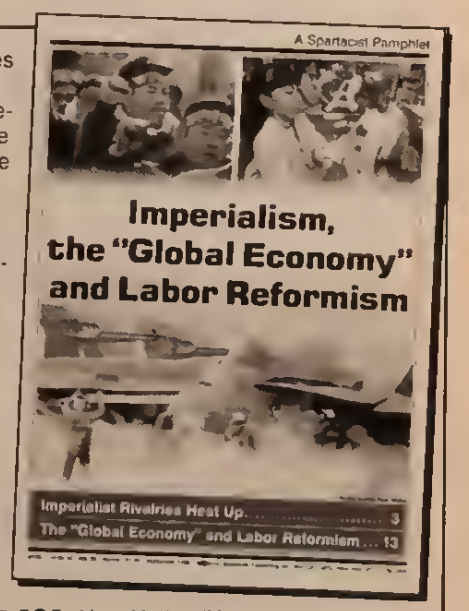


NYC Transit...

(continued from page 1)

representing a tenth of the city's cab drivers, announced it would stop work in solidarity with a transit strike. ***It's about time labor fought back!***

The Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) has contemptuously offered a giveback deal that would freeze wages this year while increasing health care copayments and reducing pay to finance pension benefits. Raises in the following two years of the contract would be allowed only in exchange for increased "productivity," i.e., increased work by fewer employees. Transit workers are all too aware that such "productivity money" literally comes out of the flesh and blood of the workforce. In the last month alone two maintenance workers, Joy Antony and Kurien Bahy, were killed in separate incidents as a result of management's blatant disregard for safety. Local 100 president Roger Toussaint accurately called the MTA proposal an "insult, an outrage and a provocation."

To wage the solid strike needed to win —shutting down MTA subways and buses as well as the private lines buses—transit workers must look to their allies in the city's labor movement and the ghetto and barrio poor, not to the Democratic and Republican politicians who represent the class enemy. Yet Toussaint declared on WINS radio the night of the vote, "The Governor should step in." The governor has already stepped in—with threats to smash the union with National Guard troops.

And one had better believe that the White House is paying close attention to the transit negotiations. During the recent longshore dispute on the West Coast, "Homeland Security" czar Thomas Ridge warned the International Longshore and Warehouse Union that a strike would threaten "national security," and some weeks later, after an employers' lockout, the Bush administration invoked the slave-labor Taft-Hartley Act. If a transit strike shuts down the financial capital of U.S. imperialism, you can bet that Ridge and others in the Bush administration will train their eyes on the TWU. To pursue its wars abroad, U.S. imperialism demands class peace at home. By the same token, working-class struggle would deal a blow against U.S. imperialism's predatory wars abroad as well as union-busting austerity and brutal repression at home.

The city bosses have launched an anti-union propaganda barrage, with Bloomberg foaming that a transit strike would "endanger human life." But it is the multi-billionaire mayor who is demanding massive cuts in social services, including a 30 percent cut in the education budget, as well as a big jump in property taxes which will inevitably be followed by rent increases. Already rubber-stamped by the Democratic-run City Council, Bloomberg's austerity schemes are designed to force the working class and poor to bear the brunt of the economic crisis manufactured by capitalism itself. As a union call for a December 16 NYC labor rally put it, "We Did Not Share in the Wealth! We Will Not 'Share The Pain'!" An average transit worker would take over 100,000 years to earn what Bloomberg is worth. In fact, Bloomberg could just about wipe out the city's budget deficit by writing a personal check!

When Bloomberg and other government officials claim that a transit strike would jeopardize the health and safety of New Yorkers, this is sheer hypocrisy. The MTA not only constantly disregards its own safety measures but is exempt from federally mandated safety regulations. City officials are already slating firehouses to be shut down and are talking about privatizing ambulance services. Officially the city bosses pay homage to firemen as heroes because they died in the attack on the World Trade Center. But in reality the politicians believe what Deputy Mayor Marc Shaw recently said: "Since we can't get these guys to be any more productive in fighting fires, since they only fight fires 5 percent of the time —they're hanging around doing nothing the other 95 percent of the time—let's find other things for them to do" (*New York Times*, 8 December).

Local 100 members are rightly furious at a 6 December editorial in the vile, labor-hating *New York Post* which advised the Bloomberg administration to "prepare the arrest warrant" for Toussaint and the entire membership if the TWU strikes. Outrageously, the editorial denounced the union's stated intention to defend itself as "Toussaint's jihad." This is very much along the lines of a smear campaign directed at Toussaint's Local 100 "New Directions" leadership at the time of the TWU national convention in October 2001, when an anonymous pamphlet was circulated with a section titled: "New Directions and Sept. 11: Bin Laden's Friends?" According to New Directions supporters, the force behind this smear campaign was the TWU "old guard" headed by International president Sonny Hall.

Anyone in the labor movement who buys into this dirty game is playing into the hands of the bosses, their kept media and their political agents—Republicans and Democrats alike. While at home the "war on terror" has been used in the first instance to witchhunt and persecute South Asian, Arab and Muslim immigrants, its targets also include the unions. The bourgeoisie is well aware that the organized labor movement potentially represents the most socially cohesive obstacle to its class rule. A year ago the leader of striking teachers in Middletown, New Jersey was labeled a "representative of the Taliban," while the strikers themselves were clapped into jail. This highlighted the fact that the "war on terror," which the government uses to drum up support for its military adventures abroad, as in Afghanistan and now Iraq, is simultaneously directed at those who resist capitalist exploitation at home.

The Democrats— A Bosses' Party

Contrary to the ravings of the *New York Post* and other right-wing media, the Local 100 president is not a Marxist nor even particularly radical. Toussaint is a strong supporter of the Democratic Party; indeed, every TWU rally has had a large number of Democratic Party politicians on the speaker's rostrum. Other NYC labor leaders, like 1199 hospital union chief Dennis Rivera, a former co-chairman of the state Democratic Party, switched to Pataki in the last elections.

The Democrats, no less than the Republicans, are a party of big business. The Democrats appeal to a different constituency, using a different rhetoric. The particular role of the Democratic Party in American bourgeois politics is to convince the working class and the oppressed black and Latino minorities that they, too, can benefit from the capitalist system with the right kind of government policies and regulations.

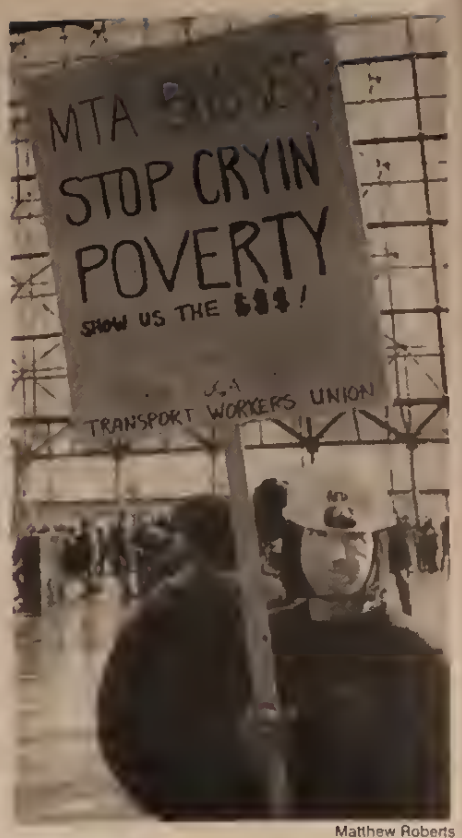
Despite occasional differences on secondary issues, the two parties of capital are united when it comes to protecting the fundamental class interests of the bourgeoisie. The new pieces of legislation beefing up the forces of state repression, such as the USA-Patriot Act and the Homeland Security Act, have been passed with the support of Democratic Party legislators. Another graphic example was the 1999 TWU contract negotiations. Both Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer intervened to get injunctions criminalizing not only strike action but even advocacy of strike action. They threatened to destroy the union and bankrupt union members with fines of $1 million against the union and $25,000 against individuals the first day of a strike, with fines doubling every day thereafter. For her part, Hillary Clinton intoned that the Taylor Law was a "wise law" because "public employees should not legally be allowed to strike."

At bottom, the pro-Democratic Party labor leaders accept the framework of capitalism and the laws designed to protect capitalist property. The bureaucrats claim that if the right people are appointed to such institutions as the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), then they will function in the interest of the unions. In fact, the labor laws provide a whole panoply of strikebreaking weapons. The Wagner Act of 1935, signed by the aristocratic liberal Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt, gave the NLRB wide powers to determine which unions would be recognized as bargaining agents by the employers, and the period immediately following saw a far more rapid expansion of company unions than real unions. Since then, new anti-strike legislation has been codified in Taft-Hartley and other laws.

Had the militants in the 1930s adhered to the law, then the CIO mass industrial unions, including the TWU, would never have been organized. The entire history of the American labor movement is one of laws broken and court injunctions defied. No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle on the picket lines. This was demonstrated by the struggles that preceded the organizing of the TWU in the 1930s. These struggles, as in 1895, were marked by pitched street battles with thousands of cops, company agents and National Guardsmen. They often involved mass arrests and firings as well as scabherding. During a 1918 strike, a scab motorman crashed his train into a tunnel wall, killing 92 people, the worst accident in New York transit history. That is what strikebreaking means.

The first great organizing victories of the 1930s were led by communists and socialists. The key to success in such battles as the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes of 1934, led by the American Trotskyists, was a clear understanding that the capitalist state is the executive committee of the ruling class and hence an enemy of the workers. As noted by James P. Cannon, a founder and leader of American Trotskyism:

> "The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions....
>
> "They prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight."
>
> —*History of American Trotskyism* (1944)



Matthew Roberts

December 7: TWU member outside union mass meeting that voted for strike authorization.

To defeat the government's array of strikebreaking laws requires both the industrial and political mobilization of the working class.

Cops, Courts Out of the Unions!

The pioneers of the labor movement would have choked over the thought that the police are anything other than the hired thugs of the bosses. Yet Toussaint invited Patrick Lynch, head of the Policemen's Benevolent Association, to speak at a September TWU rally and then hailed him at the December 7 mass meeting. The cops' job is to protect the property and power of the capitalists. Should there be a transit strike, the same police who routinely brutalize black and Latino youth will be mobilized to smash picket lines. They will be assisted in this by the TA's security guards, who outrageously are organized by the TWU. ***Cops and security guards out of the unions!***

For years, New Directions has brought court suits against their opponents in the union. These unprincipled actions open up the TWU to meddling and intervention by the class enemy and further subordinate the TWU to the bosses' state. These same courts will be used to invoke the Taylor Law. Differences within the union should be debated in the union, not brought to the bosses' courts!

Without the right to strike, unions are gutted of their very reason for existence. The AFL-CIO officialdom prates that "you can't strike against the government." But who wins in any battle between capital and labor depends on the relationship of forces as measured in struggle. In the middle of World War II, against the howls of the whole capitalist order denouncing them as traitors and agents of Hitler, coal miners defied the wartime no-strike pledge. In response to FDR's threats of military strikebreaking, the miners pointed out that you can't mine coal with bayonets. When the NYC bosses tried to break the 1966 transit strike using the Condon-Wadlin Act (the predecessor of the Taylor Law), the union defied a court injunction. Thrown behind bars, Local 100 president Mike Quill declared: "It is about time that someone, somewhere along the road, ceases to be respectable. Many generations of great Americans before us have taken this road, and if they didn't take this road, half of you would be on home relief.... The judge can drop dead in his black robes, and we would not call off the strike." The strike won, and the Condon-Wadlin Act became a dead letter.

A recent handout from Local 100

Iraq...

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try to cover burgeoning budget deficits by slashing such meager, underfunded social services as still exist. In New York City, the 34,000-strong Transport Workers Union Local 100 is threatened with a union-busting onslaught by multibillionaire mayor Michael Bloomberg. And the 250,000 reservists and National Guardsmen who will soon be called up for active duty, overwhelmingly black, Latino and working-class, know that they may not have a job to come back to—if they now have a job at all.

Some 250,000 people in the U.S. marched in opposition to the war on October 26. But the Workers World Party's ANSWER coalition, which organized the protests, used them to provide a platform for Democrats like Jesse Jackson to intone, "Come alive on November 5!" The politicians for whom Jackson was corralling votes include the likes of presidential hopeful John Kerry, who not only voted for Bush's war resolution in the Senate but argued that Iraq should have been attacked immediately after 9/11. Another is Delaware Senator Joseph Biden, now touring the Kurdish region of northern Iraq to line up support for Bush's war.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs built revolutionary internationalist contingents to intervene into the October 26 protests, declaring in the mobilizing call for the contingents (*WV* No. 789, 18 October):

> "We stand for the military defense of neocolonial Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack, while giving no political support whatsoever to the bloody Saddam Hussein regime. Every unchallenged act of aggrandizement by the U.S., every new easy win further emboldens America's capitalist rulers to lash out against their perceived enemies at home and abroad; any defeat of the imperialist ambitions of the U.S. would be in the interest of workers and the oppressed throughout the world....
>
> "We fight to build a revolutionary party that can infuse the working class with an understanding of its historic task to sweep away the capitalist order and reorganize society on an egalitarian socialist basis."

Class Struggle vs. Liberal Pacifism

The colossal military advantage of the United States against neocolonial Iraq underscores the importance of *class struggle* in the imperialist centers. Our class-struggle perspective may seem remote to many young antiwar protesters who have not seen much social struggle. But the class struggle does exist, as demonstrated by the battles of the West Coast longshoremen and the threatened strike by New York City transit workers. And labor struggle is erupting throughout much of West Europe—from Fiat workers in Italy fighting layoffs to strikes by air traffic controllers and other public sector workers in France to the British firefighters pitted against the union-busting Labour government of Tony Blair. British military chiefs have expressed alarm that Blair's use of the army for strikebreaking could undermine war preparations against Iraq.

In Turkey, a key staging ground for U.S. war plans, there were mass protests led by the trade unions both at the time of the attack on Afghanistan last year and during the 1990-91 Gulf War. Moreover, Turkish workers at the strategic Incirlik air base have staged repeated strikes over the years. Their union opposes war against Iraq, as does 83 percent of the population according to polls, and has been threatening another strike. A strike there now would not only be widely popular but could well hobble the U.S. war effort.

The obstacle to successful working-class struggle lies in the labor misleaders who seek to chain the proletariat to the class enemy, whether through the agency of bourgeois nationalism as in Turkey or through the Labour Party as in Britain and the social democrats and ex-Stalinists elsewhere in West Europe. In the U.S., the AFL-CIO tops chain the unions to the Democratic Party, which is a party of capitalism, racism and imperialist war no less than the Republicans.

AP

December 1: Protesters in Istanbul, Turkey carry banner reading "No to War."

In their own way, the various reformist organizations prominent in the antiwar protests act to maintain and reinforce illusions in the Democrats as a "lesser evil." The International Socialist Organization (ISO) warns in the current issue of *International Socialist Review* (November-December 2002) against antiwar protesters appealing to the Democratic Party. But such left verbiage does not prevent the ISO from promoting the same class-collaborationist coalition politics pushed by ANSWER. The ISO argues for "building a broad antiwar movement, united around a simple set of demands—no war, no sanctions," which "should be able to embrace anyone who supports these demands, whether they are socialists who oppose U.S. imperialism in principle or Democratic Party sympathizers who believe that the UN can be a force for peace."

What this means in practice is rejecting any demand that liberal Democrats like Jackson could not embrace—like the necessary call for military defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism—just as opposition to the UN sanctions was deep-sixed by much of the left in 1990-91. As the ISO notes in speaking of a January 1991 demonstration organized by the Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, "In the name of building the 'broadest' movement, the Campaign insisted on demanding an Iraqi pullout from Kuwait, and pandered to organizations such as Sane-Freeze (the predecessor of today's Peace Action) that supported UN sanctions against Iraq as an 'alternative' to war." Yet the ISO endorsed the Campaign demo call, joining those who pandered to the call for imperialist sanctions!

At bottom, reformists like the ISO reduce the struggle against imperialist war to a lobbying effort for the capitalist rulers to adopt a more peaceful and humane foreign policy and to shift their priorities, i.e., "Money for jobs, not for war!" But imperialist war is inherent to the capitalist profit system, the result of the drive by competing imperialist states to seize and control markets, natural resources (like oil) and areas for investment and exploitation. Only the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, shattering the bourgeois state and replacing it with a workers state in which those who labor rule, can put the imperialist war criminals out of business for good.

Weapons Inspectors: Spies for Imperialism

Weapons inspection is a pretext for and a prelude to imperialist attack. The last inspection team was not kicked out by Saddam Hussein but was rather *pulled out* by the Clinton administration in 1998—one day before the U.S. launched a concerted bombing campaign that the inspectors prepared by spying on and spotting potential Iraqi targets. Having agreed to their return only in order to indulge its allies, the Bush administration has subjected the UN team to a string of

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reproduces a *New York Times* article from 1968 and praises then-mayor Lindsay for negotiating a good settlement. It is captioned: "Where are our political leaders? Mayor Bloomberg, Governor Pataki—Where are you?" The implication is that with "good faith" bargaining on both sides, labor and management can arrive at a common interest that benefits both parties. This is fundamentally false: the interests of capital and labor are diametrically counterposed. What the Local 100 leaflet doesn't say is that the 1968 settlement, which gave union members a pension after 20 years' service with no employee contributions, came about because Lindsay had been solidly walloped by the union two years earlier and couldn't stomach another strike.

When the TWU walked out again in 1980, we wrote in a special *Workers Vanguard* supplement (11 April 1980) headlined "Smash the Taylor Law! Bust the Union-Busters!":

> "The TWU membership on the lines in this strike needs a leadership with the guts and *program* to stand up to the bosses' courts and politicians, and to wage a militant class struggle against the capitalist austerity offensive.... A class-struggle leadership with a program for victory would seek to mobilize all New York labor to defend the TWU against the Taylor Law. It would shut down *all* the commuter busing and put the screws on PATH and LIRR unions to bring out their ranks as well in a powerful joint transportation strike."

But after eleven days, despite the ranks remaining solid and the city beginning to feel the pinch, the Local 100 leaders caved in and New York transit workers were sold down the river.

The 1966 strike victory led to many gains for TWU members, and for many years transit was the best union job in the city. The erosion of the traditions of militancy, including the union tops' panicky collapse during the 1980 strike, has enabled management to become much more aggressive. The transit bosses were further emboldened by the union leadership's acquiescence to Giuliani and Spitzer's strikebreaking in 1999. In the past three years, TWU members have been subjected to 48,000 disciplinary actions and 45,000 "home investigations." Today transit workers are dogged by a small army of "beakies," company snoops, drug testing centers, security guards, etc. For every five transit workers there is one supervisor! Firing the whole lot of these parasites would realize genuine efficiencies, and would probably provide the money for a hefty wage hike for the real workforce.

For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

It is crucial that the heavily integrated TWU take up the defense of "workfare" recipients forced into doing the jobs of transit workers just to get their welfare payments, on the basis of a deal cooked up with the city by the previous Local 100 leadership under Willie James. The point is not to deny these hard-pressed people their jobs but to demand that they be organized by the TWU and receive union wages! It is also crucial for transit workers to defeat attempts to divide this industrial union. Earlier this month, private lines bus workers resoundingly voted to reject, a despicable move by Toussaint's "old guard" opponents led by Hall to split the workers away from Local 100 even as the contract battle loomed.

The TWU should respond to the bosses' campaign for a big fare hike by demanding the abolition of fares, a demand that would win enthusiastic support from the mass of the population. Public transit is a necessary social service. You don't pay firemen when they come to put out a fire, so why should working people have to pay for transit just to get to and from work? The capitalists had the subways built to haul workers into Manhattan from the boroughs—so make the capitalists pay! It is the Marxists who fight to mobilize the labor movement for such demands, as part of the struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party that takes up the cause of all the oppressed and poor.

The last time there was a huge financial crisis in the city it was the working people who were made to pay, as union leaders caved in to the Wall Street banks and Democratic Party machine. In the mid 1970s, the TWU and other unions had their contracts voided, thousands of jobs were slashed, the bus and subway fare was raised 50 percent and free tuition was abolished at CUNY after 129 years. The unions pledged billions from pension funds to guarantee the bankers' loans to the city. The banks have received many times the value of these loans in the form of interest. In fact, a good part of the deficit cited by the MTA amounts to these loans and the interest due on them.

The unions should demand that the city and MTA open their books for public inspection. The bloodsucking banks and utilities must be expropriated! Billions should be made available by the federal government for rebuilding and restoring an efficient and safe urban transit system as well as decent housing, schools and hospitals.

To achieve such ends necessarily runs up hard against the realities of decaying American imperialism. The reformist view that one can smoothly make the transformation to "more butter, less guns" is a myth. American capitalism demands the maintenance of its "top dog" position as a military power, necessarily at the expense of intensified exploitation of working people at home and abroad. Only the revolutionary struggle for a workers government, which once and for all expropriates the bourgeoisie, can point the way forward for the labor movement. To lead such a struggle, what is indispensable is a class-struggle workers party that intransigently opposes the bourgeois order. ■

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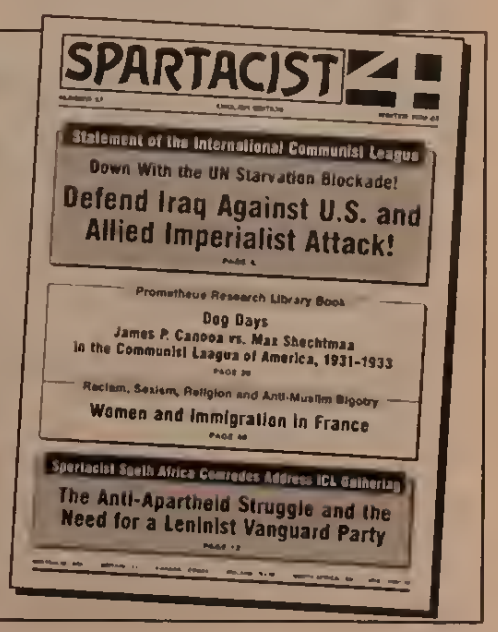

Iraq...

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condemnations and ultimatums for not being provocative enough, including the demand that Iraqi scientists be forced to "defect"—i.e., kidnapped.

The purpose such defectors serve is illustrated by the case of one Khidhir Hamza, whose tailor-made "revelations" are the basis for Washington's outlandish accounts of Iraq's supposed nuclear capability. In late July, Hamza claimed that Iraq might be able to produce three bombs by 2005; seven weeks later he said three bombs could be built within a few months. What changed? "Hamza's new masters in the United States," explained an article in the *London Review of Books* (17 October), wanted him "to add some urgency to the debate."

Playing his appointed role as Bush's mouthpiece, British Labour prime minister Tony Blair took time out last week from his campaign to crush the Fire Brigades Union to offer up another of his "dossiers" justifying a war, as he did before last year's attack on Afghanistan. Prominent among Blair's examples of Saddam Hussein's crimes against the Iraqi people is the case of Dr. Hussain al-Shahristani, a scientist who was imprisoned for 12 years, 11 of them in solitary confinement, for refusing to work on Iraq's nuclear weapons program. But in *Israel*, heroic nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu has been behind bars for 16 years, 12 of them in solitary confinement, simply for revealing to the world the scale of the Zionists' nuclear weapons program.

Unlike Iraq, Israel does have nukes, 300 or more, and is prepared to use them. Under cover of war, the Zionist rulers may well be planning to forcibly expel many if not all of the more than four million Palestinians living in Israel and the Occupied Territories (see "Israeli Terror Machine Strangles Palestinians," *WV* No. 789, 18 October). With half of all Palestinians already living on less than two dollars a day, many confined to their homes for days or weeks at a time only to be bombed or shot dead in their beds, the army's destruction of wide areas of the West Bank earlier this year was designed to make life even more unlivable for the Palestinian population. As though such deliberate starvation policies were not sufficient, on November 30 Israeli troops destroyed a UN depot containing 550 tons of food, which many Gaza residents depend on for survival. But these Zionist atrocities are buried in the American press and elicit barely a peep of protest on the streets.

In recent weeks, barely a day has gone by without a massacre of Palestinians somewhere in the West Bank or Gaza, the most recent victims including a mother of seven, a mentally ill man and a 95-year-old woman sitting in a taxi. In Hebron, where some 450 Zionist settlers already controlled 20 percent of the city, the 120,000 Palestinian residents have been driven into an even more confined ghetto following the killing of a number of Israeli soldiers and security guards last month. Three days ago, an Israeli attack killed ten people in Gaza, including a teacher and another worker at a UN school. Two weeks earlier, Israeli soldiers shot dead another UN official and wounded one of the West European volunteers who have courageously come to the Occupied Territories as observers in the hope of deterring Zionist terror. *Defend the Palestinians! Israel out of the Occupied Territories!*

The Zionist rulers are emboldened in their onslaught by the total support of the Bush administration. And the most anti-Palestinian elements in the White House are also the most rabid anti-Iraq warmongers, including former Reaganites like Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle and, now, Elliot Abrams, a Zionist neoconservative and convicted felon for his role in the Iran-contra gun-running scam during the Reagan administration. Speaking of such types, Israeli leader Ariel Sharon said that "next to our American friends" even one of the most rabidly anti-Palestinian members of his cabinet is a "total dove." A fanatical anti-Communist, Abrams is also a fervent advocate of the Zionist alliance with Christian fundamentalists like Pat Robertson, whose 1991 tract *The New World Order* was an unadulterated rehash of the notoriously anti-Semitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

CNN

1983: Current Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, then an emissary of Reagan administration, greets Saddam Hussein in Baghdad. While U.S. today demonizes Hussein, in 1980s U.S. imperialism armed his regime as a key ally in the region.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The Arab bourgeois regimes hide behind the mantle of "anti-Zionism" to deflect the anger of the impoverished and oppressed Arab masses. But their venality and craven subordination to the imperialists is illustrated not least by how rapidly they fell in line behind the U.S. war drive. Fearing the eruption of social turmoil following a U.S. invasion of Iraq, the Arab rulers have responded by tightening the screws of repression at home. Last month, Jordan's King Abdullah ordered troops to occupy the town of Maan to quell ongoing protests there, leaving five dead and dozens injured.

WV Photo

Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent organized by Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth Club at October 26 San Francisco antiwar rally offered alternative to liberal-pacifist politics of protest organizers.

Saddam Hussein is himself a prime example of how the Arab bourgeois regimes have crushed the working masses in the service of the imperialists. He is every inch the ghoulish torturer that the American press today portrays him to be. But the U.S. was happy to assist this torturer as long as it suited American interests, particularly in countering Soviet influence in the region (though Baghdad got plenty of Soviet aid as well). During the Iran-Iraq War of 1980-88, the U.S. gave Iraq economic and military aid and intelligence, while treacherously shipping weapons to Iran at times as well. In 1983, Rumsfeld visited Baghdad as Reagan's envoy and met with Saddam Hussein. U.S., German and French firms provided Baghdad with technology for the development of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. Among these was the Bechtel Corporation in 1988, whose top executives at the time included Reagan's secretary of state, George Schultz. It was only in 1990, as the Soviet Union was collapsing, that Washington turned on the Iraqi strongman, denouncing him as "another Hitler" when he seized Kuwait from its billionaire oil sheiks.

In fact, it was the U.S. and Britain, now proclaiming their noble goal of restoring democracy in Iraq, which helped put Saddam Hussein and his Ba'ath Party in power in the first place. Iraq is an artificial entity created by the British colonialists after World War I, with borders drawn through the living body of the Kurdish and other peoples in order to safeguard British oil interests. When the British-installed monarchy was overthrown by left-nationalist military officers under Abd al-Karim Qassim in 1958, this opened up a revolutionary situation in which real power was increasingly in the hands of the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP). American troops were deployed to nearby Lebanon, and the Pentagon and CIA drew up contingency plans to foment counterrevolution in Iraq, including through a full-scale invasion ("A Desert Squall: Anglo-American Planning for Military Intervention in Iraq, July 1958-August 1959," *Middle Eastern Studies*, July 1999).

In the event, the revolutionary upheaval in Iraq was soon beheaded from within. Instead of leading the workers in a struggle for power, the Stalinist ICP leadership tied them to Qassim's bourgeois nationalists. On orders from the Soviet Stalinists, who were pursuing the chimera of "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism, the ICP moved to rein in its working-class base, and the revolutionary wave began to recede. This prepared the way for a counterrevolutionary bloodbath in 1963, when the Ba'athists came to power and rounded up and murdered some 5,000 leftists and trade unionists on the basis of lists supplied by the CIA. Thrown out by their military allies later that year, the Ba'athists returned to power in 1968—with Saddam Hussein coming to the fore a year later—and again proceeded to terrorize Jews, Communists and sundry oppositionists while laying waste to the Kurdish regions.

A workers revolution in Iraq in 1958-59, carried out under the banner of proletarian internationalism and defense of the national rights of all the peoples of the region, would have had a profound impact throughout the Near East, not least in helping to shatter the chauvinist consensus binding the Hebrew-speaking proletariat to the Israeli capitalist rulers. By contrast, the criminal and indiscriminate terror attacks carried out by Palestinian nationalists and Islamists against Israeli civilians, and the anti-Semitism which is today endemic in the Arab countries, serve only to strengthen the Zionist stranglehold on the Hebrew workers.

The growing strength of Islamic fundamentalism underlines the stark choice confronting workers and the oppressed in the Arab world: either vile anti-woman, anti-Semitic reaction or international socialist revolution. And there can be no revolutionary perspective in the Near East which rejects the fight to win over the proletariat of the most technologically advanced and militarily powerful capitalist state in the region. The Zionist garrison-state, inherently oppressive to the Palestinian people, must be shattered from within through workers revolution. It will likely take events on the order of the Iraqi Revolution to break the Hebrew workers from Zionist reaction, but it will not happen at all without recognizing their right to a national existence.

The lesson of the betrayal of the Iraqi proletariat in 1958-59—and the subsequent decades of imperialist aggrandizement, nationalist butchery and Islamic reaction—is the need to forge revolutionary parties committed to the political independence of the proletariat. Only through proletarian revolutions against all the bonapartist dictators, sheiks and Zionist butchers can the workers and oppressed throw off the imperialist yoke and lay the basis for a socialist federation of the Near East. *Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! All U.S./UN troops out of the Near East!* ■

CORRECTIONS

In our article "U.S. Hands Off Iraq!" (*WV* No. 786, 6 September), we wrote: "The decade following the Gulf War was marked by one American military adventure after another, from Panama, Somalia and Haiti to the Balkans and Afghanistan." In fact, the U.S. intervention in Panama occurred in 1989, more than a year before the start of the Gulf War.

In "Defend North Korea!" (*WV* No. 790, 1 November), we stated that in the 1950-53 Korean War, U.S. imperialism only achieved "a stalemate at the 48th parallel." This should have read "the 38th parallel," which roughly divides North and South Korea.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

2002 SUBJECT INDEX

Issue No. 772 (11 January) through No. 793 (13 December)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 2002, from issue No. 772 (11 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 793 (13 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a three-week interval in December.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Victory to the British Firefighters!, #792, 29 Nov. (12, 9)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 792, dated 29 November 2002, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 9.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Green Party—See **Germany; U.S.: General, International Relations.**

  means that articles about the Green Party can be found by going to the subject head **GERMANY** and by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **International Relations.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Articles which deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy will be found under **U.S.: International Relations**, except those articles that refer to the U.S. bombing and threatened invasion of Iraq, which will be found under **IRAQ: General.** Articles dealing with domestic aspects of the "War on Terror" are located under **U.S.: "War on Terror."**
- Articles about the February 9 Oakland rally in defense of immigrants and against the USA-Patriot and Maritime Security Acts are listed under **IMMIGRATION: Oakland Labor/Immigrant Defense Rally.**
- The periodic columns by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are listed under the subject heading **ABU-JAMAL** in the subcategory **Message from Death Row**; articles on his case and the campaign to free him are in the subcategory **Defense Campaign.**
- *Workers Vanguard* began during this year to periodically include articles under the *Women and Revolution* masthead. Those articles will be listed under the subject heading to which the individual articles pertain with the notation "(W&R)" after the headline of the entry. When articles are reprinted and/or translated from the press of other sections of the ICL, the name of the press will appear in parentheses following the headline of the entry.
- Abbreviations used in entries are:
  - C: Correction
  - CSDN: Class-Struggle Defense Notes article
  - L: Letter
  - R: Review
  - S: Series
  - W&R: *Women and Revolution* article
  - YSp: *Young Spartacus* article

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